OP

# THE PATRIARCH AND THE TSAR
Volume 6

William Palmer

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*THE PATRIARCH AND THE TSAR.*

VOL. VI.

# SERVICES OF THE PATRIARCH NICON

TO THE

## CHURCH AND STATE OF HIS COUNTRY,

AND THEIR REQUITAL

BY THE

CREATION OF A MERELY NATIONAL OR STATE CHURCH IN RUSSIA;

With some Account

OF

THOSE PUNISHMENTS, PERSONAL AND PUBLIC, WHICH
WERE FORETOLD BY NICON, AND WHICH
HAVE ACTUALLY ENSUED.

By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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APOSTASY, AND PUNISHMENTS.

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'All power is given to me in heaven and on earth:
Go ye therefore and
make all the *nations disciples*, baptising them
in the name
of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;
*teaching them*
to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you:
and lo, I am with you
*always*,
even to the end of the world. Amen.'
'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me,
and he that rejecteth me rejecteth Him that sent me.
And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words,
when ye depart out of that house or city,
*shake off the dust of your feet*:
Verily I say unto you,
It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment
than for that city' (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, x. 14, 15, and Luke x. 16).

*Replies of Nicon*, p. 129, 228, 11, 122, 141, and vol. iv. p. 511.

THE PATRIARCH AGAINST THE TSAR,

THE CHURCH AGAINST THE WORLD;

SMYRNA AND PHILADELPHIA AGAINST PERGAMUS AND LAODICEA,

PATIENCE AND CHARITY AGAINST VIOLENCE AND INIQUITY;

THE RESURRECTION (VOSKRESENSK)

AND THE NEW JERUSALEM (NOVI IERUSALIM)

AGAINST BABYLON AND ANTICHRIST.

# CONTENTS.

PART III. *Notices of Punishments, personal and public.*

Ch. vii. Punishments which came upon the Crown from itself: Suicidal extinction of the Dynasty.

Herein: The tsar Peter and the tsarevich Alexis, from A.D. 1698, when the tsarevich was separated from his mother, to 1706, when he reached the age of sixteen, p. 1029-1072. The tsarevich remembers his mother and her wrongs, dislikes the Germans, is unlike his father and like his grandfather, the tsar Alexis; the relations of the tsar Peter to his son are those of a tormentor to his *victim*, p. 1030-1032. The first teachers of the tsarevich, Viazemsky and Neugebauer, p. 1033. A.D. 1702: Capture of Marienburg, and notices of Katerina Basilievska, p. 1036-1040. Capture of Noteburg (Schlüsselburg), and notices of Menshikoff, p. 1040-1044. A.D. 1703: Von Huyssen is appointed under Menshikoff preceptor to the tsarevich; his plan of instruction, p. 1048. Foundation of Petersburg, and triumph at Moscow after it, p. 1048-1050. A.D. 1704: The tsarevich goes secretly to see his mother; he is with the army before Narva; capture of Dorpat, and of Narva; triumph at Moscow; admonition, *joined with a threat*, addressed by Peter to his son; Huyssen is sent on service to Germany, p. 1050-1053. Account of the '*compania*' of the tsarevich, their nicknames, and their habits, with extracts from letters written in A.D. 1704 from the camp before Narva, p. 1053-1057. End of Peter's connection with Anna Mons; his connection with Catherine; letters of Peter to Catherine and of Catherine to Peter, p. 1057-1064. A.D. 1705: Murder of four Uniat monks at Polotsk by Peter and his suite, p. 1065. Charles XII. at Warsaw crowns Stanislas king of Poland; letters of the tsarevich and of members of his *compania*, p. 1067. A.D. 1706: Ogilvie with his army is set free from Grodno, and marches to the South; Peter at Kieff encloses the Pechersky in a new fortress; Charles XII., instead of invading Russia, enters Saxony, and compels Augustus to make a peace by which he relinquishes Poland to Stanislas; but Menshikoff at Kalisch defeats the Swedish corps left in Poland; Peter's rejoicings for this victory; he goes in Dec. from Petersburg to Kieff, and to Jolkva, p. 1068-1072. Letters of the tsarevich, p. 1072-1074.

A.D. 1707: Peter calls the tsarevich to Jolkva, and is angry with him for having gone to Souzdal; he sends him to Smolensk to collect provisions, &c., p. 1074. He causes the throne of Poland to be declared vacant by diets held at Lemberg and at Lublin; from Warsaw he pro-

poses to treat with Charles XII., who replies that he will treat only at Moscow, p. 1075. Peter goes to Tikotin, Vilna, Merech, and Petersburg, and in Dec. to Moscow; and Charles XII. reënters Poland, and in Dec. is in Lithuania, p. 1076. Statements about Peter made to the Pope, ib. Letters of the tsarevich and of members of his *compania*, from Smolensk and other places, and from Moscow, p. 1077-1082. A.D. 1708: Peter in Jan. goes to Lithuania, and in March to Petersburg, where he falls sick; he invites his sisters to come to him there; the tsarevich remains at Moscow, charged with a general inspection, p. 1083. Peter lays the first stone of the Troubetskoy bastion in the Fortress of Petersburg, p. 1084. Before that he had sent orders to fortify Moscow, and to increase the garrison there, ib. Partial defeat of the Russian army, 3d July, at Golovchina, p. 1085; Charles XII., without waiting for the reinforcements and supplies to be brought to him by Levenhaupt from Riga, turns to the South, expecting to be joined by Mazepa; Peter defeats a part of Charles's army, 29th Aug., at Dobro, and afterwards, 28th Sept., at Liesno, he intercepts and almost destroys the corps of Levenhaupt, p. 1087; he then marches southwards; the Oukraine remains generally faithful to him, and a new hetman, Skoropadsky, is elected in place of Mazepa; positions and movements of the Swedish and Russian armies during the severe winter of A.D 1708-1709, p. 1088. Peter institutes eight governments, p. 1089. Letters of the tsarevich written from Preobrajensk to his father, and to Catherine, p. 1089-1094. A.D. 1709: Peter in Jan. is joined at Soumi by the tsarevich, who brings him five newly-raised regiments; Peter writes thence, 30th Jan., to Menshikoff that he had not left, owing to the dangerous illness of his son; he then goes to Azoff, where he is very ill himself, p. 1094; his fleet having shown itself, the Turks confirm the peace, p. 1095; Charles XII., though without siege artillery, in May besieges Poltava, where on the night of the 25th June he is badly wounded in the foot, and on the 27th his army is totally defeated, and he himself scarcely escapes into Turkey, p. 1096; Menshikoff is sent to act in Poland, and Sheremetieff to blockade Riga; Peter goes to Kieff, where he is welcomed with an oration by Theophanes Procopovich; he is joined by the tsarevich, whom he now means to send to Germany, and to marry to some German princess, p. 1097; Augustus, having reëntered Poland, meets Peter, 26th-30th Sept., at Thorn, and the league against Charles XII. is renewed, ib. At Marienverder, 17th-23d Oct., Peter meets the king of Prussia, and makes a secret treaty with him; the young duke of Courland is to marry Peter's niece Anna, and Courland is no more to be a dependency of Poland, p. 1098; on the 14th Nov. Peter fires the first three bombs into Riga, p. 1099; on the 23d he is again at Petersburg, and on the 12th Dec. at Moscow, at Kolomensk, ib. Birth of his illegitimate daughter Elizabeth, for which he causes a *Te Deum* to be sung in the cathedral, p. 1100; triumph for Poltava, Christmas carols, &c., ib. Charles XII. meanwhile is at Bender; and the tsarevich is with Menshikoff in Poland, p. 1101. Correspondence of the tsarevich and of others of his *compania*, p. 1101-1107. A.D. 1710: Elbing is taken, 28th Jan., and is *not* restored to Augustus; Peter having come, 25th Feb., from Moscow to Petersburg, on the 12th June takes Viborg,

and sets aside the terms granted to the garrison; Riga too is taken, 4th July, and again the terms of surrender are violated; also Livonia is *not* restored to Augustus; capture of Dinamund, 8th Aug.; of Pernau, 14th Aug.; of Arenberg, with the isle of Ösel (after 15th Aug.); of Korel or Kexholm, 8th Sept.; and of Revel, 29th Sept., p. 1107. But the Danes are defeated in Sweden, 6th March; and the Poles are hostile to Augustus, and still more to the tsar, p. 1108. Marriage at Petersburg of the duke of Courland, 31st Oct., followed by public buffooneries, during which he catches cold, and dies 3d Jan. A.D. 1711; by manifesto of Peter the government of Courland devolves on his widow, p. 1109; Peter proposes to marry his niece Catherine to prince Leopold Charles of Mecklenburg, who divorces his wife in June A.D. 1710, in order to be free to accept this offer, ib. The Turks, 20th Nov., declare war, ib. Letters of the tsarevich, and of others about him, written from Poland and from Saxony; he consents to marry the princess Carlotta of Wolfenbuttel, p. 1110-1118; life of the tsaritsa Eudocia in the Pokrovsky convent of Souzdal, and her misconduct there, p. 1118-1122. A.D. 1711: Peter institutes a Governing Senate, 22d Feb., and fiscals, p. 1123; manifesto about the Turkish war, 25th Feb., ib. He gives to his mistress Catherine by ookaz the titles of *Hossoudarina* and *Tsaritsa*, 6th March, and leaves, with her, the same day for the army, p. 1024; after 27th March he falls ill of a fever at Loutsk, p. 1125; at Yavorovo, 19th Apr., he hears of the death of the emperor Joseph; and, 10th May, he signs the marriage contract of his son; he sees the king of Poland; and, 30th May, engages the Poles to join in his war with Turkey by giving them a subsidy, and a renewal in writing of his promise to restore to them Livonia, p. 1125; his first anger against Menshikoff, p. 1126; he is surrounded with all his army on the Pruth by the Turks and the Tatars, p. 1127; he writes to the Senate that in case of his death they are to *elect from among themselves the worthiest* to be his successor; but the grand vizir consents to treat, and a peace is signed, 12th July, p. 1128; Peter returns to Poland, and leaving Catherine at Thorn, goes to Dresden, and to the waters of Carlsbad, 11th Sept., p. 1129; he is present, 14th Oct., at Torgau, at the marriage of his son to the princess Carlotta of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, p. 1130; he bespeaks for this marriage the blessing of his mock Pope, p. 1131; and a fortnight later sends his son to Thorn, to collect and store supplies for the army, ib. He confers at Krossen, 20th Oct., with the crown-prince of Prussia and two Danish ministers about the siege of Stralsund; rejoins Catherine, 27th Oct., at Thorn, and arrives with her, 29th Dec., at Petersburg, p. 1132. Correspondence of the tsarevich, p. 1133-1140. A.D. 1712: The Turks re-confirm the peace, p. 1140; the siege of Stralsund continues, ib.; Peter, 19th Feb., publicly *marries* Catherine, ib.; he sends Menshikoff to command in Pomerania, and orders his son to go thither from Thorn, but neglects to make any provision for him; in consequence the crown-princess returns to her parents, p. 1141; sermon of Stephen Yavorsky preached at Moscow on the 17th March, the names-day of the tsarevich, and denounced by the senators, p. 1142; alarm of the tsarevich, p. 1143; the tsar and Catherine go to Pomerania, to the army before Stettin; Peter meets the king of Poland, 16th Aug.; on the 30th Sept. he is at

Berlin; on the 3d Oct. he is at Wittenberg, and visits the tomb and the rooms of Luther, p. 1145; he is at Carlsbad, 8th Oct. to 5th Nov.; in Dec. the Danes and Saxons fight a battle at Gadebusch with the Swedes, without waiting to be joined by the Russians, and are defeated, ib. Peter sends Catherine (and with her the tsarevich) back to Petersburg, ib. Correspondence of the crown-princess with the tsar; and correspondence of the tsarevich, p. 1146-1153. A.D. 1713: Peter defeats the Swedes under Steinbok at Schwabstadt and shuts them up in Tonningen, where Menshikoff is left to blockade them, p. 1153; Peter, 14th Feb., goes to Hanover, to Saltzdhalen, and to Schönhausen, where he sees the new king of Prussia; thence, 3d March, to Stargard; and on the 22d March he reaches Petersburg, p. 1154; on the 2d May he leaves Kronslot, *taking with him the tsarevich*, to invade Finland, where the Swedes evacuate Helsingfors and Borgo, 8th and 15th May, ib. Meanwhile the crown-princess arrives at Petersburg, and the Swedish force of 10,000 men blockaded in Tonningen surrenders to Menshikoff, p. 1155; intrigues of Görtz; his communications with Menshikoff, who is empowered to treat with the king of Prussia at Berlin for the joint occupation of Stettin by Prussians and Holsteiners, p. 1156; the tsarevich returns to Petersburg, but is soon sent to Ladoga, to superintend the cutting and sending of timber; he returns late in August, and after that is employed no more, ib. Meantime Charles XII. has been disarmed by the Turks, and removed from Bender to Demotika near Adrianople, ib. Peter, 15th Aug., defeats the Swedes, and, 28th Aug, occupies Abo; on the 14th Sept. he is at Petersburg, p. 1157; on the 6th Oct. Apraxin in Finland again defeats the Swedes under Armfeldt, who retreats to Tavasthaus; and, 14th Oct., news comes from Menshikoff of the capture of Stettin, which is given up to the *Prussians*, ib. In spite of remonstrances Peter garrisons Courland, and still holds Livonia; his allies are now much dissatisfied, p. 1158. Correspondence of the tsarevich, and notices respecting him, p. 1158-1170. A.D. 1714: Peter, 2d Feb., begins to make a port at Revel, p. 1170; he gains, 27th July, the naval victory of Gangouda, p. 1071; for this, 9th Sept., at Petersburg he is promoted to be vice-admiral, ib. He institutes, 21th Nov., the Order of *Liberation*, or of St. Catherine, ib. The Swedes driven out of Finland, ib. Charles XII., 21st Nov., in disguise gets into Stralsund, and declares war against the elector of Hanover (who is now also king of England) and Prussia; on death of Louis XIV. the emperor Charles VI. joins Venice in a fresh war with Turkey, p. 1173. Changed relations of Menshikoff to the tsar, A.D. 1711-1725, p. 1173-1190. Death of Anna Keyserling (Anna Mons), 30th Sept., A.D. 1714, p. 1190; burlesque funeral of Peter's dwarf, and burlesque wedding of his mock Pope, p. 1191. Notices of the crown-princess, and of the tsarevich; the tsarevich goes to Carlsbad, 1st June; while there he makes extracts from Baronius; he visits also other places (*e.g. Arnstadt*), and buys many books; and returns to Petersburg by the end of Dec.; Alexander Kikin blames him for not having remained abroad; meanwhile the crown-princess, 12th July, had borne him a daughter named Natalia, and Catherine had borne Peter a daughter named Margaret, p. 1192-1203.

A.D. 1715: The English and Dutch squadrons having come, on the 23d

July, to Revel, Peter, after mutual entertainments, goes out and manœuvres with them, 12th-16th Aug.; and on the 30th he is again at Petersburg, p. 1204; on the 12th Oct., at Schlüsselburg, he hears of the birth of a son, named Peter, to the tsarevich Alexis; on the 22d the crown-princess dies; and on the 28th Catherine bears the tsar a son, who is also named Peter, ib. Treaties are made with the kings of Denmark, England, and Prussia; a 'Confederacy' is organised in Poland against the king Augustus and his Saxons; Charles XII. escapes from Stralsund, which surrenders, 20th Dec., p. 1205. Notices of the tsarevich; his anger against his intendant Peter Anthimoff, son-in-law of his confessor Yakoff Ignatieff; horrible death of Andrew Narishkin, and other providential warnings not understood or not heeded by the tsarevich; expostulatory letter of the confessor; illicit connection of the tsarevich with a Finnish captive named Euphrosyne; birth of his son Peter Alexievich, and death of the crown-princess; after her funeral a letter, dated 11th Oct., and threatening him with disinheritance, is put into the hands of the tsarevich by his father the tsar Peter, p. 1205-1224; he consults Kikin, and speaks also to Apraxin and to the prince Basil Dolgorouky, and replies, renouncing the succession, p. 1224; words of the tsar to the imperial resident Pleyer, 30th Oct., p. 1226; Peter falls dangerously ill, and 2d Dec. he is communicated, p. 1228; after recovering (19th Jan. A.D. 1716) he writes another letter to the tsarevich, bidding him change, or become a monk; he replies, asking permission to become a monk, and takes measures in order to provide for Euphrosyne, p. 1229. A.D. 1716: Peter goes to see his son, and gives him still half a year to reflect before determining to become a monk, p. 1230.

Willem Mons, brother of Peter's former mistress, is made kammer-yunker to Catherine; he goes abroad with her and with the tsar, 27th Jan., p. 1231; marriage of the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 8th Apr., at Dantzig to Peter's niece Cath. Ivanovna, p. 1233; Peter at Dantzig sees the king of Poland and deputies of the Polish *Confederates* in April; and at Stettin, 6th-8th May, he is met by the king of Prussia; he goes thence to Güstrov, to Schwerin, and to Vismar (which had been taken, before the Russians could come up to coöperate, on the 7th Apr.), and from Schwerin, 16th May, to drink the waters at Pyrmont, seeing on his way the king of Denmark at Altona, and agreeing with him, 14th-23d May, upon a joint invasion of Sweden, p. 1234; he stays at Pyrmont till 14th June; on the 19th he is again at Schwerin; on the 3d July, leaving Catherine at Vardemünde to follow him by land, he goes by sea with all his galleys and three regiments to Copenhagen; on the 17th the Russian squadron comes from Revel (the English squadron being already at Copenhagen), p. 1234; but Charles XII. having in the mean time without fighting lost many men, and having evacuated Norway, the Danes and the Hanoverians become again inactive, and mistrustful of Peter, ib. Peter on the 5th Aug. hoists his flag as commander-in-chief of the Russian, Danish, English, and Dutch squadrons, counting in all 83 ships, p. 1235. On the 25th Aug. he sends a letter to his son, requiring him either at once to become a monk or to come to Copenhagen for service, ib. A council held, 4th Sept., decides that it is too late, and the invasion of Sweden must be put off till the next year; Peter's anger; his troops return to Rostock, and his ships to

Revel; on the 16th Oct. he leaves, with Catherine, for Mecklenburg (5th-10th Nov.) and Holland; he is now aware that the tsarevich has disappeared, p. 1236; letters from Menshikoff, ib. Peter meets the king of Prussia at Havelsburg, 13th-17th Nov., and on the 6th Dec. is at Amsterdam; on the 27th he falls sick of a fever, p. 1237; Catherine, travelling separately, is confined at Wesel of a son named Paul, who lives only a few hours, ib. Notices of the tsarevich; he starts from Petersburg, 26th Sept., taking with him his mistress Euphrosyne, as if to go to his father, but intending to act upon Kikin's former advice, and escape to some place where he can remain in safety, p. 1237-1242; on the road near Libau he meets his aunt the tsarevna Maria returning from Carlsbad, and at Libau he meets Kikin, who bids him go to Vienna; he presents himself at Vienna at ten o'clock on the night of 10th Nov. to the vice-chancellor count Schönborn; the emperor consents to protect him, and desires him to remain incognito; he is removed, 12th Nov., to Weyerburg, and thence (26th Nov.-4th Dec.) to the castle of Ehrenberg in the Tyrol, &c., p. 1243-1256. Peter, 9th Dec., sends a secret order to General Weyde, then commanding in Mecklenburg, to make inquiries; and having called to Amsterdam his resident at Vienna, Veselovsky, he sends him to trace and seek out the tsarevich, and gives him an autograph letter to the emperor, p. 1256-1258. A.D. 1717: Peter is joined at Amsterdam, 2d Feb., by Catherine, p. 1258; on the 6th March he sends the captain Roumiantsoff and three other officers to Vienna '*to obtain more exact information* about the tsarevich,' ib. He goes with Catherine, 7th March, to the Hague, p. 1258; leaving Catherine at Rotterdam to return to the Hague, he goes himself, 24th March, to Brabant and to France, p. 1259; at Antwerp, 31st March, he is received by the Jesuits; he spends the 14th April (his Palm-Sunday) at Dunkirk, and stays at Calais till the 23d; from the 26th Apr. to the 9th June he is at Paris, where on the 3d June some doctors of the Sorbonne make a representation to him in favour of a union of the Churches; he goes from Paris to Liège, and to Spa, where he drinks the waters, 21st June to 14th July; and while there, 10th July, he sends again to Vienna the captain Roumiantsoff (he having now returned, and reported that the tsarevich is at Naples) together with the privy-councillor count Pet. Andr. Tolstoy, with a letter to the emperor demanding the extradition of his son, and another letter to his son, promising him a full pardon if he will return, p. 1259-1262. Correspondence between Peter and Catherine, p. 1263. Peter is at Aix-la-Chapelle, 14th July; on the 22d he rejoins Catherine at Amsterdam; on the 24th they go to see the East India fleet; and from 28th July to 22d Aug. they stay at Amsterdam, p. 1264; (Extract from a report written by baron Cavalchini, about the dispositions of Catherine towards the tsarevich Alexis, p. 1265:) on the 22d Aug. they leave; on the 6th Sept. they are met at Magdeburg by the duke and duchess of Mecklenburg, ib. From the 8th to the 14th they are at Berlin and Schönhausen, p. 1266. Peter leaves Catherine at Prekouli, 25th Sept.; is received at Mitau on the 27th by his niece Anna Ivanovna; reaches Narva, 7th Oct., and is there rejoined by Catherine; on the 9th they are at Kronslot in the isle of Kotlin, in the house of Menshikoff; and on the 10th at Petersburg, ib. Treaty of 4th Aug. with

the kings of France and Prussia to accept mediation of France for a peace with Sweden, and proposals of baron Görtz, in the name of Charles XII., that conferences should be opened in the island of Oland; in consequence Bruce and Osterman are named as plenipotentiaries, p. 1267; Peter, after making a list of *Presidents* for all the *Colleges*, leaves Petersburg on the 15th Dec. for Moscow, and is followed on the 16th by Catherine, ib. He now no longer conceals his displeasure against Denmark and England, but allows his ministers to treat openly with Görtz and Charles XII. for a separate peace, ib. His *mediation* in Poland is accepted unanimously by '*the Dumb Diet*' out of hatred for the king Augustus, p. 1268.

Reports from Veselovsky (1st Jan. to 22d Feb. 1717) of having traced the tsarevich from Pyritz to Vienna, p. 1268; Peter, 6th Mar., sends from Amsterdam Roumiantsoff, and three other officers, and writes orders to Veselovsky to seize the tsarevich, if that be possible, and carry him off to Mecklenburg; or else to deliver his autograph letter (of 20th Dec. A.D. 1716) to the emperor, p. 1270. Communications from count Schönborn to the tsarevich, while the latter is at Ehrenberg; despatches of Veselovsky; Roumiantsoff, having gone from Vienna to Reitena, near Ehrenberg, returns, 7th Apr., and reports that the tsarevich is kept there incognito, as if he were a prisoner of state; Veselovsky delivers the tsar's letter to the emperor; he writes, 3d May, to Peter that Roumiantsoff, having been sent by him again to Reitena, has reported that the tsarevich has been carried off to Italy, and that he is following on their track; and, 2d June, Veselovsky writes again that Roumiantsoff has returned, after following the tsarevich to Naples, and he sends from the emperor an answer, dated 12th May o.s., to the tsar's letter; also other notices about the tsarevich, instructions from the emperor, and official reports preserved in the archives at Vienna; the tsarevich after arriving at Naples writes letters to the senators and to two bishops to let them, and others through them, know that he is safe and well, and to beg them to contradict any stories which may be set about of his being dead or having renounced his country; but these letters, '*though quite harmless*,' are *not forwarded* from Vienna, p. 1270-1284. Peter sends by Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff from Spa, 1st July, another letter to the emperor, insisting on the extradition of his son, and gives them an *Instruction* under seven heads, and a letter to his son, to be used *only if the emperor will not give him up*; and both through them and by his letter he promises his son, with an oath, a full pardon if he will come back; notices of their execution of this mission, and official instructions and reports, from 1st July to 3d Oct., when the tsarevich, from fear of having his mistress Euphrosyne taken from him by the viceroy of Naples (while Tolstoy promised him from the tsar, besides the full pardon above mentioned, permission to live on his own estates in the country, and to marry Euphrosyne), consented to return to his father, p. 1284-1301. The tsarevich writes, 3d Oct., to the emperor, and, 4th Oct., to his father, p. 1301. They go to Bari, and (after returning to Naples) to Rome, 26th Oct.-2d Nov., and to Bologna, where Euphrosyne parts company with him in order to travel more slowly, and goes to Venice, p. 1305. Letter of Peter, dated from Petersburg, 17th Nov., ratifying both the original promise of pardon and the other two promises

made in his name by Tolstoy, p. 1306. Tolstoy hurries the tsarevich, 6th Dec., through Vienna to Brünn, and attempts to prevent the governor-general of Moravia, count Colloredo, from paying him a visit there on behalf of the emperor, 8th-13th Dec.; official documents and letters respecting this visit, p. 1304-1314; letter of the emperor, 21st Dec. A.D. 1717, to the tsar, and reply of the tsar, 17th March A.D. 1718, p. 1311; letters of the tarevich to Euphrosyne, and of Euphrosyne to the tsarevich, 15th Nov. A.D. 1717 to 3d Feb. A.D. 1718, p. 1305-1326.

A.D. 1718: Jan. 1, the tsarevich is at Riga, whence Tolstoy goes to the tsar, to Moscow, 12th Jan., leaving an order for him to follow, p. 1315; the friends of the tsarevich are alarmed at his return, p. 1324; the tsarevich arrives at Moscow from Tver late on the evening of the 31st Jan., and is lodged at Preobrajensk, p. 1325; the tsar calls together a mixed assembly of ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries and officers of the guards in the *stolovaia* of the palace in the Kremlin, 3d Feb., p. 1326; before this assembly he produces his son *as a prisoner;* he retracts his former promise and grant of pardon by renewing it only upon a certain condition (and that a condition impossible to comply with) for the least failure in complying with which the tsarevich is to forfeit his life; he makes him renounce the succession with an oath both in the *stolovaia* and in the cathedral, and recognise as heir Peter's infant son by Catherine, and he issues a manifesto concerning this disinheritance, and transfer of the succession, p. 1326-1336; letter of the tsarevich to Euphrosyne, p. 1337. Remarks of Voltaire, p. 1337-1339. The tsarevich having weakly attempted to comply with the condition of answering all questions, as if he were in confession to Almighty God, and having been questioned first verbally by his father, Peter (3d Feb., and on other later dates) orders the arrest of all persons named by his son, requires his son to answer again *in writing* with all possible fulness a set of written questions so drawn up as to cover everything connected not only with his flight, but with that passive antagonism which had existed from his childhood between him and his father, p. 1339-1341; answers of the tsarevich, p. 1341-1355; the tsar orders the arrest and examination of above fifty persons, and institutes a double inquest, one branch of which, the *Kikin branch*, related directly to the flight itself of the tsarevich, and to all persons who had counselled, aided, and abetted it, or even known of it or spoken of it afterwards, p. 1356-1371; the other, the *Souzdal branch*, related to the tsaritsa Eudocia and to all persons who had had any intercourse or communication with her, p. 1371-1383; sentence of the ministers on the prisoners of the Souzdal branch of the inquest, 14th and 16th March, at Preobrajensk, p. 1383-1386; manifesto of the tsar respecting the same, 5th March, p. 1387-1391; remarks of Pogodin, ib. Despatch of the imperial resident Pleyer, written from Petersburg, 18th Apr., and other notices about the executions of the 15th and 17th March at Moscow, p. 1391-1393.

Letter of Catherine, 11th of March, to Menshikoff, and letter of Menshikoff to Catherine, p. 1393; Peter leaves Moscow, 18th March, and arrives at Petersburg on the 24th, and Catherine on the 26th, p. 1394; the tsarevich on his arrival at Petersburg is lodged in a house near the tsar's palace, and the other prisoners, 6th Apr., some in the Fortress,

others elsewhere under guard, p. 1395. On Easter Sunday, 13th Apr., the tsarevich throws himself at the feet of Catherine, and begs her to obtain for him permission to marry Euphrosyne, as had been promised, she having now arrived at Petersburg, ib. Peter causes Veselovsky to demand at Vienna that those letters which the tsarevich had written from Naples to the Senate and to two bishops, be given up to him; other notices and documents relating to these letters, p. 1396-1402; the emperor, offended at some passages of Peter's published manifesto, requires, 27th Apr. o.s., from count Daun, the viceroy of Naples, a detailed account as to the way in which the tsarevich was induced to return to Russia; count Daun's report written in consequence, 17th June o.s., p. 1403-1406; on the 29th May Peter forbids the imperial minister Pleyer to appear at his court, ib. Examination of the four servants who were abroad with the tsarevich when he fled to Vienna, and of the brother of Euphrosyne, p. 1407; written questions of Peter to Euphrosyne, and her written answers (before 10th May), p. 1408-1411; despatch of Pleyer, 30th May, mentioning how the tsarevich had been taken out to Peterhof on the 10th May, and Euphrosyne brought thither from the Fortress secretly the next day to be confronted with him, p. 1411; questions put to the tsarevich respecting certain points in the written answers of Euphrosyne, and his answers when confronted with her, 12th May, p. 1411-1420; additional statements or answers written by him, 14th and 16th May, p. 1420-1421; points of questioning of the same date, 16th May, in Peter's own hand, and answers by the tsarevich to the same, p. 1424-1425; another answer to a fresh question, 26th May, p. 1426. Remarks of Voltaire, ib. By what means were such strange admissions obtained? p. 1427. Summary of reflections, written by Peter after 26th May, p. 1427-1430. An episode from the private history of the tsar Alexis in A.D. 1660, connected with the flight and tragical end of his grandson in A.D. 1716-1718, p. 1430-1436. The bishops are summoned to come to the Senate on the 13th June, when two manifestoes are read, one to the ecclesiastics, the other to the lay members of the high court of judicature, p. 1437-1440; the tsarevich, 14th June, is placed as a prisoner in the Fortress, p. 1440. Of Peter's motives; and of the behaviour of Catherine and of Menshikoff at this time, p. 1440-1442. The tsarevich, 17th June, is questioned in the hall of the Senate, p. 1443; answers of the same date in his handwriting, ib. Opinion of the clergy given in, 18th June, through Tolstoy, p. 1446; other persons who had had relations with the tsarevich are also questioned, 19th June, before the assembly, p. 1447; remarks of Voltaire, ib. The tsarevich is questioned, 19th June, at night, from a written paper of questions, and is tortured, p. 1448-1451; his confessor, Yakoff Ignatieff, is confronted with him, and tortured, ib. The uncle of the tsarevich, Abram Lopouchin, is questioned and tortured (and afterwards, 28th Oct. and 1st Nov., he was tortured again, and executed, together with the confessor, 8th Dec.), p. 1452-1455. Opinion of the clergy, communicated by Tolstoy, 21st June, to the high court of commission, p. 1455-1461. Fresh questions in Peter's handwriting put by Tolstoy to the tsarevich, 22d June, and answers in the handwriting of the tsarevich, p. 1461-1464. Remarks of Voltaire, ib. On the 24th June all the tsarevich's former answers are read

over to him in the chamber of torture, and he is questioned about them, and tortured again, p. 1465-1467 ; Doubrovsky also, who is confronted with the tsarevich, and the confessor are reëxamined and tortured, ib. Unanimous judgment of the high court of judicature, 24th June, p. 1467-1476. Remarks of Voltaire and of Pogodin, p. 1476-1479. The tsarevich is brought from the Fortress before the assembly of his judges, 25th June, and the sentence of death is read to him, ib. The same night the tsar sends Skorniakoff-Pisareff to put to him *fresh questions* ; and the next morning, 26th June, he goes to the Fortress, and is present in the chamber of torture ; after which on the same day, 26th June, the tsarevich dies, p. 1479-1482. Retributive parallel between the condemnation of the patriarch Nicon by his spiritual son the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, in Feb. A.D. 1660 and Dec. A.D. 1666, and the condemnation of the grandson of the same tsar Alexis Michaelovich by his son the tsar Peter Alexievich, in June A.D. 1718, p. 1482-1490 ; contrast between the two sufferers, p. 1490-1492. Subsequent events, to the *actual* extinction of the dynasty of the tsar Alexis, 28th Jan. A.D. 1725, by the death of Peter, p. 1492-1498.

Ch. viii. Of Public Punishments which fell upon the *Clergy* as a class or order of society in Russia.

Herein : § i. Introductory, p. 1499-1507. § ii. Misgivings and fears after the condemnation of Nicon in Dec. A.D. 1666, p. 1507 ; attempts vainly made by certain bishops after the condemnation of Nicon to obtain some reservation of the rights and privileges of their order, p. 1508 ; another similar attempt (A.D. 1667) defeated by Matveyeff, then golova of streltsi, p. 1513 ; the right of exercising all episcopal powers, with the single exception of officiating in divine worship, is allowed to belong to the tsar, p. 1514 ; traces still left, however, in the decrees of the synod of A.D. 1667 of the old claim of the clergy to an immunity from lay jurisdiction, p. 1515 ; extracts from ecclesiastical enactments of A.D. 1667 and 1674, p. 1516 ; extract from Mr. Gorchakoff's *History of the Monastirski Prikaz*, A.D. 1667-1677 (larger extracts have been given before in vol v., App. xiii. p. 128-143), p. 1520 ; the affair of Joseph bishop of Kolomna, in connection with the subject of Church property, p. 1523. § iii. Humiliations and mortifications of the titular patriarchs Jonasaph II., Pitirim, and Joachim, especially in this, that respect is shown by the tsars Alexis and Theodore to Nicon in his prison, while they who have betrayed him and the council which condemned him are little regarded, A.D. 1667-1682, p. 1524. § iv. Institution of the Slavono-Græco-Latin Academy, with a court of inquisition to defend Orthodoxy ; and subjection of the metropolitan see and province of Kieff to the patriarchate of Moscow (details respecting which are given in the Appendices), p. 1536. § v. Sylvester Medveydeff is supported by the regent Sophia and her minister and favourite the prince Basil Bas. Golitsin against the patriarch Joachim, A.D. 1682-1689, p. 1536. § vi. The state becomes the disciple of foreign heterodox teachers, and admits to all offices, civil and military, heterodox foreigners and natives of the conquered provinces, forbidding only the descendants of the old Muscovites to abandon their ancestral Orthodoxy, and retaining them all by compulsion under its own spiritual supremacy, p. 1541. § vii. Vain efforts of the patriarchs Joachim and Adrian to stem the

torrent of innovation by admonitions and condemnations, which only bring upon them expressions of contempt and bitter humiliations, p. 1546; Joachim succeeds in bringing Lazarus the archbishop of Chernigoff to submission, in obtaining the dismissal from Moscow of two Jesuit fathers maintained there by the emperor, and in preventing the foreign officers, 28th Feb. A.D. 1690, from dining at a public banquet given by the tsars in the Kremlin, ib.; his will, and testamentary Exhortation against innovations, March A.D. 1690, p. 1548. § viii. Similar vain efforts of the patriarch Adrian, A.D. 1690-1770, p. 1553; he condemns, with an anathema, such as shave their beards, or smoke tobacco; Peter shaves his nobles with his own hand, and insults the patriarch, p. 1556; awkward position of the clergy, who are taunted for their silence by the zealots for the old customs, p. 1557; Peter legalises the sale of tobacco, p. 1559; he is angry against the patriarch for not having tonsured against her will the tsaritsa Eudocia; the patriarch puts off the blame from himself upon others; and the tsaritsa is tonsured at Souzdal upon a special oukaz of the tsar, 22d June A.D. 1699, without either the patriarch or the diocesan bishop being farther consulted in the matter, p. 1559; the general Boris Pet. Sheremetieff having become a Catholic at Rome, in the spring of A.D. 1698 is anathematised by the patriarch, but remains in favour with the tsar as before, he having also returned from abroad without a beard, p. 1560; Peter's ecclesiastical buffooneries, and public mockeries of the patriarchate (and later of the papacy) and the clergy, and the church ceremonies, especially of the sacrament of marriage and the rite of Christian burial, p. 1561; anxieties of the patriarch Adrian, p. 1563; he causes a compilation to be made setting forth the rights and privileges of the clergy in Russia from early times, p. 1564; by order of the tsar he consecrates (7th May A.D. 1700) Stephen Yavorsky, a native of Volhynia, to be metropolitan of Riazan, p. 1565; his death, 16th Oct. A.D. 1700, p. 1566. § ix. Changes made upon the death of the patriarch Adrian. The tsar places all the temporalities of the Church under the boyar Mousin-Poushkin and the Monastirski prikaz, and all its spiritual affairs under the metropolitan of Riazan Stephen Yavorsky, whom he entitles '*Exarch*,' and '*Guardian of the Patriarchate*,' p. 1566; advice given to Peter by Kourbatoff, his '*revenue-increaser*,' to make this change, ib.; advice given to Peter by the patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheus, A.D. 1702, to promote to the episcopal sees and to the patriarchate no foreigners, neither Greeks, nor Little-Russians, but only native Muscovites, as *less inclined to innovations*; also to choose men gifted with the virtue of *humility*, not capable of interfering in civil matters, *as Nicon did*, and so disturbed the universe; and farther not to send his son to learn good manners at Vienna, nor to think that anything good can be learned from the Franks, p. 1568; Peter, on the contrary, promotes ecclesiastics from Little Russia to the episcopal sees of Muscovy, p. 1570; anger of the patriarch Dositheus against Yavorsky for making the Latin element supplant the Greek in the Moscow Academy, p. 1571; the titles of *Metropolitan* and of *Archbishop*, instead of being connected with certain sees, are now only personal marks of the tsar's favour, p. 1572; Yavorsky writes a book, A.D. 1703, to prove against one Talitsky that the tsar Peter is not Antichrist (since the number 666

cannot be connected with his name), nor Moscow Babylon, ib.; the *bishop* of Tamboff, for having procured two copies of Talitsky's treatise, is *degraded*, subjected to *torture*, and imprisoned for life, p. 1573; Yavorsky becomes discontented that the patriarchal *chair* in the cathedral remains unfilled, and suggests that Peter may order it to be broken up; this, Peter replies, is *unnecessary*, p. 1573. § x. Notices of the change going on in Muscovy (especially of Peter's contempt for his own clergy) from western sources, A.D. 1705-1707, p. 1574. § xi. Growing discontent of the bishops and clergy, p. 1578; of Isaiah of Nijny Novgorod, ib.; of Stephen Yavorsky, p. 1581; of Demetrius of Rostoff (afterwards canonised), p. 1583; notice of Metrophanes bishop of Veronege (as having also been canonised), p. 1584; Mousin-Poushkin and (in A.D. 1711) the Senate are ordered to act conjointly with Stephen Yavorsky, or to *help* him, even in spiritual matters, p. 1585; a sermon preached by Yavorsky, 17th March A.D. 1712, is denounced to the tsar by the senators (especially by Yakoff Theod. Dolgorouky), and they forbid him to preach, ib. § xii. Collisions of Yavorsky with the tsar, p. 1587; Yavorsky holds a synod against Tveretinoff and others who had been making proselytes to Lutheranism, 24th Oct. A.D. 1714, and delivers over one man, Thoma Ivanoff, to the secular power for capital punishment; Peter's Protestant officers take great offence at this, and Peter calls Yavorksy to Petersburg to make explanations and apologies; Yavorsky writes a book against Protestantism entitled *Kamen Viери*, but Peter does not allow him to publish it, p. 1588; Yavorsky and other bishops and clergy at Moscow are, in Dec. A.D. 1709, made to sing a *Te Deum* for the birth of Peter's illegitimate daughter Elizabeth (Peter himself singing with them), and in A.D. 1712 to recognise as a valid marriage his publicly-celebrated bigamous marriage to Catherine, p. 1589; Peter sends to Yavorsky a series of seven articles to be added to the oath taken by all bishops on their consecration, p. 1590; accusations and suspicions against Yavorsky, and other causes for discontent and anxiety, A.D. 1709-1718, ib. § xiii. Stephen Yavorsky and Theophanes Procopovich, A.D. 1709-1718, p. 1591. § xiv. The affair of the tsarevich Alexis, in which, A.D. 1718, the clergy, with Yavorsky at their head, are forced to do by the grandson of the tsar Alexis as they had done by the patriarch Nicon, to join in disinheriting the tsarevich and his son and in annulling the former law of regular succession, and after that to lead the lay judges in unanimously condemning the tsarevich to death for the crimes of being like his grandfather and unlike his father, and of being their own '*only hope*,' p. 1593. § xv. Of Theophanes Procopovich, A.D. 1706-1718; he is denounced as heterodox and unfit to be made a bishop by Stephen Yavorsky and others, but the tsar overrules all objections, causes him to be consecrated, 2d June A.D. 1718, bishop of Pskoff with marks of special honour, and obliges Yavorsky to make him an apology, and to give him a kiss of peace, p. 1595. § xvi. Two answers to a memorial of certain doctors of the Sorbonne, drawn up in A.D. 1718, the one of them (which was set aside) by Stephen Yavorsky, the other (which was approved and sent by Peter to Paris) by Theophanes Procopovich, p. 1599. § xvii. Institution of a Spiritual Kollegium, instead of a personal deputy, under the tsar, to govern the Church; Theophanes Procopovich is employed to

prepare for this projected College, before its actual erection, an Organic Statute or *Spiritual Reglament*, which Peter (asking Procopovich whether it would soon be finished) calls jocosely '*our Patriarch*,' p. 1604; the *Spiritual Reglament*, as altered and approved by the tsar, 14th Feb. A.D. 1720, and read out in the Senate and subscribed by six bishops then at Petersburg, by the senators, and by Peter himself (with the omission only of such of its details as are not to our purpose), p. 1606. § xviii. An account of the composition of the *Spiritual Reglament*, written, 10th May 1720, by Theophanes Procopovich himself, p. 1633. § xix. Continuation of the history of the institution of the Spiritual College; subscription to the Spiritual Reglament is required in A.D. 1720 from the other bishops and chief heads of monasteries throughout Russia, p. 1635; oukaz of 25th Jan. 1721 for the actual institution of the Spiritual College contemplated in the Spiritual Reglament of 23d Feb. 1720, p. 1638; form of oath (recognising the tsar himself as its *Supreme Judge*) to be taken by the members of the Spiritual College, prescribed by the same oukaz, and appended to it, p. 1640; names of the *nine* persons (three bishops and six priests, all with equal voices) appointed by oukaz to be the first members of the Spiritual College, p. 1642; opening of the Spiritual College, 14th Feb. 1721, ib.; reluctance of Stephen Yavorsky to subscribe the Spiritual Reglament in Feb. 1720; according to Polevoi some (*i.e.* Yavorsky) then asked whether the patriarchate was suppressed without a word being said about it? and Peter silenced his questioners by answering angrily: '*I am your Patriarch!*' others make the answer to have been still more rough, p. 1643; at the first meeting of the Spiritual College Peter gives 'resolutions' on certain 'points' submitted to him, and in particular he gives to the College the title of the *Most Holy Governing* (or *Directing*) *Synod*, 14th Feb. 1721, p. 1645; two Supplements or Appendices to the Spiritual Reglament are drawn up by Theophanes Procopovich, by command of the tsar, and after being approved by him are published, the first in 1721, a *Judgment of the M. H. Synod*, intended to justify and facilitate the contraction of mixed marriages; the second in 1722, a body of *Rules for priests and monks*, subscribed by the members of the Synod (now *fourteen* in number, four bishops and ten priests); and to these Peter in A.D. 1724 added *by oukaz* other fresh rules still more stringent (or rather others tending to the gradual suppression of monasticism), p. 1647; Peter appoints, 11th May 1722, 'a man of resolution chosen from among the officers' with the title of *Ober-Prokuror*, 'to watch carefully and *severely* over the Synod' and to make it execute efficiently its duties, in like manner as a few days before, on the 27th Apr., he had appointed a General-Prokuror to superintend the proceedings of the Senate; and he gives an *Instruction* to the Ober-Prokuror of the Synod word for word the same with the Instruction given before to the General-Prokuror of the Senate, p. 1649; printed editions of the Spiritual Reglament, having *prefixed* the *oukaz* creating the Spiritual College or Synod and the *Oath* to be taken by its members, and *appended* the 'Points' submitted to the tsar at the first meeting of the Spiritual College and the tsar's 'Resolutions;' the Suppplement of 1722, and (in the later editions) the earlier Supplement of 1721, and other

different 'Points' and 'Resolutions' of 1721 and 1722, p. 1653; Peter institutes, A.D. 1721, spiritual fiscals corresponding to the civil, and a '*Proto-inquisitor*' or *Glavni Fiskal*, corresponding to the civil *Ober-Fiscal;* and he gives at the end of 1721 to the spiritual Chief Fiscal an Instruction word for word identical with that given previously to the civil Ober-Fiscal, p. 1654. § xx. Remarks of Voltaire on Peter's ecclesiastical innovations; Peter, he writes, thought, and used to say publicly, that the idea of *two powers* (one spiritual and the other civil) was an *absurdity;* and he observed of himself with a certain self-complacency that in *one essential* point he had surpassed Louis XIV., viz. in this, that he *had succeeded in forcing his clergy to obey him*, p. 1655.

## APPENDICES TO VOL. VI.

App. i. In connection with p. 1036 and with the account given there and at p. 1061 of Katerina Basilievska, p. 1.

App. ii. In connection with p. 1233, 1633, and 1653; and with vol. iv. p. 772, 783, 800, 853, and 1026. About punishments falling even on the third and fourth generation; participation of the Dolgorouky family both in the first persecution of the patriarch Nicon, A.D. 1658-1667, and in the later developments of state-supremacy made by Peter the Great, A.D. 1712, 1716, 1720, and 1722, and terrible vengeance which fell upon the third and fourth generation of them in A.D. 1739, ib.

App. iii. In connection with p. 1065 and p. 1067 in ch. vii., where mention is made of the murder of four Uniat monks (subjects of his ally, the King of Poland), committed by the tsar Peter and his suite at Polotsk 30th June, A.D. 1705; and with ch. viii. p. 1574-1578, where notices are given respecting Peter (1705 and 1707) from Latin sources, p. 4.

App. iv. In connection with p. 1336-1493, and with occurrences of the spring and summer of A.D. 1718. Extracts from foreign newspapers and from other contemporary correspondence, p. 12.

App. v. In connection with p. 1481, and with the death of the tsarevich Alexis, from the Secret Archives; and other contemporary documents, p. 15.

App. vi. In connection with p. 1481. Extracts from accounts of receipts and expenditure of the Secret Chancery in A.D. 1718, p. 35.

App. vii. In connection with p. 1444 and 1481. Reports among the people about Catherine, and about the death of the tsarevich Alexis; affair of Korolek, Dec. A.D. 1721 to Nov. A.D. 1723, p. 37.

App. viii. In connection with p. 1497, 1498. Contemporary accounts of the last illness and death, and of the funeral obsequies of Peter the Great, p. 40.

App. ix. In connection with ch. vi. p. 1028, ch. vii. p. 1496, and ch. viii. p. 1499-1656. An appreciation of the Russian (Greek or Eastern), by the Prussian (Latin or Western) apostasy; from a memoir by Johann Gotthilf Vockerodt, secretary to the Prussian embassy at the court of St. Petersburg, entitled: 'Illustration of some questions relating to the change which has been made in Russia during the reign of Peter I., composed in September 1737;' extracted from the *Russki Archiv*, p. 44.

App. x. In connection with p. 1542-1545 (also with p. 448 in vol. iv.,

and with Appendix xi. at the end of vol. v., p. 52-119. Of the necessity which, according to Solovieff, was felt in Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of looking to the West, or of the choice between the civilisation of Nicon and Krijanich and that of Paisius Ligarides, Peter I., and Theophanes Procopovich, p. 55.

App. xi. In connection with chapters vi. vii. and viii. in vols. v. and vi. Oustrialoff's list of sources for the history of the reign of Peter the Great, p. 58.

App. xii. In connection with p. 1526. Of the establishment (in A.D. 1685) of the Moscow Academy or University, and with it of a court of inquisition to defend Orthodoxy, under the supremacy of the tsar, p. 61.

App. xiii. In connection with p. 1526. Of the subjection of the metropolitan see and province of Kieff (in A.D. 1685), with the nine other sees west of the Dnieper formerly belonging to it, to the patriarchate of Moscow, p. 65.

App. xiv. In connection with pp. 1547, 1560, and 1577. 1. Address made to Pope Innocent XII. in April A.D. 1698 by Boris Pet. Sheremetieff, when he presented to the Pope a letter from the tsar Peter. 2. An account of another conversion to Catholicism (viz. that of the deacon Peter Artemieff) made at Moscow a few years earlier, p. 67.

App. xv. In connection with p. 1655. Extract from the present Code of the laws of the Russian empire, respecting the relation of the secular power in Russia to the 'Christian *Orthodox-Catholic* faith of the *Eastern* Confession,' and the title given to the emperor of '*Head of the Church*,' p. 71.

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Vol. I.

p. 161, line 28, *for* xxi. *read* xxii.

336 to 350, Nicon gives extracts from the *Stoglav*, which ought to have been marked by inverted commas, and by references to the printed edition of the Stoglav (St. Petersburg, 1863); but the translator, when printing Vol. I., did not possess that book.

336, line 7, 'In the year 7059,' &c. In the printed Stoglav, 'Ch. i. In the year 7059,' &c. p. 19.

336, line 24, 'rose from his throne,' &c. to p. 344, line 19, 'custom' (*Stoglav*, p. 453); 'rose from his throne,' &c. (in ch. ii.) to 'custom' (in the title of ch. iv.), ib. p. 24-36.

344, line 27, 'And in this synod,' &c. 'Ch. liii. Synodal Answer from the sacred canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers. It is not right,' &c. ib. p. 179.

345, line 8, 'a man greedy,' 'an unbeliever greedy,' &c. ib.

345, line 11, 'For thus,' &c., to the end of the paragraph 'to God,' are words of Nicon.

345, line 15, 'And respecting the same,' &c. 'Ch. liv. Of the same episcopal jurisdiction, from the sacred canons of the holy Apostles, *a second canon*. The divine scriptures, and the sacred canons, and the laws,' &c. ib. p. 180.

346, line 20, 'On the same,' &c. 'Ch. lv. Of the same episcopal jurisdiction. From the sacred canons of the Council of Chalcedon, canon ix.: If clerks,' &c. ib. p. 182.

347, line 10, 'Of the same,' &c. 'Ch. lvi. Of the same episcopal jurisdiction. Canon xv. of the Council of Carthage: Bishops,' &c. ib. p. 183.

347, line 25, 'Of the same matter, viz. &c. from the constitutions of the clxv. Fathers of the Fifth Council; for there it is written: If any one,' &c. 'Of the same: That it is not proper,' &c.; 'from the holy Council, from the constitutions of the holy clxv. Fathers, wherein it is written: If any one,' &c. ib. p. 184. The Council 'of the clxv. holy Fathers' should certainly be 'the *Fifth* Council.' But the Fifth Council made no canons; so this is an error in the text of the Stoglav, which is copied by Nicon in his *Replies*, both here and farther on, at p. 377, line 11, where he again quotes from the Stoglav the same canon. The same canon, or the substance of it, in a MS. Kormchay of the xvi. century is ascribed to the *Seventh* Council.

347, line 37, 'On the same,' &c. 'Ch. lvii. On the same. From the books of the emperor Justinian, canon 74: If any one,' &c. ib. p. 185.

348, line 5, 'And such crimes,' &c. *to* 'authorities.' This last sentence of the paragraph is not from the Stoglav.

348, line 8, 'Of the same,' &c. 'Ch. lviii. Of the same. From different titles of the same emperor Justinian, from the canons: Ch. i. Secular rulers are not,' &c. ib. p. 186.

348, line 23, 'Of the same emperor,' &c. 'Ch. lix. Of the same emperor Justinian on the same subject, canon lxxxvii.: No violence,' &c. ib. p. 187.

348, line 28, 'In like manner,' &c. 'Ch. lx. Of the same episcopal jurisdiction. The ecclesiastical constitutions of the holy and Apostle-like emperor Constantine, and of the grand prince of Kieff and all Russia Vladimir, forbid with great severity secular judges to judge the sacerdotal and the monastic orders, or to drag them by force to judgment, *being worded thus*:' ib. p. 188. For these last words Nicon substitutes 'as has been written above;' and he does not copy out from the Stoglav what follows in its next three pages (as printed in 1863), because he has himself given the same already. See *Replies*, &c. p. 207-221, and p. 327-332.

348, line 33, 'And the constitutions,' &c. 'Ch. lxi. A constitution of the religious Greek emperor Manuel Comnenus against such as wrong the holy churches. This emperor Manuel Comnenus thus legislated, and gave a writing of perpetual force: Whereas,' &c. ib. p. 192.

350, line 23, 'The exposition of the Seventh œcumenical Council: Be not ready,' &c. 'Ch. lxvi. Of the same. Canons of the holy Fathers: Be not ready,' &c. ib. p. 204. Nicon here passes over four chapters (lxii.-lxv.) of the Stoglav, containing two constitutions of Justinian and Vladimir, and two others of the metropolitan Cyprian, to avoid repetition.

Vol. I.

p. 377, line 11, 'Canon i. of the Fifth œcumenical Council: If any one,' &c. Of this quotation from the Stoglav see above the note on p. 347, line 28.

617, lines 1 and 2, 'ii. Gloss on: &c. to p. 345' should be cancelled. See above the note on p. 345, line 15.

621, line 19, the reference to the synod of A.D. 394 inserted in brackets should be cancelled, and instead of it reference should be made to the note connected above with p. 347, line 28, and p. 377, line 11.

632, line 24, after 'Blastar' *insert* '(A.D. 1335),' and in line 25 after 'Hermenopulus' *insert* '(A.D. 1362).'

634, line 12, 'lxx.' &c. Nicon of the Black Mountain or Montenegro (*Chernogorski*) is also called in the Kormchay *Ratjdski*. His work here referred to in cxxx. discourses is in many libraries, but only in manuscript.

635, line 41, 'In A.M. 6463 (A.D. 955)' would be in the time of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus and in the last year of the patriarch Theophylact, if that was the date of the grand princess Olga's coming to Constantinople.

658, line 18, *for* 'Joachim of Alexandria' *read* 'Joachim of Antioch'

659, line 2, *for* 'Alexandria' *read* 'Antioch,' and in line 3 *for* 'The patriarch of Antioch' *read* 'The patriarch of Alexandria, Sylvester,'

662, line 16, 'i. Of the first,' &c. The Donation of Constantine is given in Greek by Balsamon and Hermenopulus, and a Latin text has been published from the Vatican Archives. The Slavonic text of the Kormchay agrees more closely with the Latin than with the Greek.

668, line 4, *after* 'Alexis Mich.' *read* 'p. 245-249, 281;' and in line 19, *after* 'Abiram' read 'p. 130, 288, 293,' &c.

Vol. II.

p. xlv., line 16, *for* 'so, that is' *read* 'so, that it is.'

lv., line 3, 'from 1652 to 1686' read 'from 1652 to 1659 and 1661.'

lxix., line 31, *for* 'in the Foreign Office at Moscow' read 'in the Imperial archives.'

Vol. III.

p. 21, 'Frontispiece.' While contemplating this 'portrait of the character of Nicon sketched physiognomically' the reader may look also at the frontispiece to our vol. iv., which is from a copy of the picture here mentioned by Ligarides, a copy made after the original picture had been not very successfully restored.

22, line 17, 'a certain excellent painter, a German, named John.' There is a portrait of Nicon by this John, inscribed thus: 'Painted by the tsar's portrait-painter John Diters in the *years* (i.e. about, after) 1659.'

50, last line, and p. 51, *for* 'on the 30th day,' &c. *read* 'on the 30th day [of March, the day] of the Paschal festival, and on the first of [April] in the cathedral,' &c. From the *Razriadi Dvortsovie* (suppl. to vol. iii. p. 327) it appears that the *vlasts*, Russian and Greek, on the 1st of April 1662, for the names-day of the tsaritsa, brought their presents, of icons, cakes of bread, and sables, for the house-warming (*noroselia*), and the Greek vlasts are named thus: 'Paisius of Gaza, Sophronius of Philippopolis,' &c. Also on the 29th June (for the birth of the tsarevna Theodosia), and on the 25th Dec. (after the appointment of a commission to make extracts from the canons), and on the 12th of Feb. A.D. 1663, and on the 19th April (Easter-day) Ligarides is similarly mentioned.

52, line 13, *after* 'Church' *read* 'because that authority which our holy mother the Church has received in respect of ecclesiastical jurisdiction the Monastirski Prikaz took to itself, and both we ourselves and the rest of the bishops are according to the tsar's oukaz judged by the people of the Monastirski Prikaz.' See vol. iv. p. 115.

102, line 15, *for* 'Simeon of Polotsk (or Volotsk)' *read* 'Simon of Vologda,' and cancel all that follows with reference to this place after the word 'Vologda' in the *Additions and Corrections*.

130, line 27, 'by the most learned Simeon.' He is best known by the name of 'Simeon of Polotsk.' He was born in 1628, came to Moscow in 1664, was appointed in 1669 preceptor to the tsarevich Theodore, and died 25th Aug. 1680. See vol. v. p. 761, and vol. vi. p. 1534, 1537.

168, line 34, *for* '[really 3d]' *read* '[really on the 2d and on the 3d],' and in the Additions and Corrections of vol. iii. correct the note referring to this place by reading in it 'Sunday, the 2d Dec.' instead of 'Sat. 1st Dec.' See p. 416, 417 of vol. iii. (and correct as below), and p. 675 of vol. v.

363 to 369, Correspondence of the Metropolitan Athanasius of Iconium with the patriarch Nicon. Since this was translated from a MS. copy and printed by us, it has been printed in a somewhat better Russian text in the *Ruski Archiv* (No. 9, Moscow, 1873) from which some variations, and some corrections of our translation are given

Vol. III.

in the Appendices attached to vol. v. at the end of App. xiv. p. 151. The notice prefixed in the printed text of the *R. Archiv* stands thus: 'This Athanasius was sent from the patriarch of C.P. (Dionysius) with letters to the Tsar's Majesty and to the patriarch Nicon, praying (them) to (show) humility. The letter to the patriarch Nicon they took away, and sent him, Athanasius, into the Simonoff Monastery, whence he wrote to the patriarch Nicon these letters.'

p. 367, line 1, 'And when *he* was for the second time at C.P.,' &c. In the Russian text printed in 1873 and collated in our vol. v. Appendix xiv. p. 152, line 16, *instead of* 'he' there is the name '*Sechourski*,' which should belong rather to that patriarch of C.P. who put Ligarides into prison than to Meletius, the Greek envoy of the tsar.

416, line 2, *for* 'Dec. 1' *read* 'Dec. 2.'

417, line 30, 'The next day, Dec. 1,' &c. To correct Soloviеff's errors in this account see vol. v. p. 667-722, and App. xix. p. 191-194.

439, line 13, 'Athanasius of Iconium,' &c. His name is not printed in the *Dreva. R. Bibl.* P. vi. p. 28, but he was certainly present in the second session of the Council on Monday the 3d of December. See vol. v. p. 688.

439, line 18, 'Ananias of Mount Sinai,' In the text of the *Dreva. R. Bibl.* above referred to it is 'Ananias of Egypt.'

440, line 6, *for* 'John of Reis' *read* 'John the priest' (*Igúmen*), &c.

519, line 19, *for* 'In 1662' *read* 'In 1661, the 1st Nov., died Boris Iv. Morozoff,' &c.

521, line 24, *for* 'Pr. Greg. Koad. Cherkas ky,' &c. to 'p. 169,' *read* 'Pr. Yakoff Koud. Cherkas-sky, &c. cr. boyar in 1646: he seems to have died before the end of 1666.'

522, lines 1 and 2, *for* '1662' *read in both lines* '1661'

522, line 17, *for* 'Bas. Bas. Sheremetieff' *read* 'Basil Bor. Sheremetieff,' &c.

522, between lines 24 and 25 *insert* '14. Pr. Gregory Sounch. Cherkas-sky (mentioned by Ligarides, at p. 169, as present when Nicon appeared before the Synod on the 2d Dec. 1666): he was murdered by his own Tatars in the autumn of 1672.'

523, line 8, *after* '1670;' *add* 'beheaded, 17th Sept. 1682.'

523, line 20, *for* 'cr. 1666' *read* 'cr. 1665.'

523, line 28, *for* '1661' *read* '1658'

524, line 25, *after* '1662-1665' *add* 'd. 1673. He had a brother named like himself Theodore, who was a stolnik.'

525, line 15, *for* 'Mich. Mich. Babarikin' *read* 'Nikita Mich. Balarikin,'

529, line 24, *for* 'Dr. Samuel Collins, chaplain to the company of the English merchants,' &c., *read* 'Dr. Samuel Collins, physician to the tsar,' &c.

530, line 8, 'a second tsarevich, born June 2, 1661, after four girls together,' &c. The tsarevna Anna was born 23 Jan. 1655, Sophia 17 Sept. 1657, Ekaterina 27 Nov. 1658, and Maria 18 Jan. 1660, but the 'second tsarevich,' Theodore, who followed, was born not on the 2d June 1661, but on the 30th Dec. 1680; for it is recorded in his epitaph that he lived 21 years, 3 months, and 28 days, and that he died on the 27th Apr. 1682

531, line 32, *for* '1668, the same year,' *read* '1667, the year before that,' &c.

532, line 5, *for* 'chaplain' *read* 'doctor'

533, line 31, *for* 'chaplain' *read* 'doctor'

537, line 26, *for* 'congenial chaplain' *read* 'fellow-countryman, the tsar's doctor,' &c.

537, line 29, *for* 'chaplain' *read* 'doctor,'

Vol. IV.

p. xvi., line 23, *for* 'Vladimir' *read* 'Moscow,'

xviii., line 30, *for* 'A.D. 1696, &c. *read* '6 Oct. A.D. 1596; and if we except two, the bishops of Peremuishla and of Lemberg, who retracted their signatures, there were for above twenty years no schismatical bishops in Western Russia.'

xix., line 22, *for* 'About twenty years later,' &c. *read* 'Twenty-four years after the publication of the Union in A.D. 1696,' &c.

xix., line 30, *after* '1620' *insert* 'on the 15th Aug. O.S.,' *and for* 'and suffragan bishops of that province' *read* 'and six suffragan bishops,'

xxii., line 33, *for* 'A.D. 1619' *read* '2 Nov. O.S. in A.D. 1623'

xxiii., line 10, *for* 'and sought reconciliation in a Uniat monastery' *read* 'and early in A.D. 1627 submitted himself to the Pope, and was reconciled in his monastery of Derman by the Uniat metropolitan Rontsky.'

lxii., line 16, *for* 'A.D. 591' *read* 'A.D. 691,'

21, in foot-note 13, *for* 'MSS. corrected by Nicon' *read* 'MSS. collected by Nicon'

101, in line 1 of the foot-note, *for* 'A.D. 1656' *read* 'A.D. 1656-1657;'

284, line 29, *for* '[Joseph]' *read* '[Stephen]'

324, line 31, *for* 'by the metropolitan Pitirim' read 'according to the arbitrary will of the tsar, though it was not that year by Pitirim, but by the metropolitan of Novgorod, Macarius,'

Vol. IV.

p. 324, line 35, *after* 'Voskresensk' *insert* 'it was performed by Pitirim'

325, line 29, *for* 'repeated on Palm Sunday in A.D. 1660' *read* 'repeated, though by another actor, on Palm Sunday in A.D. 1660,'

326, line 15, *for* 'as it had been performed in A.D. 1659 and in A.D. 1660' *read* 'as it had been performed by him in A.D. 1659 and by Macarius the metropolitan of Novgorod in A.D. 1660,'

500, line 23, *for* 'Theodore Sokovnin' *read* 'Theodore Rtischeff the younger'

585, *for the foot-note*, 'Pitirim, whom Nicon,' &c. *substitute* 'Paul, whom Nicon calls metropolitan of Krontitz, though he did not acknowledge him to be *canonically* such.'

Vol. V.

p. 761, in the foot-note 3 *for* 'seemingly in A.D. 1660' *read* 'in A.D. 1664.'

853, line 31, *for* 'to Moscow and Petersburg' *read* 'to Novgorod and Petersburg,' *and after* 'Anna' *add* '(A.D. 1739).'

968, in the foot-note *for* 'Peter wrote to her' *read* 'Peter wrote of her'

972, in the foot-note *for* 'the 8th August' *read* 'on the 8th of August,'

Appendix xxiii., p. 204, line 13, 'for nearly two years, till A.D. 1660, there are no traces to be found of his having been at Court.' Bogdan Khitroff appears at Court in A.D. 1660 on the 8th of May and 9th Dec., in A.D. 1661 on the 20th of May, and in A.D. 1662 on the 28th Feb., on the 6th, 7th, 15th, and 17th March, &c.

Vol. VI.

p. 1345, in the last paragraph, *for* 'when at length in 1740' *read* 'when at length in A.D. 1741, on the 26th Nov. O.S.'

## CHAPTER VII.

PUNISHMENTS WHICH CAME UPON THE CROWN FROM ITSELF: SUICIDAL EXTINCTION OF THE DYNASTY.

A.D. 1698-1705.—*The Tsar and the Tsarevich.*

As Peter's ideas of the final end and *happiness* of man and of society were vague, and his public acts, without being directed intentionally to that end, involved the germs of an antichristian revolution and apostasy, so also in his *personal* life unreflecting wilfulness and passion led to great faults and blunders, bringing upon himself moral ruin, and upon his father's house and dynasty destruction.

Sophia had with a purpose neglected the education of her brother Peter: Peter without any purpose neglected the early education of his son Alexis. But before that he had, almost from the first, neglected his young wife; and after having had two children by her (born 19th Feb. A.D. 1690 and 23d Oct. A.D. 1691), when he was still only a youth, he seems to have ceased to live with her, and even hated her. Of this we have spoken in the preceding chapter (see pp. 967-70, and 1001, 1006, 1011).

But, again, without any deliberate purpose, of mere negligence, Peter, absorbed in his own pursuits, left with his wife their son the tsarevich Alexis till he was old enough to sympathise with his mother's wrongs. It was not till Sept. 20th in A.D. 1698, when the tsarévich was eight years and seven months old, that he was parted from his mother, two days before she was sent away to Souzdal, and was taken to Preobrajensk (Korb, p. 80). And yet Peter had had such experience in his own boyhood; and he must have remembered so well his own early impressions and resentments, occasioned by the wrongs of his own mother.

In an old Russian chronicle there is a story how the grand prince Vladimir (before his baptism) ceased to love his wife Rogneda, how she thought to kill him, and was condemned by

her husband to death. But when Vladimir went into the room where she was, to kill her, he was met by their young son Isyaslaff, who, giving a sword to Vladimir, said: 'Thinkest thou that thou art here *alone?*' Vladimir understood, and, not choosing to kill the boy too, spared Rogneda. Somewhat in the same way Peter also, when he forcibly tonsured his wife, forgot that he was *not alone*, and that there remained with him a son by her (Solov. *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 264).

As commonly happens, those who were discontented with the present looked forward to the future. Already, in A.D. 1698, such people looked with hope to Peter's heir, to the tsarevich Alexis, who, they said, 'will not be like his father.' Some of the wives of the streltsi said: 'The hossoudar sent away his tsaritsa to Souzdal; and they took her away, with only her bedchamber woman and one maidservant, through our sloboda, in a shabby carriage with bad horses: when the postelnitsa came back from Souzdal, the tsarevich was reminded of his mother, and began to fret and to cry; and the hossoudar tried to pacify him, and to persuade him not to cry. And the tsarevich followed the hossoudar out of his chambers on to the landing, and there came out after him Leo Cyr. Narishkin; and the tsarevich said to him: "Why do you come after me? I am not going to run away." The hossoudar loves the Germans, but the tsarevich hates them. There came to him, the tsarevich, a German, and said to him some words or other; and the tsarevich set fire to the clothes of that German, and scorched him. The German complained to the hossoudar; and the hossoudar said: "Why did you go near him? As long as I live, you are safe."' Nikita Kouzmin, who reported all this, said that he had heard it from the strapchi of the *khliebni dvoretz* (the bread-store or pantry-house) Basil Kostiurin (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 271).

After this Peter wished, no doubt, to educate his son so that he might carry out his own plans and commencements. Though he had had himself no law but his own will, he wished his own will to be a law to the will of his son. He wished his son to become a soldier and a sailor; to take an interest in useful sciences and arts; in material civilisation; and to serve his country 'for the achievement of *exploits* and the increase of *glory*.' Being himself what he was, he could not by a good

example teach his son self-control, or temperance, or chastity; and the son, in fact, as he grew up, reproduced his father's vices, rendered all the more disgusting and mortifying to the father by being joined with an indolent weakness instead of his father's restless energy, and with an aversion for his father's innovations. The character of the tsarevich is described by Solovieff thus:

The tsarevich Alexis by his nature represented those educated Russians who in their dislike for the activity of Peter agreed with the raskolniks, but in point of *morality were inferior* to the inhabitants of the hermitage of Vigorietz and of the woods of Kerjensk. The tsarevich was intelligent, and desirous of acquiring information in the same way that his grandfather and his uncle, the tsars Alexis and Theodore, had been; but, like them, he was slow to move; incapable of that continued activity, that unwearying movement, which distinguished his father: he was indolent physically, and so inclined to sit at home, liking to learn curious things only from books, or from conversation. Hence he liked the company of such educated Russians as were produced by the latter half of the seventeenth century; and hence he also was so much liked by them. Russia in her revolution, in her movement towards the West, went on very rapidly: in a short time she had already gone quite beyond its first stage: the tsarevich Alexis, like in character to his grandfather and his uncle, was an educated advanced Russian of the seventeenth century, a representative of the earlier stage of progress: Peter was the advanced Russian of the eighteenth century, the representative of a new stage. The father had gone ahead of the son! The son by his nature thirsted for repose, and hated all that required him to move, and to break through his ordinary habits. The father, to whom nothing was so intolerable as to sit still in the house, and to lie idle, required in the name of the existing and the future Russia from his son attention to those means which might secure to Russia the power he had acquired for her: but for this there was need of practical activity, of constant movement, which was rendered still more indispensable by the autocratic form of the government. In consequence of these requirements on the one hand, and a natural insuperable indisposition to comply with them on the other, there arose from the first painful relations between the father and the son, such relations as may exist

between *a tormentor and his victim*; for there is no greater torture for a man than to be required to change his own nature: and this is exactly what Peter required of his son (*Hist.* &c. vol. xvii. p. 126).

Peter, after removing his son to Preobrajensk, left him at first to the care of his sister Natalia and his uncle Leo Narishkin, and of such persons as they might keep or place about him, without considering—perhaps without noticing—the fact that it was not only the Miloslafsky side of his own family, or his wife and her relations, but his own maternal relations too, the Narishkins, who were—most of them—far from sympathising with his predilection for foreign manners.

On the 28th Apr. A.D. 1700 the tsarevich Alexis and his aunt the tsarevna Natalia, together with many boyars and their wives, and many ladies with their daughters from the German sloboda, were present at Voronege at the launch of the Predestination, a ship built by Peter himself.

In A.D. 1701, June 26th, Peter Golitsin, who had been sent as envoy to Vienna, wrote a report of his first audience there. But the disaster before Narva had had its effects. He wrote also that the volume published by Korb—who had been with the envoy Guarient at Moscow in A.D. 1698 and 1699, and who had described the executions of the streltsi, the drunken revels, the outbursts of violence, and the profane buffooneries which he had witnessed—had done immense harm. Two months after his arrival Golitsin was visited by father Wolff, the emperor's confessor, who suggested that the tsar should give a Russian tsarevna in marriage to the archduke Charles, then aged sixteen years; on which subject the envoy applied to his relative Theodore Golitsin for instructions; and on the 11th Oct. he acknowledged the receipt of a despatch communicating the tsar's consent. The empress wished to see portraits of the three tsarevnas, daughters of the late tsar John; and their likenesses were taken by a painter named Lebrun. The eldest of the three, Ekaterina, was then eleven years old, Anna nine, and Prascovia seven. The portrait of Anna was the most pleasing. But this project came to nothing: the archduke Charles in A.D. 1708 married the princess Elizabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel (who in A.D. 1717 bore him Maria Theresa). The empress also wished the tsar to send his son to be educated at Vienna, rather than at

Berlin, or elsewhere; and she had already spoken of this to Peter Golitsin when he wrote on the 5th Sept. A.D. 1701 to Moscow. She said that she would receive the tsarevich as her own son; and that if afterwards he were to like one of the archduchesses,[1] they would gladly give her to him (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. iv. p. 89).

On the 8th of March A.D. 1701 Peter had returned from Birgi (from his conference with the king Augustus) to Moscow; and after spending only ten days at Preobrajensk, he went to his dockyard at Voronege, where he remained three months. While he was there many ladies came to him from the German sloboda for a launch, which took place on the 29th of May.

On the third day after his return to Moscow, 18th June, there broke out a terrible fire, which consumed the greater part of the Kremlin, the prikazes with all their papers, and the monasteries, and the stone houses of the boyars, as well as the palace, from which the tsarevnas scarcely escaped. The bells fell from the belfry of Ivan Veliki, and the great bell was broken, as was also the great bell of the cathedral (ib. p. 99).

After the tsarevich Alexis had been 'taken out of the hands of the women servants,' 20th Sept. A.D. 1698, a household was appointed for him, Menshikoff being set over all. Besides his Russian 'teacher,' Nikiphor Kondrat. Viazemsky,[2] who had been about him from the age of six, and who had taught him to read and write, there was appointed later, 'for sciences and moral instruction,' a German named Neugebauer, from the university of Leipzig, who had come to Moscow in the autumn of A.D. 1699 with the Saxon envoy Carlovich, and had been recommended by him. Neugebauer claimed the title of 'hofmeister.' After he had been six months living with the tsarevich (in A.D. 1701) he complained to the tsar that the Russians insulted him, and set the tsarevich against him; and he petitioned that as hofmeister he might be empowered to give orders to them all, and

[1] Of the archduchesses, the eldest, Mary Elizabeth, was then twenty-two years old, Josepha fifteen, and Maria Magdalena thirteen, one year older than the tsarevich.

[2] Oustrialoff prints two very verbose letters from Viazemsky, informing the tsar (2d June A.D. 1696) that he has begun to teach the tsarevich, and (29th July) that the tsarevich has now learned the alphabet, and is beginning to read in the chasoslov—*i.e.* the *horologion* (*Hist.* &c. vol. vi. p. 398). The tsarevich did not respect Viazemsky, and in later years he more than once beat him.

that Viazemsky and his fellows might be transferred to other charges, and replaced by people who *had been abroad*. This petition having had no success, he wrote in A.D. 1702 to Theodore Matv. Apraxin that he could not put up with the persecutions to which he was subjected; they would not concede to him the place of hofmeister, next under Menshikoff, whom he called the 'oberhofmeister;' they set the tsarevich against him, and lived after their old disorderly fashion; they knew not what good manners were, and would not be taught by him, answering only: 'Ah! ah! you want to be hofmeister!' they insulted him on account of his religion, and would not give him flesh meat on the fast days; and they falsely reported to the tsar that he would drink for a fortnight together, and that he went very little to his pupil. At length, 23d May A.D. 1702, things came to a crisis: on that day, as they were dining, there were sitting on one side of the table the tsarevich, next to him Neugebauer, and next to Neugebauer the foreign doctor Kleim, and on the opposite side of the table Alexis Iv. Narishkin and Nikiphor Viazemsky; and there were standing in attendance the interpreter, and a soldier. When they brought the roast fowls the doctor cut them up, and put them on a dish; and the tsarevich took first a leg, and after having eaten some of it he put it down on his plate, and was going to take another piece. And Alexis Narishkin told him, in order to clear his plate, to put those pieces from which he had been eating back into the dish. Neugebauer said that the tsarevich knew better than he how to behave, since it was not usual to put bones from which one has eaten back into the dish, but people throw them to the dogs. Then the tsarevich whispered something into the ear of Alexis Narishkin ['One ought then to throw them to Neugebauer'?]; and he a minute later whispered again into the ear of the teacher Viazemsky (repeating what the tsarevich had suggested), on which Neugebauer observed: 'It is not good behaviour to whisper into one another's ears at table, before other people.' Viazemsky to this said: 'What is secret is secret, what is public is public.' Neugebauer said: 'You all know nothing, and you ought not to be here; and I will turn you all out with a blow: when I am with the tsarevich abroad, I shall know what to do.' Viazemsky said: 'Though you *were* hofmeister, you could not turn us out without an oukaz of our hossoudar and an order from Alexander Dan-

ilovich (Menshikoff): I do not take orders from you, because our superior is Alexander Danilovich, not you.' To this Neugebauer said: 'You know nothing, and all your people are barbarians;' and he abused them, repeating, 'Dogs, dogs, scoundrels (hundsfoti)!' and he threw down his knife and fork before the tsarevich, and held him by the sword. And Viazemsky said: 'What are you about? Even if you *were* hofmeister, it is not good manners so to throw down your knife and fork at table, nor to scold.' Neugebauer cried out: 'If I am *not* to be hofmeister, I care not to live!' and running off, he railed at them again, crying: 'Dogs! dogs! I'll pay you off; as God lives, that I will!' And he called them mujiks, pigs, and dogs; and as he was going out at the door, he shouted again: 'All right, you dogs, I'll pay you off!'

The tsar made order 'to dismiss Neugebauer from the service, and to let him go where he would, without any honourable discharge, because he arbitrarily called himself *hofmeister*, and called people near to the tsar barbarians, and grossly abused them.' Neugebauer kept his word: he paid them off. In A.D. 1704 he published in Germany a pamphlet entitled: '*Letter of a distinguished German officer to a privy councillor of a high potentate on the ill-treatment of the foreign officers whom the Muscovites entice into their service.*' In this he writes that the tsar and those about him treat the most honourable and gallant officers like dogs, cuffing them, beating them with sticks and knouts, &c. Neugebauer was not content with this pamphlet, but promised to publish also an exact description of the manners of the Russian people, their vices of all kinds, and how they carried off German women and children: especially he promised to give a full account of the exploits of the tsar's favourite Menshikoff with German women, to whom in consequence they gave the name of 'German she-officers.'

On the 1st Feb. A.D. 1702 Peter Golitsin wrote from Vienna to the tsar: 'They are continually asking me to obtain that you should send the portrait of your sister the tsarevna Natalia, and those of the three daughters of your brother the tsar John. More than once the empress herself has said to me that she is impatient to see those portraits. By order of the emperor, count Kaunitz said to me that he wished you would send your son to Vienna, to be instructed there: he had heard a

report that you had promised to send him to the king of Prussia, and to other places, which had much grieved the emperor. He added that if later the tsarevich liked any one of the archduchesses, the emperor would be very glad to give her to him, if you approved.' At the same time the papal nuncio told Golitsin that the pope would be glad to send a resident at his own expense to the court of Russia, and to give the tsar the title of emperor (Cæsar) of the East. The portraits were sent; and on the 26th March Peter Golitsin wrote to the imperial ministers that the tsar consented to send his son to Vienna. But there the matter ended. And at the end of A.D. 1702, or beginning of 1703, Kaunitz told Patkul at Vienna that the proposal for a matrimonial alliance had come *originally* to Vienna from the side of *Russia*.

On the 1st of Jan. A.D. 1702, near Dorpat, Boris Pet. Sheremetieff gained a first victory for the Russians over the Swedes; and for this he was made a field-marshal, and knight of the order of St. Andrew. Six months later (18th July) he gained near Pernau another victory: and after that, on Tuesday, 25th Aug., he took Marienburg, a small town on the borders of Livonia; and in it he took Catherine, who, though a woman, a foreigner, and a captive, was one day to pick up from the blood and the mud in which it had been left, and to wear, the crown of all Russia.

Marienburg surrendered upon terms, but the citadel having been blown up afterwards, the capitulation was set aside; the place was sacked, and the garrison made prisoners of war, and all the inhabitants captives. In an official report there are mentioned as taken, of people not belonging to the Swedish service, the pastor, or probst Gluck with his family, two ladies, a hundred and ninety-six widows, maidens, and children, and forty-nine servants or wives of servants, &c.

In the list of the captives the family of Gluck is described thus: 'Abt Ernest Gluck, with his wife Christina, a son Ernest, three daughters Anna, Grita (Margarita), and Christina Lisabeta, a pedagogue Yagan (Gustav Wurm), two men and two maid-servants.'

Twenty-four years afterwards, in A.D. 1726, after the death of Peter, '*Gotfried* Wurm' taught Russ at Petersburg to Weber and others; and Weber gives as from him the following account of his fellow-captive Catherine, then empress.

She was born, he said (5th April A.D. 1685), in the circle of Dorpat in the village of Ringen, the lord of which was lieutenant colonel Rosen. Her mother was a peasant girl; her father was not known. When she was three years old her mother died, and Rosen had died before. She remained with the pastor who had baptised her, and who was very poor, and had a large family of his own.

Gluck took her to Marienburg, and treated her somewhat better than a mere servant girl. When she was seventeen (in A.D. 1702) a dragoon aged twenty-two proposed for her: the major made no objection, but promised to make him a corporal; and on that Gluck too assented; and they were betrothed that same evening. Meantime the Russian army under Sheremetieff advanced within sixteen miles of Marienburg, (13th Aug.): the dragoon asked Gluck to marry them: and *some say*—so Weber writes—that after three days (on Sunday, 16th Aug.) they were married in presence of the major and three officers, and lived together eight days; *but others say* that on the very day of the wedding—during the wedding dinner ('Sunday evening,' according to Norberg; which should be on Sunday, 16th Aug.)—there was an alarm, and the bridegroom with part of the troops then in Marienburg was sent off to Riga.[3] All the garrison consisted of two hundred dragoons and two rotas of infantry. The major, who intended to blow up the citadel, suggested to Gluck and his family, who had taken refuge there (and Catherine was with them), that they had better go out betimes, with the other inhabitants, to the Russian camp. So, with his Slavonic bible in his hand, his family, Catherine, and *Gotfried* Wurm, he went out; and, showing his Slavonic bible to Sheremetieff, suggested that he might be useful as a translator. (This would be on Tuesday, 25th Aug.) Sheremetieff received him kindly, and noticing Catherine, asked who she was. Being told that she had been given to a Swedish dragoon, he said: 'That is nothing; I will take care of her; but the rest shall be sent to Moscow.' . . . Just then the citadel blew up: the major, after first drinking till he was drunk, blew himself up, with his men.

[3] Norberg continues thus: 'And on the Tuesday, after the defeat of Shlippenbach, Marienburg was burned;' which should be on Tuesday, 25th Aug., *nine* days—not, as Norberg seems to suppose, only *two* days—after the wedding, and the sudden departure of the bridegroom; for the Russians were in all *twelve* days in the neighbourhood of Marienburg before it was taken.

After a year and a half[4] there came to Sheremetieff prince Menshikoff (then in the highest favour with the tsar), who saw Catherine, and took her to himself, to the displeasure of the field-marshal: however, he kept her not in his house long: the tsar, as he was one day dining with *prince* Menshikoff, was pleased with her; and she was taken to the palace, *and called Hossoudarina*. In 1703 [really, not till A.D. 1708, after 5th Jan., but before 2d April] she was baptised according to the Russian form; and she learned Russ so well that she almost forgot her native German. She could not, however, either read or write. In A.D. 1711 the tsar named her *Tsaritsa*.

Then Weber continues thus: 'Gluck[5] founded a school at Moscow, but he did not live long. After his death the tsaritsa called his widow and children to Petersburg. The son became an assessor and kammer-yunker; the youngest daughter a fraulein to the empress; the two elder daughters were married to officers; the widow, who died *four years after* (her husband), was pensioned. The student Wurm in A.D. 1714 removed from Moscow to Petersburg, where he taught me and others the Russ. At our suggestion he threw himself at the feet of the empress: she recognised him, and cried: "So you are still living, good Wurm! I will provide for you." Wurm assured me that in Gluck's house she always conducted herself respectably and faithfully, and never in the slightest degree displeased anybody.'

[4] So it would be in Feb. A.D. 1704. Norberg writes: 'Sheremetieff kept Catherine half a year, and then she was with Menshikoff two years;' which would bring us down to Feb. A.D. 1705 before Peter took her: but she had already born two children to Peter in Oct. A.D. 1705.

[5] Gluck was born in Saxony in A.D. 1652; came to Livonia to preach in 1674; learned Lettish and Russ; translated in eight years the Bible into Lettish; in 1687 he was made probst of the circle of Kokenhauzen; in 1699 he wrote: 'I have prepared school books in Russ, and I keep in my house a Russian priest who helps me to translate the Slavonic bible into common Russ; and Golovin from Moscow encourages me.' He came to Moscow in Jan. A.D. 1703, and after two months was appointed head of a new school, for which he was to nominate the teachers. There was an allowance of 3000 rubles, and a house in the Pokrovsky, which had belonged to the deceased boyar Basil Theod. Narishkin. So Gluck removed from the German sloboda, and organised his school exactly on the Swedish model, translating himself into Russ Lutheran hymns, to be sung by all the scholars. Of his seven masters, two were Christian Gluck and *Johann Gustav* Wurm. Gluck died 5th May A.D. 1705. There is a letter of Makaroff to Golovkin, dated 24th Feb. A.D. 1724, about a pension to be paid by order of the empress to Gluck's widow, who therefore was still living at that date; and after the death of Peter there appears among Catherine's ladies (in A.D. 1726) the name '*Grita Gluckska*.'

It is strange that Weber should join together two discordant statements respecting Catherine's Swedish marriage, without even telling us which of the two was from Wurm, who on that point must have known the truth. But on points of which Wurm had no personal knowledge inaccuracies in his statement involve no difficulty. One of his inaccuracies, and that a considerable one, is capable of explanation. It may have been true that Catherine was left when only three years old with the poor pastor who had baptised her at Ringen, and it was certainly true that probst Gluck afterwards took her to Marienburg: so far Wurm was right; but it was not really *from Ringen* that Gluck took her.

Catherine, both before Peter's death, in A.D. 1722 and 1723, and later, in A.D. 1725 and 1726, caused inquiries to be made after her relations: and from official documents it appears that her mother, Dorothy, was the second of four sisters; and they had a brother named Willem Jan, a Courlander. Of the four sisters, the eldest, Catherine Elizabeth, and the youngest, Maria Anna, married two men, inhabitants of Krisburg, both of the same name, Basiliefsky; the third sister, Sophia, was married to a man named Henderberg. Dorothy, the second sister, seemingly *after the birth of catherine*, was married to a Livonian peasant of Lithuanian extraction, named Samuel Skorodovsky or Skavronsky, to whom she bore two sons, Karl and Fritz, and two daughters, Anna Dorothea, married to a husband named Euphemofsky, and Christina, whose husband's name was Heinrikoff. These, then, were half-brothers and half-sisters to Catherine. Her two brothers, Karl and Fritz, were created counts by her on the 5th of Jan. A.D. 1727; and the families Euphemofsky and Heinrikoff were similarly ennobled in A.D. 1742.

Bussy Rabutin, writing to the court of Vienna from Petersburg in A.D. 1725, makes Catherine to have been the illegitimate 'daughter of a bond-maid, afterwards *given* in marriage to a rich peasant,' to whom she bore children; and thus far his statement is corroborated by other contemporary writers, and by official documents. But if Catherine had four half-brothers and sisters younger than herself, it is plain that she could not have been 'left an orphan when only three years old by the *death* of her mother.' It may be, then, that it was the *marriage*, not the death, of her mother which caused her to be left at Ringen when she

was three years old; the lord of the manor, Rosen, who was *supposed* to be her father, having died before.[6] However that was, she was taken from Ringen to Krisburg, to the house of the youngest sister of her mother, Anna Maria Basiliefsky; and as if adopted by that aunt, she went by the name of Basiliefsky, not by that of Skavronsky, which belonged to her mother's husband and to her half-brothers and sisters: and it was from the house of her aunt Basiliefsky, at Krisburg, when she was twelve years old, and when her mother may have been dead, that she was engaged by the probst Gluck to be his servant and nursery-maid at Marienburg.

Sheremetieff, a few days after the capture of Marienburg, on the 31st of August, wrote that, having now completely devastated Livonia, he would lead back his army to their quarters at Pskoff.

On the 18th April of this year 1702 Peter, with his son the tsarevich Alexis, now twelve years old, left Moscow for Archangel, where an attack was expected from the Swedes. They had with them five battalions (above 4000 men) of the guards, and a suite of fifty persons, among whom were Cyril A. Narishkin, Menshikoff, and Shaphiroff. They were thirty days in reaching Archangel, and remained there till the 5th Aug. There the tsarevich was put into the uniform of the Preobrajensky regiment, and drilled under the eye of Menshikoff. In August the archbishop Athanasius accompanied them on their way to Solovka as far as Novodvina, whence he returned to Kholmogori, and a month later he died. In the Solovetsky monastery, on the 14th Aug., Peter granted to the archimandrite pontifical ornaments, and on the next day he officiated for the festival according to his new privilege, like a bishop, in presence of the tsar. After sailing from Solovka to the mainland, they went across by Onega to Ladoga; and Sheremetieff with his force having joined them from Pskoff, they attacked, and on the 23d Oct. took by storm Noteburg; which was a Swedish fortress on an island at the point where the Neva issues from the Ladoga lake. It was strengthened and renamed Schlüsselburg: lieutenant bombardier Menshikoff, who had shown valour, was left as governor of Schlüsselburg; and the tsarevich with his father

[6] Or dying soon afterwards, if there is any truth under this part of Bussy Rabutin's account.

returned to Moscow, and made a triumphal entry on the 26th November.

'It is from this point,' writes Oustrialoff, 'that the *public* life of Menshikoff begins; and for ten years at least (till March A.D. 1711) he enjoyed Peter's unlimited confidence.' He was born 6th Nov. A.D. 1673, and so was twenty years old when he entered the service as a bombardier in A.D. 1693. Alexander Gordon writes that his father was 'a *corporal* of the *Preobrajensky* regiment; that the tsar liked him much, and kept him always near to his person; but as long as Lefort lived he had little weight: he could scarcely write his own name.' In general Patrick Gordon's diary there is an entry, at 26th Dec. A.D. 1694, that he was saluted for Christmas by the three brothers Alexashka, Hermolaus, and Gabriel Danilovich, and Ivan Philippoff; and that he gave to Hermolaus a chervonetz (a ducat), and to the other three a dollar each. In his passport of 9th March A.D. 1697 he is described as an ouriadnik of the Preobrajensky regiment; in a list of A.D. 1698 he is a sergeant; on the 13th Feb. A.D. 1700 the tsar (who had left Moscow on the 11th for Voronege) directed a letter 'To be delivered to *Alexashka*' (*i.e.* to Menshikoff); and in the letter he wrote thus: 'Mein Herzen-kind! get all ready and put to rights in my dvor, you know for what: and get beer of the sloboda, and other beer,' &c. So Menshikoff was then already Peter's intendant for household matters. He himself (10th Feb. A.D. 1723) writes to the tsar: 'From my early years I was bred up with thy imperial majesty.' In A.D. 1701 he was a lieutenant, and always with the tsar: in A.D. 1702 he distinguished himself at the storming of Noteburg: and on the 6th Feb. A.D. 1703 Peter Golitsin wrote from Vienna to Theodore A. Golovin: 'It is long since I proposed to make Alexander Dan. Menshikoff a *Count* of *Hungary*, and to that his imperial majesty consented. Only, twice I wrote to my brother Boris, if that pleased him, to send me word; and now, on your bidding, I will complete the matter at once.' Menshikoff, about the time that he received the rank of count, being then a lieutenant, was decorated with the order of St. Andrew together with the tsar, for their capture of two Swedish vessels at the mouth of the Neva; and after that he was made [first governor of Petersburg, and then later] general governor of Ingria, Carelia, and Estland. It seems that he cared not much for the title of count; and in con-

sequence of a request[7] from him (preserved in the secret archives at Vienna), the emperor Joseph (5th May A.D. 1705) created him a *Prince* of the Roman empire, of which news reached Petersburg 13th Oct. of that year. In the same year A.D. 1705 baron Huyssen, or Gizen, being employed to refute the then recent publication of Neugebauer, writes of Menshikoff that he was 'of a noble family, well known in Lithuania, . . . his father was an *ober-officier* of the *Semenofsky* regiment; and I had many relations holding estates (*pomieshchiks*) near Minsk.' Two years and four months after he had been made a prince of the Roman empire, Peter on his birthday, 30th May A.D. 1707, at a small place called Kazimir, on the right bank of the Vistula, in the voivodstvo of Liublin, appointed 'to be *Prince of Ingria* Alexander Danilovich Menshikoff, prince of the Roman empire, by origin from a noble Lithuanian family, whom we, for the faithful services of his *father* in our *guard*, have from his early years taken to our favour, and caused to be brought up in our dvor. Distinguishing himself by his valour, and by glorious gifts of intellect and of heart surpassing all his equals, he at the siege of Azoff, both by sea and land, showed valour beyond his years, and so our grace to him was much increased. By the emperor he has been created a prince of the Roman empire, from the king of Poland he has received the order of the White Eagle, from the king of Prussia the order of Nobility. For his services at Noteburg, Nienshantz, and Narva, and for the capture of Swedish ships, we have given him the order of St. Andrew, and have made him general governor of Ingria, Carelia, and Estland: we also make him a Russian prince (a kniaz) of all Russia, minister of secret affairs, and general-in-chief of all our cavalry. For the prudent withdrawal of our troops from Grodno, and the glorious victory of (Kalisch in) A.D. 1706, a victory such as never before had been obtained in this war, and lastly *for educating our son*, we confirm him in all the titles given him by foreign sovereigns, and make him for all Russia Prince of Ingria, and give him the towns of Yainburg and Koporie as hereditary possessions. Let him be honoured, and named as Prince of the Roman and of the Russian empires, with the title of "Most Illustrious."' His own

[7] This is a Latin letter, at the end of which he signs himself 'A. M. Moschorum Cæsaris consiliarius intimus, et cumerarius, ord. S. Andr. eques, gubernator generalis Ingermanlandiæ et Carelliæ, et duarum legionum colonellus.'

arms appear in a book of A.D. 1697: afterwards, by diploma, there was to be around his shield the chain of the order of St. Andrew, and the motto 'Ob fidem et fidelitatem.' In Koporie there were given to him 2700, and in Yamburg 425 dvors. Peter's letters to him are numerous and affectionate; and Menshikoff till A.D. 1712, in writing to Peter, signs himself, without any 'slave' or 'servant,' simply 'Alexander Menshikoff;' while field-marshal Sheremetieff begins, 'Most superlatively gracious hossoudar!' and ends, 'I thy most humble servant, Borisko Sheremetieff, knock my head;' and the tsar's old governor Boris Alex. Golitsin ends, 'Thy slave (*kholop*), Borisko.' Two friends of Menshikoff were the sisters Daria and Barbara Mich. Arsenieff, who lived with other ladies at Preobrajensk in the apartments of the tsarevna Natalia. The former of the two sisters became Menshikoff's wife, 18th Aug. A.D. 1706. Many letters to them are still preserved in the archives. From Schlüsselburg in A.D. 1703 he wrote: 'Daria and Barbara Michaelovna, health to you for many years! Pray write to me of your health,' &c. Again: 'I thank you for your unfeigned love for me, and for your affectionate present, Daria for a shirt and a diamond heart, Barbara for some neckcloths.' He had three sisters—Martha, who married major-general A. A. Golovin; Anna, who married later count A. E. Devier; and Tatiana. On the 19th July A.D. 1704 he writes from before Narva to his sisters and friends; and 19th March A.D. 1705 to his sister Anna and their friends Daria and Barbara Mich. Arsenieff to come, as they wished, to him to Smolensk, where he will meet them; but if they no longer wish to come, or fear a thaw, to send to him Catherine Troubacheva and two maidservants, but rather to come themselves. And 21st Aug. A.D. 1705 Gabriel Golovkin writes to Menshikoff: 'My wife has written to me from Moscow that thy sister Anna Danilovna with Daria Michaëlovna and the rest have arrived at Moscow, all well.'

The contrast between the two favourites of Peter's youth and maturity, Lefort and Menshikoff, is remarkable: the one older than Peter, a frank and faithful friend and servant, as well as a boon companion; the other, of Peter's own age, congenial and attractive, but a rogue: the one, though irreverent and profligate, a gentleman; the other not free from superstition, and the very ideal of a clever slave: the one declining to cut off heads,

and holding Peter's hand from striking his sister; the other proud of his agility in butchering the streltsi, and helping Peter to murder his own son: the one interfering in no public matters, nor seeking to hurt any man; the other an unscrupulous courtier and intriguer: the one good-natured, affable, and of modest demeanour; the other haughty, arrogant, and overbearing: the one content with the tsar's favours to him, and liberal; the other corrupt, rapacious, and oppressive: the one never deserving to lose, nor losing, the tsar's friendship and favour; the other more than once pardoned and warned, cringing like a hound under the lash, but incorrigible, and losing favour many years before Peter's death: the one popular, with no enemy but himself; the other hated by all Russia, and especially by the nobles of old families, whom he eclipsed: the one showing no great talent for military or naval or administrative work, nor interesting himself in such service more than was required by his position, a practical epicurean; the other, though originally uneducated, diligent to improve all opportunities, developing great talents, and making himself so useful to his master as to be even called by him his 'colleague.' Yet with all this, it was Lefort who spiritually and morally formed, or rather ruined, Peter; while it was Peter who materially formed Menshikoff. Menshikoff was the most prominent—like a giant among ordinary people—of all that generation of public men (all, without exception, unprincipled and corrupt, and destitute of self-respect) who have been called Peter's nurslings, or '*chickens*.'

A.D. 1703.

On the 21st March A.D. 1703 Peter was again at Schlüsselburg, and again he had with him his son the tsarevich, for whose education a plan was now drawn up in Latin by the baron Henry Von Huyssen, or Gizen.

Huyssen had studied in the best German universities, and was a doctor of laws; he had already been in the imperial, French, Danish, Dutch, and Polish services, when he was engaged by Patkul to enter the service of the tsar. By a patent signed 23d July A.D. 1702, Huyssen, then aged thirty-four, was to be attached, with his existing rank of general-auditor, to that Russian corps which was commanded by a foreign lieutenant field-marshal, and was to receive as his pay 150 rubles a

month.' He was (1) to seek out and engage such foreigners of various grades and qualifications as were wanted for the Russian service (especially such as spoke Polish or Bohemian); (2) to translate, print, and publish the tsar's military constitutions; (3) to engage literary men of note to dedicate some of their works to the tsar or to members of his family, and to write in a laudatory style about Russia; and (4) to negotiate for Russia with other nations a postal convention. It was now proposed, seemingly by Menshikoff, to make him instructor to the tsarevich, in place of Neugebauer, who had been dismissed; and the tsar even named him in his oukaz—so he wrote afterwards himself—'*ober*-hofmeister,' with a salary of 1000 rubles, as if placing the education of the tsarevich entirely under him. But he, unlike Neugebauer, 'feared to take upon himself so great a responsibility; and proposed for this title and office the *prince* Alexander (Menshikoff), under whose directions he would gladly be, saying that he could not take upon himself so great a responsibility. And this arrangement was approved.'

So Huyssen drew up a '*Methodus Instructionis*,' &c., in nine sections, to fix his own duties. In section i. it was stated that 'Since *the true fear of God* is the beginning of all wisdom, the first and chief point is to root this in the hearts of rulers from their earliest years, and to teach them that they receive their office from God, and will have to render a strict account to Him. But since the teacher in this case is of another Church, it cannot be his office to superintend the doctrinal instruction of the tsarevich, and he must leave that altogether to others. ii. However, he must keep before his eyes the extreme importance of the charge put upon him of forming the moral character of the tsarevich, on which depends his own personal happiness, temporal and eternal, and the welfare of so many millions of souls of his future subjects, and the advantage of all Christendom. So he must diligently teach those virtues and habits which are most necessary for a prince, as the fear of God, zeal for justice, good faith, &c. iii. In like manner he should labour to inspire the tsarevich with an aversion and loathing for all that is bad in the sight of God and of men,[*] setting before him the terrible consequences (viz. remorse of conscience, temporal calamities, and eternal punishment), with examples from history, sacred and

[*] *e.g.* irreverence, drunkenness, and other immorality.

profane; and to this end he should carefully guard his highness against *bad company*, and such as may do him harm by immoral habits, bad principles, and bad conversation. iv. Also it is his duty to keep an eye over all those persons who may be in any way about the person of his highness or in his service, that they behave well and virtuously, and do not waste time in idleness; especially those boys, sons of gentlemen, who are at the court of his highness. v. When he finds any fault needing correction, he must first speak of it, discreetly, kindly, and respectfully, in private, using rather reason than sharp reproof; and if these methods fail, or if there is disobedience, he must leave farther admonition to his excellency the oberhofmeister (*i.e.* Menshikoff). vi. In all this he must keep in mind that he is under the direction of his excellency the oberhofmeister, and in immediate relation with him; and for all orders and help that he finds needful or desirable, and for all correction of those employed about the tsarevich, when his own virtuous and friendly instructions fail, he is to look to him. vii. As regards the instruction itself: 1. The tsarevich must be continually exercised in reading and writing in Russian, and especially in reading all sorts of handwriting, in the afternoon. 2. The first thing in the morning before other work, and the last thing after his other work at night, he is to read a chapter of the Bible, and in this way to read the whole of the Old Testament through once, and the New Testament twice. 3. *French* is recommended as the vehicle of instruction, and to be spoken also at other times; and to this end it will be well to place about the tsarevich some servants who know French well. 4. As soon as he has learned a sufficiency of French, and can read it, he should be led to amuse himself, at free hours, with coloured maps, as an introduction to geography. 5. Also in hours of recreation he may be gradually taught the use of the globes, and of the compass, and be told of the importance of geometry and arithmetic. 6. Fencing too, dancing, and riding. 7. And that he may not be bored, nor be without some amusements, he may amuse himself in moderation with backgammon and with tennis. Section viii. Thus in six months he may be brought to speak and read French: and then a foundation for solid work may be laid thus: 1. Bounon's *Idea of General History*, with the continuation, may be translated into French, and printed in Holland. Then we may

have Puffendorf's *Introduction to the History of the chief States of Europe*. And on all the days on which the post arrives, the French newspapers (*courants*) and the bi-monthly *Historical Mercury* should be carefully read, and the reading of them accompanied by political, geographical, and moral hints, in the way of conversation. And some good author should be chosen to assist the study of geography, and the use of the globes, that his highness may be well grounded in history and geography, as the true basis for political science. 2. Blondel's Geometry (in usum Delphini), or Oznam's works, and Arithmetic of whole numbers and of decimals, and other parts of mathematics: and he should be taught how to draw figures. 3. Every two days, to learn composition, he should write a letter on some subject, and in writing it exercise himself also in calligraphy. 4. Also Puffendorf's little book, *On the Duty of a Man and a Citizen*, might be translated into French, and printed in Holland, as an introduction to the *Jus Gentium*, and as a preparation for Grotius or Puffendorf on *Natural Right* and *Civil Right*, from which the basis of all rights, and especially of that of war and peace which is respected by existing states, may be learned. 5. Then the book entitled *Le Droit Civil dans l'ordre naturel* will be very useful. 6. The *Symbols* of Saveder and the *Telemaque* are particularly to be recommended. 7. Also military exercises, the handling of arms, and tactics are to be taught. 8. Above all, care must be taken to have fixed hours, both for the lessons and for everything else: and geometry, geography, and exercises, military or other, had best be in the afternoon. Section ix. All this work may be got through in two years: and then his highness may complete his studies in the sciences so far as is suitable for such a prince, generally: 1. Of all political matters in the world. 2. Of the true interest of *this* empire, the history of these realms, and what may most make to their prosperity, development, and extension. 3. Of the interests of all the potentates in Europe, especially of those which border on this empire, and their resources. 4. Of rules or maxims of government accepted by all wise governments. 5. Of all needful military knowledge, as of fortification, artillery, rules for attack and defence of fortresses, of battles, military rules and stratagems, &c.; also of civil architecture, of navigation, *or whatever at that time his highness may show a turn for*.

'And to this end it will be well to begin at once to form for his Highness a private library of the best books on all these different subjects, which may easily be found in France and in Holland.

'This paper is now given to the preceptor as a Direction, which may be altered and added to according to circumstances. And it is hoped that in the execution of the charge here laid upon him he will always act according to his office and duty, that so the above-mentioned studies may attain their end.'

This 'Plan of Instruction,' which we have here abridged, having been translated into Russ by Shaphiroff, was approved by Peter, and signed by him, before the capture of Nienshantz, at Schlüsselburg, on the 22d of April.

Sheremetieff having joined with his troops from Pskoff, the Russians in April moved from Schlüsselburg down the right bank of the Neva, and attacked the small earthen fort of Kantsi or Nienshantz, situate at the confluence of the Ochta with the Neva. Opposite, on the other side of the Ochta, there was a village of four hundred log houses. On the evening of the 30th Apr. they began to bombard, and on the 1st of May the place surrendered, and was renamed Shlotburg. But on the evening of the next day there came in sight some ships of the enemy; and on the 5th two Swedish vessels, a *shnava* and a large *bot*, not knowing what had occurred, entered the mouth of the Neva. The captain of bombardiers Peter Michaeloff, and his lieutenant Menshikoff, with the two regiments of the guards, and thirty small vessels, crept up to the enemies, cut them off from the sea side, surrounded, boarded, and took them (7th May), though the Swedes had cannons and the Russians had not. There were about eighty men in the two captured vessels: but as they were too slow in crying out for quarter, only thirteen of them were taken alive. Peter wrote to the Kniaz-Cesar that only eight of his small vessels were actually engaged: 'and on this *unprecedented victory* I congratulate your grace.'

Peter and his company were in raptures, like children at their first success in anything, or at their first reward. They had taken two vessels of war, an unprecedented victory! For this victory the captain Peter and his lieutenant were made knights of the order of St. Andrew. At Voronege, in the rejoicings made by his companions, there began the usual battle

between the foreign Bacchus and the indigenous Ivashko Khmielnitsky, and Ivashko had the best of it.

Peter was now at the sea. Congratulating him on the capture of Kantsi, Vinius wrote that 'this town opens a wide gate to you for innumerable advantages.'

Peter thought at first of enlarging Kantsi; but he soon preferred another site, a little lower down, on one of the islands of the Neva, on which to found 'a Russian Amsterdam.' On the 16th May, the feast of Pentecost, they began to found the fortress of Petersburg, a wooden church of SS. Peter and Paul, four 'lines' of houses for the commandant and his soldiers, a small house of two rooms and a kitchen for Peter, and for Menshikoff one much larger, in which the tsar was to give banquets and to hold councils. Forty thousand labourers were set to work.

The earliest letter of the tsarevich to his father of those which have been printed is dated 22d Aug. A.D. 1703 from Petersburg. He marks the paper first with a cross, and then writes in the fewest possible words asking after his father's health.

Meanwhile in August Sheremetieff had reduced Koporie and Yamburg, and overran all the open country of Esthonia. In October Peter, having gone previously to inspect his shipbuilding works at Olonetz and Ladeino-polie, returned on board the Standard frigate, the first Russian man-of-war to appear in the Baltic. He ordered a fort to be built on the island of Kotlin, at the mouth of the gulf; and leaving Renn as military commandant and Menshikoff as governor at Petersburg, he on the 10th Nov. reëntered Moscow.

In the triumphal entry Sheremetieff, Repnin, and Bruce, seated in carriages, were followed on foot by captain Peter Alexievich, with his company of the Preobrajensky guards, in which the tsarevich appeared in his uniform as a private. There were three triumphal arches; and banquets and fireworks at Preobrajensk: and the tsar said to the Swedish envoy (detained since the breaking out of the war at Moscow) that now he was quite ready to make peace, as he had regained all those ancient possessions of Russia the cession of which he had demanded.

After the triumph, in Nov. A.D. 1703, the tsar, in presence

of the tsarevich and different ministers (Menshikoff and Golovin), said to Huyssen: 'Knowing your good qualities and your good conduct, I intrust to you my only son and the heir of my empire, to be taken care of and to be educated by you. I could not better show you my esteem than by committing to your charge this pledge of the prosperity of the empire. I cannot do anything better either for myself or for my empire than by providing for the education of my heir. I cannot myself see after him; I commit him to you, knowing that it is not so much books as *example* which is *needed* for his guidance.'

A.D. 1704.

From Moscow early in A.D. 1704 Peter went to Voronege, and while there he himself made a model of the fort which he wished to have erected on the island of Kotlin, and sent it by 'the governor Menshikoff.'

In A.D. 1703 the tsaritsa Eudocia wrote to Moscow to the boyar Tichon Streshneff praying him to intercede for her with her husband, so that he might be again gracious to her. She also wrote to her brother Abram Lopouchin, with his wife her sister-in-law, to send to her a certain man-servant. She wrote: 'I know not why I am thus ill-treated; my life is bitter—bitter; it had been better for me not to have been born,' &c.

In Jan. A.D. 1704 the tsaritsa Eudocia became very ill; and on the 26th of that month the hegoumina Prascovia wrote to Moscow to Streshneff to report this, and to ask for instructions in case of her death. 'She scarcely speaks,' so they wrote, 'and she has been confessed, and communicated and anointed. . . . She wishes us to write and to ask that she may be allowed to see her brother before dying.' The tsarevich Alexis, probably in consequence of having been informed of her illness, went *secretly* to Souzdal to see her. This would be while his father was absent from Moscow.

The tsar while it was still winter went to Olonetz, and on the 19th March he was already at Petersburg. The tsarevich too went in March with Huyssen to Petersburg, and thence to Cronstadt; and afterwards, from the opening of the campaign (21st May), they were with the army and in the camp before Narva.

At Petersburg in the spring of this year Peter consecrated

a wooden church in the fortress, and saw with joy the arrival of the first foreign ships. Narva and Dorpat (26th-30th May) were besieged and taken, Dorpat on the 13th July, Narva on the 9th August, nominally by Sheremetieff and by Ogilvie, but in truth by the tsar himself. Ivan-gorod, which belonged to Narva, but was separately fortified, surrendered on the 16th.

From Narva on the 10th Oct. Peter went, with all his ministers and 'generalitet,' to Dorpat, to show them the fortifications, arriving there on the 28th: and after that he himself went to Pskoff and Novgorod, and to Ladeino-polie, whence 1st-5th Nov.) he brought down sixteen new vessels: he founded the admiralty at Petersburg; and giving the military and naval command to general Bruce and admiral Kruze, he returned to Narva, arriving there on the 12th November. There he received a Turkish envoy announcing the accession of a new sultan. On the 6th Dec. he returned to Moscow, where on the 14th Dec. general Ogilvie triumphed, and Peter followed on foot with his company and with the tsarevich, as the year before. 'There were triumphal arches'—Huyssen writes—'and nearly all the houses were illuminated, with great inscriptions. The tsar went about the streets with the most distinguished of his generals to the sound of music, with the beating of drums, and with chanters. After having inspected everything, he came to the headquarters of general Ogilvie, and there said to the tsarevich:

"My son! we thank God for the victory gained over the enemy. Victories are from the Lord; but we ought not on that account to be remiss: on the contrary, we ought to use all possible efforts to obtain them. For this reason I took you to the campaign, that you might see that I do not fear either labours or dangers. Since I, as a mortal man, may die either to-day or to-morrow, you ought to feel that you will have little cause for joy if you do not follow my example. You ought at your age to love everything which makes towards the welfare and the honour of your country, all faithful counsellors and servants, whether they be foreigners or of your own people, and not spare any kind of labours for the common good. As it is impossible for me to be always with you, I have put with you a man who will lead you towards all that is good and laudable. If you, as I hope you may, will follow my paternal advice, and *take for the*

*rule of your life the fear of God*, justice, and virtue, you will always have upon you the blessing of God. But if my advice goes to the winds, and you will not do what I wish, I do not acknowledge you for my son: I will pray God to punish you in this life and in the life to come."

'The tsarevich, with tears in his eyes, caught the hands of the tsar, kissed them, and pressed them with sorrow, and said: "Most all-gracious hossoudar-batushka (papa)! I am still too young, and I do what I can. But I assure your majesty that I, as an obedient son, will endeavour with all my might to imitate your acts and *example*. God preserve you for many years in constant health, that I may long rejoice in *so distinguished* a father!"' Such is Huyssen's account. But the written programme for the tsarevich's education was very poorly carried out. For piety and morality—the main thing—he had the *examples* of his father and his oberhofmeister; and Huyssen in A.D. 1705 was wanted for other seemingly more important work, or work of which he was more capable, than the education of a prince who had before him such *examples*.[9] He was sent to Germany with certain 'special commissions,' one of which was this: he was to write in defence of the tsar's personal reputation and that of his favourites, and his government, against Neugebauer's publication of that same year (1705). And so accordingly in A.D. 1706 Huyssen published a *Reply*, &c. In this (1) he defended Menshikoff against the imputation of being a man of low origin; (2) he explained how the Mons family had been raised by Lefort, and recommended by him to the tsar, and how by their misconduct they had deserved to be disgraced, and to have their estates confiscated; and (3) he denied that the tsarevich was treated disrespectfully by Menshikoff and the ministers: 'On the contrary,' he writes, 'he is treated

[9] Huyssen seems to have taken warning from the experience of his predecessor. He was as complaisant as the other had been independent. His report at this time of the tsarevich's progress in learning—though not even the foundation suggested by himself was yet laid—is amusing: According to him, 'the tsarevich had read through the Bible six times—five times in Slavonic, and once in German: he had read all the Greek fathers of the Church, and all the spiritual and secular books which had been ever translated into Slavonic: he spoke German and French, and wrote well: he had intelligence beyond his years, and was gentle, meek, and pious' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xvii. p. 128). Having made already such wonderful progress, he might be left to himself and to Viazemsky for two or three years, if Huyssen was wanted for something else.

with all respect; only it is true that the tsar *has ordered them not to flatter him*;' and lastly (4), he blackened the character of Neugebauer; who speedily replied with a fresh pamphlet. Huyssen also carried from the tsar to Berlin condolences on the death of the queen of Prussia, and to Vienna congratulations on the accession of the emperor Joseph. After the forced abdication of Augustus II. (A.D. 1707) he offered the crown of Poland to prince Eugene; he negotiated with Ragoza for his submission to the emperor; and, according to his own account, he first suggested (in A.D. 1707) the idea of marrying the tsarevich to the princess Carlotta of Wolfenbuttel, then only thirteen years old. It was not till October A.D. 1708 that he returned to Russia.

In the spring of A.D. 1704 probably it was—after the tsarevich had been secretly to Souzdal to see his mother—that the priest Yakoff Ignatieff, then attached to the sobor of the Archangel, became his confessor. For Alexis Narishkin wrote in July of A.D. 1704 to Yakoff Ignatieff thus: 'Be so good as to write to your recently-made spiritual son to be more diligent in prayer; though it is now very well, it must be better still.' And when questioned in A.D. 1721 about these words, he said that *he* had not recommended the confessor, nor had he known him previously: the tsarevich had chosen him of himself. Hence we may guess that the tsarevich had some particular reason for choosing that confessor. In fact, Yakoff Ignatieff was by origin from Vladimir or Souzdal, a relation and a friend from childhood of the archimandrite of the Spass-Euthymieff monastery at Souzdal, Dositheus, who in A.D. 1710 succeeded Demetrius as bishop of Rostoff. And it was in the Pokrovsky convent at Souzdal that the mother of the tsarevich was living in confinement. It may be inferred then that the choice of his confessor was suggested to the tsarevich either at Souzdal or from Souzdal: and the first of those letters of the tsarevich to his confessor which have been printed show him to have been in relations, through his confessor, with a carrier or yamshchik of Vladimir named Tezikoff, who used to bring and take letters from and to the tsaritsa Eudocia. The letter in question is written from Preobrajensk, 16th March A.D. 1706: 'When you want me to see hospodin Tezikoff be so good as to send me word at once.'

As we have now spoken of the confessor, we will say something also of those other persons who from about this time, or a little later, stand out, and form a group or 'compania' of friends around the tsarevich—a group in which the confessor is the central figure. The members of this company all understood one another; they had the same general sympathies and antipathies, which they dissembled before others from fear and caution, looking forward with hope to the future. Here, as in a number of other points, the life of the son, in spite of its contrasts, exhibits a certain parallelism, sometimes a plain imitation of that of the father. Only the companions of Peter's youth were outdoor companions, playing at soldiers; and so they were much more numerous: his son's 'compania' was more like a domestic indoor club. The father's 'company' contained the seed of an irreligious Germanizing revolution; the son's seemed to look forward to a national and not irreligious, though not either a truly religious, reaction: the father's had a leader already possessed of sovereignty, and so its bearing was open and aggressive; the son's was strong in the wide-spread dissatisfaction of the people and the clergy; but having only the chance of a future reign, it was secret and guarded. In both there was among the members a tone of goodfellowship inconsistent with the old forms of Russian life, something levelling, really levelling for the rest, but levelling only in appearance for the leader; for a tsar, and even a tsarevich, could only play at equality. Both companies, that of the father and that of the son alike, had their banquets[10] and compotations, not free from drunkenness and its accompaniments. In both there was a certain jocoseness; though the influence of foreign Protestant votaries of Bacchus and Venus gave a profane turn to the buffooneries of Peter's company not reproduced in that of his son: in both, finally, there were nicknames; in Peter's a mock Cesar or emperor, and a mock patriarch;[11] in his son's the nicknames were more numerous, but only 'for domestic fun,' and there were no ecclesiastical or political allusions.

First, there were in the company four or five Narishkins, viz. Basil Gregorievich, or *Blagodietel* (*i.e.* the benefactor);

[10] 'Here we may see, I think,' Pogodin writes, 'an imitation of the banquets of Peter himself, though they did not love him.'

[11] After 1700, when there was no Muscovite patriarch, it was a mock *Pope*.

Andrew Theodorovich, or *Satan*; Alexis Ivanovich, or *Zasipka*; and Ivan Ivanovich, or *Moloch*; then Nikiphor Kondrat. Viazemsky, or *Ouchitel* (*i.e.* the teacher); Basil Iv. Kolicheff, husband of the nurse of the tsarevich Martha Athanasievna; Theodore Boris. Everlakoff, or *Jibanda*, the house-steward and podiak or secretary, who could speak Latin; the confessor Yakoff Ignatieff, whose son-in-law Peter Iv. Anthimoff, from being a diak under the Kniaz-Cesar Theodore Romodanofsky, became intendant of the Porietskoe estate of the tsarevich in the government of Moscow; and another son-in-law, Stephen Artemieff Volkoff, who in A.D. 1714 married a younger daughter, is mentioned later; the priest Ivan Athanasieff,[12] or *Zachliushka*, kliuchar of the sobor of the Annunciation in the Kremlin; the protopope Alexis, or *Grach*; Leonti Gregorieff, or *Leonid*, priest of the Griaznaia sloboda; Hilarion, or *Goloubchik* (*i.e.* the pigeon), bishop of Kroutitz.[13] There occur also in the letters seized in A.D. 1718, or afterwards, other nicknames, of which Alexis Narishkin, when examined in A.D. 1721, could not say to whom they belonged, as *Judas*, and *father Korova* (who seems the same as father Joseph, archimandrite of the Pokrovsky, who in A.D. 1711 became archbishop of Vologda). One which occurs very often is *Ad*, whom the tsarevich calls 'brother *Ad*,' and 'dear brother *Ad*.' Alexis Narishkin in A.D. 1721 said that *Ad* was Basil Iv. Kolicheff, the husband of the nurse; but that could not be; for *Ad's marriage* is mentioned at the end of A.D. 1708, while the nurse, the wife of Basil Kolicheff, was still living in A.D. 1716. Perhaps *Ad* was nearly connected with the nurse, or with her husband. There occur also female names, as Basilissa Euphemievna of Kazan, who had been about the grandmother of the tsarevich the tsaritsa Natalia; Aquilina, daughter of father Joseph above mentioned; the mother of the

[12] Brought from the sobor at Vladimir to be priest at the sobor of the Annunciation at Moscow by the tsar Theodore, 7th April A.D. 1677. In May 1692 he was by oukaz of the tsars John and Peter made kliuchar. He had escaped—thanks to the endurance of the confessor—who, though repeatedly and most severely tortured during a year before he was executed, named nobody—but when the unlucky garrulity of the confessor's nephew, Simeon Ivanoff, in A.D. 1720, had led to the discovery of the tsarevich's letters, both the kliuchar, then aged eighty, and many others were arrested and punished.

[13] From A.D. 1703 to 27th March or Aug. A.D. 1711, when he was made metropolitan of Bielgorod: he had been before archimandrite of Troïtsa (*Hist. of the Russ. Hierarchy*).

confessor, Prascovia Nikitichna; his wife Euphemia Ivanovna, whom they called *Pater;* and his two daughters, whose husbands have been named above, Anastasia and Anna. Later, after the tsarevich had begun to live at Petersburg, we find the names of two brothers both named Ivan Athanasievich, major and minor, and that of Ivan Kikin (after A.D. 1715) among his servants; and among his friends those of Alexander Kikin (brother of Ivan), Basil Vlad. Dolgorouky, the tsarevich of Siberia, and the tsarevna Maria Alexievna.

There are letters of A.D. 1704 dated from the baggage before Rougodev or Narva, and from Narva itself. Four are to the confessor from Alexis Narishkin, the first dated on the 17th June, and the last on the 1st Dec., when they were leaving for Moscow. From the tsarevich himself there are nine letters to his nurse, all the briefest possible, as: 'Nurse,' or 'Martha Athanasievna, health to you, and to Basil Ivanovich, for ever! Thanks for your letter; I hope you will write again.' Or, still shorter: 'Nurse, health to you! I am alive, Alexis.' And ten letters (24th June to 14th Nov.) from Viazemsky to Yakoff Ignatieff, who was confessor to Viazemsky as well as to the tsarevich. From these letters it appears that the tsarevich also during the same time wrote letters to his confessor, but that they were always enclosed in others addressed to the kliuchar of the Annunciation. In No. 6, on the 13th Aug., Viazemsky writes: 'On the 9th our hossoudar took Rougodev by assault in three-quarters of an hour; two stone precincts, and a third of earth, extremely strong, and rich, and admirably well built. In the two stone towns there is no wooden building whatever; the houses are glorious, all of stone; and in the earthen town they are supplanting the wooden ones: the streets too are all paved with stone. In Russia there is nothing like it except at Moscow.' In No. 9, of the 3d Oct., he writes: 'We here in Rougodev are expecting the tsar.' On the back of another, of the 7th Nov. from Narva, which contains the words, 'We are living in Narva, and daily expecting the hossoudar,' the tsarevich has written: 'Batushka! pray tell all those for whom there are letters from me in the packet directed for you to Ivan Athanasievich not to write to me any more: *you know why:* pray that all may be finished soon; and I think that it will not be long. Please not to show this letter to any one, except the kliuchar; and tell him

not to speak of it to any one; and to others say it verbally in conversation, not as a direct message, but as a guess of your own, and let this that I have written be secret.'

In A.D. 1701 Peter's connection with Anna Mons came to an end. According to Guarient, she had already a liaison with Lefort when Lefort (about A.D. 1692 or 1693) brought Peter into relations with her, and she became the mistress at once of both the friends (Oustrialoff, vol. iii. app. x. p. 621). And after her death, in Aug. A.D. 1714, there appear in the list of her jewels (valued at 5740 rubles) presents made by Lefort, as well as those made by Peter and Keyserling.

Peter's passion for Anna Mons was violent, and lasted long; but it by no means excluded other immoralities. In the year 1703 or 1704 there were in the palace of Preobrajensk, as if in the suite of the tsarevna Natalia, a number of young ladies belonging, like others of the German sloboda, to 'our compania,' living on terms of fellowship and close familiarity both with one another, with Menshikoff, now the director of the tsar's household, and with the tsar himself. There were two sisters of Menshikoff, Maria and Anna Danilovna; two other sisters, Daria and Barbara Michaelovna Arsenieff; Anisia Cyr. Tolstoy; and Catherine *Basilief'sky* (afterwards *Michaeloff*), whose connection with Peter cannot well have begun later than February in A.D. 1704.

Both Peter's two favourites, Lefort and Menshikoff, brought him into connection with a mistress who had a long-continued influence over him. But there were these differences: that Lefort in what he did sought only to gratify Peter, while Menshikoff had an eye to his own interest: and that Anna Mons, who was hard and covetous, only feigned to return Peter's affection; while Catherine, who was good-natured and liberal, attached herself to her master, and rendered him valuable services.

It has been asserted by some that Anna Mons had an intimacy with Königsek the Saxon envoy, who, after entering the Russian service, was drowned, with two others (one of them, the doctor Kleim, physician to the tsarevich), at Schlüsselburg; and that Peter discovered from papers found on the body of Königsek the infidelity of his mistress.[1] But the regret for the

[1] Such is the account given from hearsay in the *Letters of Lady Rondo*,

loss of Königsek expressed by Peter in a letter written from Schlüsselburg on the 15th April A.D. 1703, just after the accident, would of itself discredit this story; and, besides that, it is certain that the disgrace of Anna Mons did not take place for some time after the above-mentioned date. In A.D. 1703 Peter gave her a large estate, of 295 dvors, called Diudino; and there is a letter of hers about this dated 11th Sept. A.D. 1703, and directed to him to Ladeino-polie. And on the 10th Oct. her close friend Helena Fademrecht could still write to Peter thus: 'To my dear friend, my dearest black-browed, black-eyed boy,[15] my dear vostrechók! I salute thee, my dearest boy, on the present victory given by God, by thy fortune, and by my *maternal* prayers.' Fademrecht in A.D. 1705 directed the posts under Shaphiroff; and it was in his house, according to Neugebauer, that the tsar's meetings with Anna Mons used to take place. However, his meetings with her were afterwards less secret, when he had built her a stone house at the expense of the government near to the Lutheran church. A German says in the sloboda to the mistress of the apothek, named Yakimova: 'I had to take a Hungarian cloak to the foreigner Miss Anna Mons, and I saw in her bedroom the bed: it had gold hangings!' To which the woman replied, interrupting him: 'That which you saw is not *the* bed! there's another besides that, in another room, which is used by the hossoudar: that is where he sleeps,' &c. And a prisoner named Vanka Borliut in the Preobrajensky prikaz exclaimed to a fellow prisoner: 'What sort of a hossoudar is he? he is a heathen! On Wednesdays and Fridays he eats flesh-meat and frogs (*lagoushki*) . . . he has banished and imprisoned his tsaritsa, and he lives with the foreigner Anna Mons' (Semevsky, *Of the Mons Family*, p. 15).

Alexander Gordon writes that 'Anna Mons, with all her beauty and good fortune, lacked discretion: she was so stupid as to accept an offer of marriage made to her in A.D. 1704 by the Prussian envoy Keyserling: and Menshikoff, who was wishing above all things to detach Peter from her, very readily undertook to plead for Keyserling. But he dealt first through Adam Weyde with Anna Mons, telling Weyde that he could do

written fifteen years afterwards. Her fable began perhaps from some confusion of Keyserling with Königsek, of the Prussian with the Saxon envoy.

[15] '*Sinochka*,' an endearing diminutive of *sin*, son: '*vostrechók*,' a young spark, something like the Greek '*palikari*.'

nothing to oblige Keyserling unless he were assured *in writing* that the lady herself desired it: and so he cunningly got into his hands a note from her to Weyde acknowledging herself willing, if the tsar gave his permission. He then took the first opportunity of joking Peter on his belief that Anna Mons really cared for him; and when Peter strongly insisted that she did, Menshikoff produced the note, which had the desired effect. Peter taking it from him went at once to Anna Mons, and after convicting her, and reproaching her with her perfidy, he confiscated the estates which he had given to her and to her mother, and the stone house which he had built for her; and he confined her, with her mother and her eldest sister, Matrena Balk, under guard, so strictly, that they could not even set foot out of their house.[16]

But this did not all take place at once: the affair had been going on for some time. On the 4th of July Pleyer, after writing from Moscow that the Prussian envoy Keyserling had asked permission to go to the camp before Narva, observes upon this: 'His majesty dislikes him extremely, on account of his [proposal of] marriage to a certain person.' And on the 8th Nov. A.D. 1704 he writes again: 'There is news from the camp that the Prussian envoy is recalled.' In July A.D. 1705 Keyserling was at Vilna, to represent the wish of the king of Prussia that a separate peace might be arranged between Russia and Sweden. In March A.D. 1706 he was present at Moscow at a conference of the ministers: and at that time he petitioned earnestly, on his own private account, for the ladies Anna Mons and her sister, that they might be allowed to go out, at least to the Lutheran church in the sloboda, and that Madame Balk might be allowed to go to her husband; adding that he was the more bound to petition for them because everybody *imputed* their misfortune to *him*. Golovin wrote to Peter of the very earnest request of the Prussian envoy; and Peter replied (3d April A.D. 1706): 'I have written from Narva (so between 20th and 29th March) to Shaphiroff about the Monses' (*i.e.* to allow them to go out, to the church).

In A.D. 1707 the Kniaz-Cesar Romodanofsky, the chief conductor of inquests and tortures, applied for instructions, to know

[16] Neugebauer threatened to let the world know through the newspapers how the tsar had treated his mistress, as soon as she began to excite his jealousy.

what was to be done with *thirty persons*, whom he had then in his hands as prisoners on account of the affair of the Mons family. For Anna Mons and her family had abused their influence with Peter: and as soon as they were disgraced, all that they had done amiss was made the subject of an inquest.

Menshikoff in A.D. 1704 had already brought Peter and Catherine together; but it was not in order to secure for *Catherine* the first place in Peter's affections that he sought to detach him from Anna Mons: his hope was to induce Peter to *marry* one of his own sisters, Anna Danilovna. In a letter of Sept. A.D. 1705 to Daria Mich. Arsenieff he wrote: 'For God's sake, Daria Michaelovna, urge my sister to apply herself diligently to learning, both Russian and German, that the time may not be wasted.' And what this meant is revealed by an incident which occurred in A.D. 1706: for Menshikoff, then seeking to win the goodwill and confidence of the hetman of the Oukraine Mazepa, proposed to give one of his own sisters in marriage to the hetman's nephew. But some months later, when the hetman reminded him of that his proposal, Menshikoff replied that it was impossible, because '*the tsar wishes to marry her himself*.' That scheme, however, came to nothing: Catherine gained more and more upon the tsar; and she was as useful a friend to Menshikoff as his own sister could have been, though she did not at once obtain the title of tsaritsa.

Oustrialoff prints a letter written by Anna Menshikoff, with her friends (the other ladies 'of our compania'), to the tsar, thus: 'Our joy, gracious hossoudar, dear captain! May the right hand of God preserve thy health! We thank thee for thy grace, my batushka! for having given us news of thy health, and of the capture of the fortress of Mitau: and on the acquisition of this newly-born child (Mitau) we congratulate thee. We thank thee much, my batushka, for this thy grace, that thou art pleased to wish to see us with thee, of which we are unworthy. And as to this, we tearfully ask of thee the favour that we may see thy grace, &c. Signed, Anna (Menshikoff), Barbara (Arsenieff), Katerina with her two children (lit. 'herself the third'), *Auntie Thoughtless* (Anisia Tolstoy is nicknamed *Tetka*, Auntie, as if sister to Catherine, who is called *Matka*, Mammy), Daria *Stupid* (Arsenieff). After these Peter and Paul make their obeisances, and ask thy blessing.'

So the connection of Peter with Catherine, unless the two children named were twins, seems to have begun not later than February in A.D. 1704. There is another similar letter written to Peter from Moscow, 6th March A.D. 1706, which ends thus: 'Anna *Ugly* (Menshikoff), Katerina, Barbara, and Daria do our obeisance.'

Catherine was at first called Katerina *Basilievska*,[17] *e.g.* in an autograph memorandum written by Peter, 5th Jan. A.D. 1708, thus: 'If anything happens to me by the will of God, in that case 3000 rubles, which are now in the house of the prince Menshikoff, are to be given to Katerina Basilievska with her little girl.'[18] When she embraced the Russian religion (probably on the 8th March A.D. 1708) she began to be called Ekaterina Alexievna, the patronymic Alexievna being taken from the tsarevich Alexis, who lived, like Catherine herself, together with the tsarevna Natalia, in the palace of Preobrajensk, and who, according to Alex. Gordon, was Catherine's godfather. At the same time, instead of 'Basilievska,' she took the family name of '*Michaelova*,' the same, that is, which Peter himself had taken abroad in A.D. 1697 and 1698, when he was the ship-carpenter Peter *Michaeloff*.

The bond between Ekaterina Alexievna Michaelova and Menshikoff and his family was very close, as appears from her letters to him. The tone of these letters, though it is modified afterwards by the gradual change in her position, continues to be always extremely friendly. So in Sept. A.D. 1708 she writes jointly with Anisia Tolstoy: 'Our gracious hossoudar-batushka prince Alexander Danilovich, health to you with the princess Daria Michaelovna, and with the little prince, for many years! I thank you for your letter: be so good as to continue to write to us of your health, of which we are constantly wishing to hear. Since our departure from Kieff we have not received from your splendour a single letter, which is a great disappointment. But for the future we beg you not to forget to write to us. Be so good, our batushka, as to let us hear of the hossoudar's health.' When speaking of Menshikoff's son, Catherine commonly is

[17] The family name not of the *husband* of her *mother*—that was Skavronsky—but of the husband of her aunt Anna Maria, who had taken care of her till she entered the service of probst Gluck (see above, p. 1040).

[18] *i.e.* Catherine Petrovna, born 28th Dec. A.D. 1706; she died 27th June A.D. 1708.

profuse in expressions of fondness. In a letter from Moscow of 13th Feb. A.D. 1710 there are the same friendly expressions as before, but the *tone* is now different: 'I give your grace to know that the hospodin rear-admiral (Peter), by the mercy of God, is in good health: so too am I, with my children; only your favourite little daughter is at present suffering from her teeth. . . . Our child frets much for the old nurse; and if your grace has not need of her, pray be so kind as to send her to us at once.' Subscribed 'Ekaterina.' In a letter from Petersburg of 8th April A.D. 1710 there is a P.S.: 'Our little ones, Annushka and Elizabeta, do their obeisance to your grace.'

In the first years of his connection with Catherine Peter addresses her simply as 'Matka'[19] or 'Muder,' *Mammy*. In A.D. 1708 (5th Jan.) he writes of her, as we have seen, as 'Katerina Basilievska:' and 29th Jan. of the same year he writes jocosely to her from Vilna: 'I am very uncomfortable without you, because there is nobody to mend my things and to wash for me,' &c. But on the 2d of April A.D. 1708 the tsarevich, writing to her and to Anisia Tolstoy jointly, calls her 'Katerina *Alexievna*,' whence we may infer that it was between 5th Jan. and 2d April of A.D. 1708, most likely on the 17th of March, that she was baptised into the Russian Church, and took the patronymic Alexievna and the family name Michaëloff. In A.D. 1709 Peter, instead of writing to her only in common with Anisia Tolstoy and others, writes to her personally, and directs his notes '*To Katerina Alexievna*.' His notes written after the ookaz of 6th March A.D. 1711 begin: 'Katerinushka, my friend, health to thee!' &c.; and they are directed 'To the Hossoudarina the Tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna.' And five years later, in A.D. 1716, when she had born him a son, Peter Petrovich, after he had publicly married her (in A.D. 1712), and after he had determined to disinherit his eldest son, he directs 'To Her Most Illustrious Majesty the Hossoudarina the Tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna.' Many of his letters and notes contain expressions of regret for her absence, and of desire to see her soon again. Thus, in A.D. 1712, on the day of his arrival at Petersburg (14th Aug.), he wrote, calling her to him: 'For God's sake come soon; or, if there be anything to prevent your coming speedily, write: for

[19] So also does the tsarevich Alexis in his letters to his father.

it is sad to me neither to hear nor to see you; and you, I fancy, much more wish to see me, because I have passed the age of twenty-seven, but you have not yet arrived at forty-two.'[29] Other letters containing similar passages are referred to, as 20th March A.D. 1708, from Petersburg; 31st Aug. A.D. 1709, from Lublin; 30th Sept. A.D. 1709, from Thorn; 14th Aug. A.D. 1712, from Volgast; 9th Feb. 1716, from Marienhof; 3d July A.D. 1716, from Hookar, near Thalter; 14th Nov. A.D. 1716, from Havelberg; 18th Jan. A.D. 1717, from Amsterdam (Semevsky, *Of the Mons Family*, p. 49).

From the contemporary portraits of Catherine preserved in the Romanoff gallery of the winter palace, it appears that her features were not regular; she was by no means a *beauty*: she was tall, had full cheeks, a nose slightly turned up, eyes of velvet (dark in some pictures of her, burning as with fire in others), rosy cheeks, a round chin; and, on the whole, in her look so many incentives to passion, and in her luxurious bust such perfection of forms, that one can easily understand how such a colossus as Peter should give himself up to this friend of his heart. And he by no means required either deep intelligence or any sort of cultivation.

Peter regarded Catherine at first only as a common mistress who pleased him, whom he missed when she was absent, but whom he could give up as he gave up other well-known and little-known mistresses: but in the course of time he came to love her as a woman who sympathized intimately with his character, and with compliant facility adapted herself to his habits. Though not only uncultivated, but absolutely illiterate, she knew so well how to show before Peter pain at whatever pained or crossed him and pleasure at whatever pleased him, and in general to interest herself in his needs and his labours, that the tsarevich Alexis in later years, after his father had publicly married Catherine, could say ironically: 'My father has always fancied his wife, my stepmother, to be a woman of mind!' Peter certainly took a pleasure in communicating to her political news, with his own remarks and anticipations. Instances of this occur perpetually in the hundred and four notes of his writing to her which have been preserved. In one of these there escapes from him this remarkable complaint: 'We, thank

[29] Peter's own age was then forty.

God, are well; only, my life is burdensome; for I am not master of my left hand, and I am obliged to hold in my right hand at once both my sword and my pen; and how many I have to *help* me, you yourself know.'

All these communications of news, remarks, and judgments Peter's 'heart's-friend' received or listened to with the greatest tact. In her answers (written through a secretary) one finds nothing like counsels or opinions given on the subjects mentioned by Peter; but, at the same time, in a tone half jesting half serious, there are manifestations of satisfaction, and even of joy, according to the nature of Peter's communications. So the tsar sought not any *help* in matters of business from Katerinushka: no, he only desired to see—and with great satisfaction saw—on her part *sympathy*, both for his doings at home and for his struggles on the battle-field. This sympathy was enough for him. The same appears from his commissions to her. These are all about trifles: he asks her to choose a site for some institution; to send him different things, generally eatables, oftenest of all beer and wine. Their presents to one another, which are frequent, are trifles of the same kind: he sends or brings to her fruits, oysters, beer, and wine; and she continually sends him strong liquors and beer and wine, sometimes also articles of clothing.

'There are eleven letters of Catherine of dates before or in A.D. 1717 which have been printed; the earliest of them is dated 17th Aug. A.D. 1713, and they are all in Russ: but we'—writes Mr. Semevsky—'have discovered a letter of hers, of A.D. 1708, in German.[21] They are full of pointed expressions, jocose, and affectionate' (24th Sept. A.D. 1709, Warsaw; 16th Oct. 1709, Marienwerden; 19th Sept. A.D. 1711, Carlsbad, &c.).

## A.D. 1705.

Peter stayed at Moscow from 19th Dec. A.D. 1704 to 18th Feb. A.D. 1705; and then sending 'prince[22] Menshikoff' to Poland

[21] He gives a translation: 'Most illustrious and most gracious hospodin *Uncle!* I congratulate your majesty on the victories obtained by you, and I hope that I may soon be allowed to see your majesty here, and to assure you that I remain ever, most gracious hospodin *Uncle*, your majesty's most devoted (subject) Catherine.' (Dated) '*Izmaeloff*, 7 *Dec.* A.D. 1708.'

[22] So it is in the 'Journal of Peter the Great,' which, being composed afterwards, exhibits many such anticipations.

and to Polotsk, he went to Voronege, and was there till the 19th April. On the 5th of May he would have left Moscow, but he was kept on there by a fever. On the 31st, though still unwell, he left for Polotsk, arriving there on the 12th June. The two field-marshals Sheremetieff and Ogilvie[23] were before in Poland; and now they and Menshikoff were together at Polotsk with general prince Repnin and an army of 40,000 foot and 20,000 horse, with 300 guns and mortars.

At Polotsk on the afternoon of the 30th June, in a sudden fit of rage, Peter killed with his own hand the archimandrite of the Uniat monastery; and three others of the monks were killed by his suite. Details of this will be given elsewhere. Oustrialoff reproduces an untruthful account drawn up seemingly for official publication; and, as if to justify his own spirit of adulation, he prints another equally false and absurd Polish account, invented by a contrary spirit of animosity, and 'sent from *Rome* to *all the dioceses*.' In the 'Journal of Peter the Great' or 'of the Swedish war' (which Peter in this year 1705 first ordered to be compiled), his cabinet secretary Makaroff had written thus: 'On the 30th June five Uniat monks were killed in the stone church of the Uniats, *because they called our generals heretics*;' but this sentence was erased by Peter himself, so that in the *Journal* as corrected by him that act of his is passed over in silence. Oustrialoff relates it as follows: 'In the evening of the day before he left Polotsk Peter, with his suite, visited the Uniat monastery. The Uniats were *notoriously malicious*, and in correspondence with the Swedes: they treated Peter with disrespect, and forbade him to enter the sanctuary in the church *to see their service:* he entered all the same: then he asked about an image in the church, "Who is that?" They answered: "A martyr killed by the heretics, such as you." On this, Peter ordered his suite *to put them under arrest for trial*, and *went out*.[24] But the Uniats, seeing that there were only a few, *made opposition*, and cried, "Help!" and some ran to help them; and *some of the tsar's suite were wounded*.' Then, being

[23] In Oct. A.D. 1704 Ogilvie had submitted a plan for the permanent maintenance of a regular army of thirty polks of infantry and sixteen of cavalry. [24] This is what seems to have been done afterwards with the *survivors:* they were at first kept under arrest; for Peter speaks himself of having ordered them to be set at liberty. It is to be observed that the monks murdered by Peter were not his own subjects, but those of his ally!

exasperated, *they* began to strike the monks unsparingly, and four of them were mortally wounded—though this was against the tsar's will—and died: a fifth, being a Russian subject, and an apostate, and the chief exciter of the rest, was *sentenced* to death, and hanged as an example to the others. . . . All this is published that slanderers may not give out another story to the prejudice of the high justice of his majesty the tsar.' 'From a document in the *Glavnoe Archiv* at Moscow, of which Baktish-Kamensky says that it was signed by the tsar himself' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. iv. ch. xv. p. 371.)

On the 1st July Peter left with all the troops still at Polotsk for Vilna, arriving there on the 15th; and on the 22d there came news that Sheremetieff, on the 19th, had been defeated at Mour-miza by Levenhaupt. But Peter having moved 1st Aug. from Vilna, and having on the 6th joined Sheremetieff at Birgi, they occupied Mitau (4th and 5th Sept.) and Bousk (on the 11th), and cleared Courland of the Swedes, Levenhaupt retiring into Riga. The Russian army then moved (12th Sept.) from Mitau to Grodno and Tikotin (22d Sept.); and on the 2d Oct. the tsar left at Tikotin the governor of Schlüsselburg, 'Mr. Menshikoff,' with some of the cavalry.

A little before this, when Peter was at Mitau, information had been received from the Kazanski prikaz, from Boris Golitsin, of a kozak mutiny at Astrachan; and Sheremetieff was sent to quell it. Field-marshal Ogilvie, who was thus left sole commander, would have chosen Merech rather than Grodno for winter quarters; and he was much annoyed when Menshikoff, after joining him as general of the cavalry, preferred Grodno, and Peter sided with Menshikoff.

Meanwhile Charles XII. was crowning as king of Poland his nominee Stanislas at Warsaw, where the archbishop of Lemberg officiated; and the cardinal primate about that same time died.

But king Augustus instituted the order of the White Eagle: and coming to Tikotin, he stayed there with Peter from the 21st Oct. to the 30th, when they went together to Grodno, and arrived there on the 5th Dec. Peter on the 7th, leaving Augustus to command, and having made Menshikoff a general of cavalry, returned to Moscow, where he arrived on the 19th. He marched in triumph through the city with the Preobrajensky

regiment, and the guns, &c., taken at Mitau, and stayed till the 13th of January A.D. 1706.

There are two letters of the tsarevich written from Moscow to his father in the spring of the year 1705, when his father was at Voronege; one on the 28th March, merely asking after his health; the other on the 10th April, Easter Sunday, when he begins: 'I salute you upon this festival of festivals,' but without prefixing 'Christos Voskrese!'

During part of the summer he seems to have been again with the army: for he is mentioned as being at Polotsk with his father when the Jesuit fathers there invited the tsar to dine with them, and they included the tsarevich in the invitation. Peter accepted the invitation for himself; but he would not bring the tsarevich with him, because he was then on duty, having to mount guard as a common soldier. This is related as if it had been a day or two after Peter and his suite had murdered the four Uniat monks, which was on the 30th June; but it must really have been earlier, as Peter left Polotsk on the 1st July.

Peter seems after this summer of A.D. 1705 to have despaired of making anything of his son as a soldier; but he resolved that, as soon as he should be a year or two older, as he was not wanting in ability, he should serve in other ways.

There is a letter of Alexis Narishkin, dated 14th May A.D. 1705, from Porietskoe (an estate belonging to the tsarevich in the government of Moscow), in which he for himself and for Basil Narishkin, and for the preceptor Viazemsky, thanks the confessor for a letter of moral instruction written to the tsarevich, and especially for advising him to apply to the study of German; and they all beg him to continue to write such letters. The advice which pleased them was followed; for the tsarevich learned both to speak and to write German with facility. On the 21st Aug. the tsarevich wrote to his father that he had returned to Moscow on the 19th, and the doctor had come to see him (as if he had returned for some illness—and in fact he was all his life subject, like his father, to scorbutic attacks), and was going to treat him. Another letter of 16th Oct., merely wishing to be informed of his father's health, and saying nothing about his own, is dated from Semenovsk, and directed '*Hospodinou, Hospodinou Kapitanou*' (as if in French 'A Monsieur, Monsieur le Capitaine') to Grodno: and there is another dated 23d Oct.

from Preobrajensk. These letters end: 'I thy son Alexis ask thy blessing, and do my obeisance,' or 'do my most hearty obeisance.'

After Huyssen had been taken away from him, the tsarevich —so Oustrialoff writes—lived constantly at Preobrajensk, without any employment, receiving an annual allowance of 12,000 rubles. In a report, written on the 22d October A.D. 1705, to the tsar by Ludwig Sheper, a master turner, of his having sent to Petersburg, according to orders received, a turning lathe with wheel, &c., Sheper adds the information that 'his highness the hossoudar the tsarevich has come frequently to my house, and he now turns extremely well, and it seems that he takes a great interest in this.' And Pleyer on the 15th July A.D. 1706 wrote to the emperor Joseph: 'The favourite (Menshikoff) has a guard of 500 men, while the tsar keeps about himself not a single man. The tsarevich is regarded as a private person, has to remain at Moscow, and is not brought forward in the government, neither for the war nor for any other sciences. He has for all his maintenance an allowance of 12,000 rubles, with which he may do what he will.'

Peter being engrossed by the struggle with Charles XII. came to Moscow only at intervals, and made there very short stays. Menshikoff (the oberhofmeister and superintendent-in-chief of the tsarevich's education) was constantly at St. Petersburg, or with the army. Thus left to himself, without any one to look after him, the tsarevich conversed chiefly with monks and ecclesiastics, and agreed with them in hating all that his father loved.

A.D. 1706.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

Charles XII., having moved unexpectedly on the 28th Dec., had shut up in Grodno the Russian corps of field-marshal Ogilvie, who, against the opinion of Menshikoff, had persisted in remaining there. But Peter, hastening from Moscow, though unwell, reached Doubrovna on the 25th Jan. A.D. 1706, and was there met according to his own directions by Menshikoff, whom in a letter written about this time he calls his '*colleague*.'

Peter, having gone himself (4th Feb.) to Orsha, and thence to Minsk (15th Feb. to 13th March), wrote from thence to Ogilvie a positive order to evacuate Grodno as soon as it should become possible, and to march for the frontier, and rather towards the

southern frontier, so as not to be intercepted: and he himself, leaving his own force under the command of Menshikoff, started from Minsk for Petersburg.

At length, on the 24th March, which was Easter Sunday, Ogilvie succeeded in getting away from Grodno, and having been joined on the 27th by Menshikoff, he marched down the right bank of the Pripet (followed by Charles, who marched down the left bank), towards Volhynia, to Brest; and another Russian corps which had been in danger in Courland was also hereby liberated, and marched on Minsk.

Peter meanwhile, taking Narva by the way (20-24th March), revisited Petersburg, whence (7th Apr.) he wrote to 'General Menshikoff' (seemingly to Minsk): 'I will *live* here, as in Paradise; and I have found all in this my Paradise in good order.' And on the 27th he wrote again: 'My brother! It was with indescribable joy that I received your letter by Mr. Starik: I received it at Kronslot on board the Elephant, the vice-admiral's ship; and immediately all the fleet and the fortress fired three salutes; and what revels there were afterwards for this, how merry and how noisy, Starik will tell you.' And on the 10th May he wrote that he was in the hands of the doctors, who forbade him to think of travelling before the end of that month.

But Charles XII. was now in Volhynia, and Peter expected him to invade Russia, and feared for Kieff. Meanwhile there were fresh disagreements between Menshikoff and Ogilvie, who complained, and could not endure that Menshikoff should give orders in spite of him. Peter left Petersburg on the 1st June for Pskoff (12th June), reached Smolensk (where general prince Menshikoff met him), stayed there from the 16th to the 19th; went down the Dnieper to Orsha (21st June), and there reviewed his troops; and going on reached on the 22d Mohileff; and on the 23d, taking land-carriages three or four miles beyond Bikhov, he so went on, with only a small suite, to Gomel (27th June), where he found prince Repnin with part of the infantry: another part with major-general Chambers and field-marshal Ogilvie had gone on by the Soja to Kieff. On the 20th Peter went by land to Chernigoff, and thence by the Desna he went to Kieff, where he arrived on the 4th July. Repnin too with the troops joined on the 8th.

At Kieff Peter remained till the 20th August; and while

there, in accordance with a suggestion previously made to him in a letter by Menshikoff, he ordered a new fortress to be constructed on the height occupied by the Pecherskay Lavra, '*partly* on account of the veneration attaching to that spot,' so as to enclose that historical cradle of Russian Christianity—a striking emblem of the civil power stifling within its iron embrace the nationalized Church—and on this occasion Peter was himself the only engineer; and he measured and began the fortifications on the festival of the monastery, the 15th of August.

There were now 100,000 men covering the frontier, from Courland and the Dvina to Smolensk, and thence down to Kieff and Jitomir.

On the 25th July Sheremetieff, who had just returned from putting down the rebellion at Astrachan, was made sole commander-in-chief, a corps of thirteen polks being still left under Ogilvie; but in September Ogilvie was honourably discharged from the service.[25]

Sheremetieff had taken Astrachan on the 3d of March, and had sent the rebel chief Nosoff and the most guilty of the insurgent streltsi to Moscow, where 365 of them were put to death, or died during the inquest. Thus, after twenty-eight years, as Peter wrote to Apraxin, 'that old and deep-rooted mischief was finally extirpated.' Sheremetieff was created a Count (*Graf*), a German title, then first introduced among Russians.

Meanwhile Charles XII. had moved from Volhynia, but not in the direction expected; for on the 25th Aug. N.S. he invaded Saxony. Peter ordered general Menshikoff, whom he had before detached with 20,000 men, to act against the Swedish corps of 6000 men still left under Mardefeldt in Poland. In August, the first minister and admiral Golovin having died at Glouchovo, on his way to Kieff, Peter wrote to Theodore Apraxin to take those prikazes which had been held by Golovin, except the posolski prikaz, which was given to Gabriel Golovkin, afterwards chancellor. Apraxin also succeeded Golovin as high admiral, and in consequence he removed to Petersburg, whither Peter went himself (20th Aug.—8th Sept.) from Kieff, passing by

[25] Shaphiroff wrote to Menshikoff: 'Notwithstanding all his misconduct, he must be discharged with graciousness, with flattering commendation, and with some presents, that he may not defame the tsar and your illustrious highness. He is very greedy of presents, and would sell his soul for them.'

Starodoub, Smolensk, Velikie-Louki, Pskoff, Narva, and Kotlin, having first been promoted by his mock Cesar Romodanofsky to the rank of colonel. He wrote in acknowledgment to the 'Kniaz-Cesar:' 'The grace is beyond my deserts; I ascribe it only to the goodness of *your majesty;* and I promise hereafter to *serve* your majesty *with all zeal.*'

The king of Poland and elector of Saxony, Augustus (24th Sept.), submitted to Charles XII., though the terms imposed were hard; and a peace was concluded at Altranstadt, or Arnstadt, two miles from Leipzig, with count Piper, Charles' minister, on the 13th Oct. Augustus was to recognise Stanislas as king of Poland, to renounce all his alliances (especially that with the tsar), and to give up Patkul. This peace was ratified by Augustus on the 20th Oct. at Petrikoff in Poland, and published, but without the usual solemnities, on the 1st Dec. at Dresden. Both the king of Prussia and the emperor now recognised Stanislas. But 'Mr. general Menshikoff' meantime was clearing Poland of the Swedes, defeating Mardefeldt at Kalisch 18th Oct., a few days after Augustus, by his commissioners, had submitted to the conditions of Charles; and having Augustus with him, he forced him to be present at a *Te Deum,* and to receive congratulations at Warsaw. However, Augustus asked general prince Menshikoff for the Swedish prisoners, as if to exchange them, and then sent them all away free; and as soon as he could get away he hastened himself (19th Nov.) from Warsaw to make his excuses to Charles (16th Dec.) at Leipzig, where Stanislas dined with Charles and Augustus in public; and after that Charles went to see Augustus at Dresden. Menshikoff meanwhile had gone into winter quarters at Jolkva.

Peter on the 11th Oct. besieged Viborg, but without success. On the 28th of Dec. he had a daughter born to him at Petersburg. This child, which was named after its mother Catherine, lived only eighteen months, and died 27th June A.D. 1708. So three illegitimate children—Peter, Paul, and Catherine—were born and died in rapid succession; and another Peter and another Paul were to be born to him and to die in like manner between A.D. 1715 and 1719. Only two of his numerous illegitimate children, and those daughters, were to live to supplant and to extinguish, even in the female line, the last legitimate descendants of his father the tsar Alexis Michaelovich.

Peter, after receiving the news of Menshikoff's victory at Kalisch, banqueted and caroused for three days successively, and stayed on at Petersburg till the 10th Dec., when he left, as if for Moscow. But hearing at Narva, by a despatch from general Menshikoff, of the peace made by Augustus, he changed his plans, and going by Velikie-Louki, and Smolensk, he on the 24th Dec. reached Kieff; and on the evening of the 25th he left again for Ostrog (26th Dec.), then the headquarters of the infantry under field-marshal count Sheremetieff: thence he went to Doubno, where was prince Repnin with his division; and thence to Jolkva (28th Dec.), where he was met by Sheremetieff, Menshikoff, and the other Russian generals and ministers, and by some of the Polish senators; and at Jolkva he remained till the 30th Apr. A.D. 1707, in order to keep those Poles who had been favourable to Augustus still in league with Russia, and to induce them to elect another king, as had been at once suggested by Menshikoff.

A.D. 1706.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

On the 19th Feb. A.D. 1706 the tsarevich attained the age of sixteen—the age, according to former Russian custom, of majority for princes: and the heir had commonly been 'shown' publicly to the people even a little before that age. Nothing of that kind was done now. During the whole of this year the tsarevich was at Preobrajensk. There are ten letters of his, of dates from Feb. 20th to Dec. 12th, to his father, simply asking after his health, without a word besides. That of Aug. 28th is directed 'Hospodinou, Hospodinou Polkovnikou' (as if in French 'A Monsieur, Monsieur le Colonel'). There are also twelve short letters to his confessor, the first of which, of 16th March, about seeing Tezikoff, has been mentioned above. May 14th, he invites the confessor to dine with him 'for this festival of St. Demetrius,' and bids him bring 'father *Leonid* and brother *Id.*' May 28th, there is a letter, purposely obscure, about some wares, really for himself, the tsarevich,[26] but he bids the confessor present as the trader a denshchik of his own, making as if the tsarevich wished to befriend him by giving him the opportunity of buying these good wares: 'But if they ask why I have been so long in making the declaration, find some way of evading this question; and when the time is come for the wares to be examined,

[26] Perhaps foreign materials for dresses for his mother.

take him with you (to the custom-house?). To-morrow I will come to you, to converse more fully about this, at any time you appoint: or will *you come to me?*' June 2d, he thanks the confessor for a present of flowers, and hopes to meet him the next day at the house of Mr. Miloslafsky. June 10th, he writes: 'About the son-in-law of *your father Satan* (Andrew Narishkin[27]), *I will do as he and you wish.*' June 20th: 'You did *very very* well not to give *her* any answer in writing: and hereafter, too, you must never commit yourself with such people by writing to them: but for the place where I may best see her, please to think about this —*your* house would not be a proper place—and write me word.' June 23d: 'Pray meet me at the house of Aquilina; I have need to see you.' June 24th: 'Pray send the key of the iron box, but say nothing to Barnosophia; avoid her. To-day I cannot come to you, because we are here at Medveydkovo, but to-morrow I hope we shall meet at the house of Aquilina.' June 28th: 'Pray go to the metropolitan of Riazan (Stephen Yavorsky), and ask that, according to my message sent before through thee, father Demetrius be consecrated to-morrow to be protopope of the Kazan church without fail. I have heard that the right reverend *Golubchik* (bishop of Kroutitz) is to go to Smolensk. Pray ask him, as if of yourself, about this, and send me word of his answer by the bearer.' July 23d: 'I have heard from thy son-in-law (Peter Anthimoff) that Mr. Romolanofsky (under whom Anthimoff had formerly been a diak), when he was at Petersburg (*i.e.* before the 1st June), submitted some proposal about him to my father, but what he knows not, and he has begged me to try to find out; and I ask you to do this for me (to learn, that is,

[27] Andrew Narishkin wrote to the confessor: 'We asked the tsarevich that the *archimandrite of the Goritsky* mon. should be in the Petrovsky (where are the tombs of the Narishkin family): now we hear that there is some intention . . . that the archimandrite of the Theophany should be in the Petrovsky: and now we request, if it is not to be as we asked, pray manage that the *archimandrite of the Znamensky*, Joseph (father *Korova*.'), *who is of our compania*, may be at the Petrovsky; and ask your penitent Nikiphor Kondratovich (Viazemsky) to help towards that end.' And again: 'I sent a letter to you which I received together with my own letters from the hossoudarina the tsarevna (Natalia) for your grace, and be pleased to answer to those letters to the hossoudarina the tsarevna and to the knianja Maria Theodorovna Narishkina, and pray write to me about that. . . . Give my poklon,' &c.

In the *History of the Russian Hierarchy* it is said that Joasaph I., archimandrite of the Petrovsky, was in A.D. 1709 made archimandrite of Troitsa, but the date may be a misprint.

what has been said *there* about it) through hospodin *Lopouchin*, *since* there is no other way in which it can be done except through him,[28] as he knows how to deal with them.' Aug. 16th, from Viazma: 'I came here on the 14th, and hope soon to have finished my work, and to return to you. Pray give my *poklon* to the kliuchar Ivan Athanasievich, and to *Jibanda* (Everlakoff), *and to the rest*.' Sept. 16th, Preobrajensk: 'About father *Korovi*[29] (the archimandrite of the Znamensky), I *have spoken to my aunt* (Natalia Alexievna), but she is not very favourable. However, I think that if there is a petition from the brethren of the *Goritsky* monastery, he (the archimandrite of the Goritsky?) may present this to the bishop (*i.e.* to the metr. of Riazan), either himself or through your grace, or through any one whom he can use for this; and I, when I see the bishop, will speak about it; but I do not like to send on purpose, that I may not annoy the bishop, nor damage the goodwill now existing between us by too frequent applications.'

### A.D. 1707.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

At the beginning of A.D. 1707 (8th Jan.) Peter called his son the tsarevich Alexis to him to Jolkva,[30] and spoke to him when he was there with great displeasure of his having gone secretly to visit his mother at Souzdal, of which he had learned perhaps only now, and accidentally, from the tsarevna Natalia; for it was three years since the thing had been done. After some time the tsarevich was sent to Smolensk to collect and store provisions, and to enroll recruits; and he remained at Smolensk about five months, till the 21st September. In October he returned to Moscow, with orders to superintend the fortification of the Kremlin, to collect recruits, and to attend the meetings of the ministers in the chancery. At the same time he was still receiving instruction. Viazemsky wrote to the tsar that on the 7th Jan. A.D. 1708 the tsarevich had begun to learn *German*, history, and geography, and showed a daily increasing steadiness of purpose. In October of A.D. 1708, after the return of Huyssen, he *began French* (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. p. 19).

[28] So the tsarevich would have *preferred* that there should be no communication at all with his uncle Abram Lopouchin.

[29] See above the note to the date June 10, on the last page, p. 1073.

[30] In Gallicia, 30 versts from Lemberg.

On the 18th Jan. (29th N.S.) A.D. 1707 Peter dated from Jolkva an autograph letter, which he sent by the prince Kourakin to Rome, to thank the Pope for not having recognised Stanislas as king of Poland, and to request him still to adhere to the same policy.

Meanwhile a Polish diet held at Lemberg, under the tsar's influence, declared the throne to be vacant; and on the 9th Feb. he was present, and the tsarevich together with him, at Lemberg, at the consecration of a Uniat bishop for Souchava (Theiner, *Monuments*, &c. p. 417). It seems that Catherine too, and perhaps also his sister the tsarevna Natalia, were with him in Poland during the spring.

On the 23d April he went from Jolkva to Doubna, and inspected the corps of Repnin; and on the 5th May he went on to Liublin, arriving there on the 8th, and remaining there till the 28th. On the 28th he went to Kazimir, where the cavalry regiments were brought together under the command of lieutenant-general the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt: and on the 3d July he went to Liublin, to Stenjitz, to meet and confer with the Polish hetmans and senators, and he remained there three days. This diet, opened in the presence of Peter, repeated the declaration that the throne was vacant. After lieutenant-general Bauer had reduced Bikhov (where Sinitsky, a Pole of the Swedish party, for some time defended himself), Repnin was sent to Minsk and Vilna, and lieutenant-general Allart to Warsaw; and the tsar on the 6th July left for Warsaw, and arrived there on the 11th, and stayed till the 4th Sept.; and while there, in July, he was for ten days very ill of a fever. He proposed to treat with Charles XII. for peace, but Charles replied that he would treat only at Moscow.

On the 4th Sept. Peter went to Vengrovo, and on to Tikotin, slowly, expecting news of the movements of the king of Sweden, who had left Altranstadt, or Arnstadt, on the 21st August. General prince Menshikoff, with all the cavalry, remained still near Warsaw. The tsar stayed at Tikotin from the 10th to the 14th Sept., and inspected the defences. Meanwhile news came from Menshikoff that the enemy had crossed the Oder, and was marching upon the Vistula. Sheremetieff's headquarters were now at Minsk.

Leaving Tikotin on the 14th Sept., the tsar was at Grodno

on the 16th: and on the 21st he left for Vilna, where were the troops under Repnin and Chambers. He stayed at Vilna from 24th Sept. to 10th Oct., when he went to Mereeh, and called thither to him Menshikoff to a conference, gave him orders, sent him back to the cavalry, and himself left on the 11th to return to Vilna.

On the 10th October Charles XII. was again in Poland: from the 17th he remained stationary between Poznan and Slouptz: at the end of December he marched into Lithuania.

The tsar, after his arrival at Vilna on the 13th Oct., having heard that the enemy had gone into winter quarters, went by Polotsk, Novgorod, Ladoga, and Schlusselburg to Petersburg, where he arrived on the 23d October. He had sent Mousin Poushkin to Moscow, to put all there into a state of defence. Somewhat later he wrote to Menshikoff that he had never been so merry since the death of Lefort as now on his (Menshikoff's) names-day (*i.e.* on the 23d Nov., the day of St. Alexander Nevsky). He wrote, too, to Menshikoff's wife, bidding her feed up her husband, and not let him become again so thin as he was looking when Peter saw him and parted with him last.

On the 1st Dec. he left Petersburg, and from 5th Dec. A.D. 1707 to 6th Jan. 1708 he was at Moscow, where he went about carolling for Christmas, and had banquets and fireworks for the new year, according to his custom.

In a *Relation of the State of Things in Muscovy*, presented in this year 1707 to the Pope by one of the two Jesuit fathers maintained at Moscow by the emperor, after a long account of the character and the doings of the tsar, and after explaining that the atrocity committed by him on the 11th July N.S. A.D. 1705, at Polotsk was the sudden unpremeditated act of a man who had been drinking all the night before and was not yet fairly sober,[31] the writer, among other things, observes:

'It is a great misfortune that he took an extraordinary aversion for his consort, through some sorcery,[32] as is supposed, practised against him: and for this cause he keeps her shut up

[31] Valeat quantum: but it was done on the 30th June O.S. *in the afternoon*.

[32] The Mons family dabbled in the black art. Anna Mons practised divination to know whether she should regain Peter's favours; and her brother Willem had a book of interpretations, receipts, and practices. Menshikoff too was superstitious.

in a distant monastery; and in his palace he keeps *two sisters of a great prince* (*i.e.* of Menshikoff, see above, p. 1057, 1060).

'For the rest, he is a prince of great capacity, and extremely desirous of introducing innovations, and of establishing the best form of government in his immense dominions' (Theiner, *Monuments*, &c. p. 413).

### A.D. 1707.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

In this year 1707 there are twenty-two letters of the tsarevich to his father, chiefly from Smolensk, reports about his execution of orders connected with the commissariat. In the first, written 17th May from Smolensk, where he had arrived on the 15th, he still at the end asks his father's blessing, as in A.D. 1706, but in all the rest he signs simply, 'Thy son, Alexis.' On the 5th June he regrets not having heard of his father's health, nor received any answer to his previous reports. June 23d, he wishes Peter joy for his approaching names-day, and for the recent victory of general Bauer at Bikhov. July 4th, he thanks him for a letter just received, and for his intention of sending his doctor, and he hopes that his father will write again. July 14th, he has received a letter. July 16th: 'Doctor Blumentrost came on the 14th:' he thanks his father, and hopes not to be left without letters from him. Aug. 5th, he has received a letter; he congratulates Peter on a fresh victory on the Sestra, adding: 'I heartily hope that God may grant the like for the time to come.' Aug. 17th, having received an order to go to Minsk (and thence on to his father to Warsaw), he has started at once with his own horses. Aug. 23d, from Borisov: 'I have just now received from the *Most Illustrious Prince* (Menshikoff) an order, if I have not reached Minsk, to return to Smolensk; or if I have gone beyond Minsk, to return to Minsk; so I return to Smolensk.' Sept. 2d, Smolensk: 'I arrived here yesterday.' Sept. 21st: 'I have received to-day from Tikotin an order, of the 14th, to go with all speed to Minsk.' Sept. 25th, Minsk: 'In obedience to the order received, having left Smolensk on the 21st, I have now (the 25th) just arrived at Minsk.' Oct. 27th, he writes from Preobrajensk, where he had arrived on the 24th, of the fortifications ordered there around the Kitai-gorod; of the garrison of Moscow, to be raised from 2500 to 13,000 men; and of

the workmen, who are now 24,792, but are to be increased to 30,000, &c.

There are also nineteen letters of the tsarevich to his nurse, or to the nurse and her husband conjointly, from 15th Jan. to 18th September. In one of these (July 6th) he scolds Basil Ivanovich for having subscribed himself 'Vaska,' according to the usual fashion of inferiors to superiors: 'God forgive you,' he writes, 'only don't do that again.' Also there are letters written to the confessor, viz. nine of the tsarevich, from the 11th March to 21st Sept.; twenty-one of Viazemsky, from 15th Jan. to 30th Sept.; two of Gabriel Golovkin (who, like Viazemsky, was a penitent of the same confessor), from Jolkva 23d March, and Smolensk 25th April; three of Everlakoff, of 18th and 29th Sept. and 6th Oct.; four of Basil Greg. Narishkin; and twenty-five of Alexis Iv. Narishkin.

Jan. 15th, Kieff: Viazemsky writes to the confessor: 'We came on the 12th, and have seen here glorious things, such as our eyes had never seen before. In truth the Pecherskay Lavra is the garden of God, and one of the wonders of the world, in my opinion. I send you a book of the Akathists. The tsarevich has written to you about it at length.' Feb. 12th, Jolkva: 'We are all to-day in very good spirits, as the Poles are apt to be after dinner, &c. Alexis Narishkin.' Feb. 26th, ib.: Viazemsky asks the confessor to bless him to confess to the local priest and to communicate: and Alexis Narishkin asks him to celebrate the liturgy in their house, and to dine there on the names-day of his mother. March 11th, ib.: The tsarevich writes: 'On the festival of the Praise of our Lady (the *Pochvala*) pray keep it as if I were myself at Moscow, in my house (only not inviting the bishop): pray invite Ivan Athanasieff; and be so kind as to celebrate the liturgy yourself in the pridiel of the tsarevich Demetrius, and dine all in my house, and give orders for the dinner to Roman Tougarineff; he has been written to to obey your orders in all things: and be so good as to invite *Blagodietel*, Michael Gregorievich Narishkin, Basil Iv. Kolicheff, Theodore Boris. Everlakoff, and *Grach*, and Basilissa Euphemievna; and pray make merry spiritually and bodily, and write me word of all.' March 29th, ib.: Viazemsky asks him to beg for him a favour of Boris Alex. Golitsin, lord of the manor of Viazem, ten versts distant from Viazemsky's own small property, viz. to lend him

wheat-corn, that his land may be sown; and this was done. April 15th, ib.: He writes that one of the tsarevich's suite, named Procopius Basilievich, on Apr. 13th (Easter Sunday), *being in liquor*, fell from a swing, and so hurt himself that (after having been confessed and communicated) he died the next day; and he begs the confessor to make an inventory, and to seal up all his effects, and to take care of his orphan boy, and to make prayers for his soul; also to keep the *circumstances* mentioned in this letter secret. Apr. 25th, ib.: 'We start to-morrow, *i.e.* from Jolkva, for Smolensk.' May 6th, Kieff: The tsarevich writes to his nurse: 'We are to live some time at Smolensk.' May 17th, *from Smolensk*, where they had arrived on the 13th, Viazemsky writes his apprehensions of the chances of the war, and adds: 'Tear up this letter, without showing it to anybody. We are to collect and store provisions, and we shall probably be here a long time.' After this he seems to have been at Moscow; but he rejoined the tsarevich at Smolensk on the 27th July. In the mean time the tsarevich, after being settled at Smolensk, had written in one letter to his confessor: 'I have also to thank you for the good things you have sent me, which you were pleased in your letter to call *phiniki* (dates), but what they brought me were figs (*smokvi*); and I *wonder how they managed to change*.' May 26th: Alexis Narishkin writes to the confessor of the tsarevich that 'he has begun the work given him to do very satisfactorily.' June 27th, ib.: Both the tsarevich and Alexis Narishkin refer the confessor for more detailed news to Viazemsky. Narishkin writes: 'Yesterday we had letters from the army, copies of which have been sent by the tsarevich to the Ouchitel (Viazemsky); also, about the new honour[33] of the prince Menshikoff you may learn from the letter written to the Ouchitel by the tsarevich.' June 30th, ib.: The tsarevich writes: '*Blagodietel* came on the eve of the Day of St. Peter, and we, with the commandant of the city, Peter Soltikoff, met him ten versts out, and he *came bounding up to us*, and we received him with the affection that he deserves. . . . Yesterday, on the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, we were very jolly: my spiritual father *Khij* was hardly alive when he went home, supported by his son: all the rest of us too were well warmed. Show this to Nikiphor (Viazemsky) and to the kliuchar of the Annunciation.' Below:

[33] See above, at p.1042, the patent of 30th May A.D. 1707.

'I, Ivan Narishkin, send my respects.' July 17th, ib.: The tsarevich writes: 'We saluted *Blagodietel* with your words, and he is not angry.' To this letter Alexis Narishkin adds a postscript: 'We are here working very hard at—prayers. It is now the third day that I have not read a word of a prayer; and our *chef* does not say very many. Pray stir us all up to prayer. Your faithful servant, Alexis Narishkin.' Below this again the tsarevich has written: 'Pray do not listen to the calumnies of Alexis Ivanovich: they are quite unjust; I pray to God every day.' Also 'Ivan Narishkin' has added his name. And July 20th, ib.: 'Blagodietel is not angry with you: he means to write to you; and I think he will be with you before long. Give my poklon to Nikiphor Kondrat. (Viazemsky), if he is with you. I have not written to him, because from his letter I suppose that he may be at Petersburg.' July 29th, ib.: 'My very honourable father, Yakoff Ignatievich, with all the members of our company who have subscribed your letter, old and new, health to you all; to you with them, and to them with you!' Aug. 3d, ib.: Viazemsky writes: 'To-day there is a letter from the tsar, that we are to go to him to Poland—to Warsaw.' And again, Aug. 15th: 'To go to Poland to him, leaving Alexis Iv. Narishkin here: and they write to us to come without being depressed about it: we are to start on the 17th.' And there was another final order, Aug. 17th, on receiving which, as the tsarevich then wrote to his father, they started that same day. And Aug. 24th, from Bikhov, Viazemsky writes: 'We arrived here on the 23d, and expect to be at Warsaw on the 14th' (of September). But, Aug. 29th, at Borisov, they received an order 'from the Most Illustrious Prince' (Menshikoff) to turn back. Sept. 2d: He writes *from Smolensk*: 'We are sorry to hear that you have been robbed, but the tsarevich will not fail you.' And he adds: 'Why they called for us, and then sent us back, we know not.' Sept. 10th: Alexis Narishkin writes, congratulating the confessor on his having been appointed kliuchar (in the Spassky sobor), and wishing to see him become protopope. Sept. 21st, ib.: The tsarevich writes: 'I have to-day received a letter from my father, from Tikotin: he writes that I am to go to him to Minsk, four hundred versts; and my friends write from thence that I may come without any sort of apprehension; and I think that I shall soon be with you again, to judge from appearances: but Basil Iv. Kolicheff, who leaves us

to-day for Moscow, will tell you all about it. I am starting to-day myself.' To this Alexis Narishkin adds a postscript: 'I, your servant, Alexis Narishkin, who am in tears, do my obeisance to you, and beg of you; but I put my hope in God, and in the holy Mother of God, and in the Baptist.'

The tsarevich travelled with all speed, and on the 25th he wrote from Minsk, as we have seen, to his father, to report himself arrived.

On the 18th September Viazemsky had written to Moscow, to the confessor, from Smolensk: 'If anything adverse should happen, pray do not abandon my mother (*Mashi*): send her to Vologda, to my derevnia there.' He is anxious also for his brothers, and he adds: 'You will learn more about the tsarevich's journey at the sobor, and from Basilissa Euphemievna.' On the 30th Sept. he again wrote *from Minsk*: 'Some of the troops are approaching Minsk, while others are about one hundred versts from Smolensk.' And there is an undated letter of the tsarevich, which seems to have been written towards the end of Sept. A.D. 1707, while he was with his father at Minsk or Vilna (though Pogodin thinks it was written early in A.D. 1709): 'The king of Sweden means to go to Moscow; and there has been sent to you from my father Ivan Mousin-Poushkin to strengthen the city against the enemy. But if our forces that are with my father do not stop him, you have no means of stopping him. Pray keep this secret, at least at present; and think of a place to go away to in case this should happen; but for the present live on at Moscow without any apprehension. Of whatever happens hereafter I will write you word' (Pogodin, p. 50).

On the 29th Sept. Everlakoff wrote *from Smolensk*: 'We have no news yet of the tsarevich; only, he is still at Minsk. The tsar has been at Tikotin; whether he is there still we do not know. Alexis Narishkin is here, well in health, but greatly depressed.' Alexis Narishkin himself writes, 1st Oct.: 'I have a letter from the tsarevich, dated 25th Sept., from Minsk.' And again on the same day he writes: 'I have just received another letter from the tsarevich, from Vilna, and I am delighted: he says he will apply to his father for me: God grant that it may be at a propitious moment!' And on a separate slip: 'They say that the Swede is within fifteen miles of Warsaw, but whether he will march on Kieff or on Smolensk is not known: I expect it will

be on Kieff, as that is nearer.' He writes again on the 2d, 5th, 8th, and 12th, and at the beginning of the following year (1708), 8th Jan., 22d Feb., and 21st May, asking the confessor also to make what interest he can for him, that he may not be separated from the tsarevich, whom, on the 5th Oct. A.D. 1707, he understood to be still at Vilna. On the 24th Oct. the tsarevich was at Moscow; and in a letter to his father, dated 8th Nov., he mentions the *Heads of Instruction* given to Mousin-Poushkin about putting the city into a state of defence.

On the 8th Jan. A.D. 1708 Alexis Narishkin writes *from Smolensk* to the confessor: 'For your prayers the hossoudar has passed through Smolensk in good health; and he said that there has been collected corn and hay in plenty; and he said to me that I am to remain on here, but for how long he did not say. Only for this I bless God and the holy Mother of God that all passed without anything going wrong, and he was pleased to come to my house. I trust in God and in your prayers that He will make all turn out for my good. I have written to my wife to come to me.'

### A.D. 1708.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

At the end of Dec. A.D. 1707 Charles had crossed the Vistula: on the 8th Jan. 1708 the tsar had passed through Smolensk: on the 9th he was at Kopys, then the winter quarters of general Allart and major-general Golitsin: on the 10th he left for Minsk and for Dzentsol, where Menshikoff was with the bulk of the army; and there he remained till the 19th, when he learned that the Swedes were marching upon Dzentsol and Grodno, in the direction of the N.E., as if for Riga and Pskoff. On this he left, and came to Grodno on the 21st, and wrote thence to Cyril Alex. Narishkin, who was commandant at Pskoff; and on the 26th he went to Merech; and on the 28th he arrived at Vilna, whither he had called to meet him Apraxin.

Charles, having heard that Peter was at Grodno, made a dash thither with 800 horse, and entered it on the 26th, only two hours after Peter had left; but, instead of taking Peter, he was nearly taken prisoner himself by some of the cavalry of the Russian rear-guard. Peter meanwhile, from Merech, wrote instructions to Basil Dolgorouky, Repnin, and Menshikoff.

On the 11th Feb. Charles was at Smorgoni, to the E. by

S.E. of Vilna, and so not in the direction of Riga or Pskoff, but rather in that of Polotsk or Smolensk; and thence he moved on to Radoshkovichi, and there he remained a long time, the tsar watching him from a place called Bieshenkovichi (separated from Radoshkovichi by the Beresina), where he celebrated the birth of a natural daughter, Anna, borne to him by Catherine on the 27th Jan. at Moscow.

At length, seeing that the Swedes did not move (for the roads had been broken up by a thaw), he, on the 12th March, left Sheremetieff and Menshikoff in charge of the army, and, carrying with him a fever, went to Petersburg, where he arrived on the 20th: there he lay ill till after Easter Sunday (the 4th April). On the 6th April he wrote to Menshikoff that he was convalescent, but still keeping his room. On the 13th he went out for the first time: and on the 14th he wrote that, on the 20th, he was to begin, first, a course of medicine for the 'scorbutica;' and then, at the beginning of May, a course of *mercurial* medicines, for which the doctor said he must keep within the house for ten days: 'If I am to be *strong*, when I come to you,' he wrote, 'I shall need five or six weeks more here first.'

About this time Peter observed in himself an increase of irascibility, like that which he had shown in A.D. 1698 and 1699. On one occasion he wrote to Apraxin: 'You are hurt by what I wrote to you: for God's sake do not distress yourself; for, indeed, I wrote it not from any ill-will to you; but while my life is such as it is now, everything that goes contrary to me, even though it be a small matter, puts me into a passion.'

He had invited his sisters the tsarevnas Natalia, Maria, and Theodosia, and his sister-in-law the tsaritsa Prascovia, with her three daughters, to come to him; and on the 19th April he went in a barge to meet them, and met them on the 20th eight versts short of Schlüsselburg, where he remained with them till the 25th. Nine other barges had been sent up for them and their suites. On the 25th they were all met by the admiral Apraxin in a yacht four versts above Petersburg, where they were received with salutes of artillery. On the 2d May Peter took them down to Kronslot, and stayed there with them three days.

On the 9th Oct. in A.D. 1707 Youry Vlad. Dolgorouky,

who had been sent to put down a partial insurrection of some of the kozaks of the Don, was surprised and slain by the rebel kozak Boulavin, who, on the 8th April following, in A.D. 1708, defeated the tsar's troops, and on the 28th gained possession of Cherkask. As the rebellion was spreading, and seemed dangerous, major-general Basil Vlad. Dolgorouky was taken away from the army in Lithuania, and sent to quell it. On the 21st April he was at Moscow, and on the 12th May at Voronege. He was instructed at first to act with great severity, and had written, on the 15th May, that he was going, on the 17th, to hang, behead, or break on the wheel 743 prisoners who had been taken. But the next day all the people of Cherkask having submitted, the intended executions did not take place. Still, the insurrection was not at an end: and on the 27th May Peter wrote to Menshikoff that as soon as the king Augustus should reënter Poland (as that would draw off the Swedes from the Russian frontier) he would go himself to the Don. However, the rebels lost time, and divided their forces; and on the 1st and 8th of July two bodies of them were defeated at Bachmout and at Azoff: and their bad success at Azoff being imputed by some of them to their ringleader Boulavin, they attacked him in his house on the 7th of July: and he, after making some resistance, shot himself. Dolgorouky wrote that it was impossible to make an inquest or to punish with severity, because, in truth, all the kozaks at Cherkask, and at some other places, had, by their own acknowledgment, been equally guilty. However, he executed or knouted and exiled those whom they had given up as ringleaders, and such of the volunteers from the Zaporog kozaks as had joined them and had been taken: he destroyed many towns which had been built and peopled by runaways and outlaws on the *Upper* streams, dispersing and exiling some thousands of these people: and so he finally extinguished that spirit of insubordination which had been so strong among the kozaks of the Don.

'In the middle of his days of suffering, while taking medicine, when he was as weak as a child,' Peter began to fortify Petersburg; and he wrote on the 14th May to Menshikoff that 'yesterday the first stone of the Troubetskoy *bulwark* was laid here, after an excellent *predica* by *Mr.* Yavorsky.' He had already, in A.D. 1707, sent directions to fortify the Kremlin and the Kitai-

gorod at Moscow, and to form a garrison there of 13,000 men; and, in consequence, on the 7th Jan. A.D. 1708, the boyars determined to hold three meetings weekly.

About the middle of May the Swedish army moved, having been kept from moving till then by the state of the roads; and it became known at Petersburg that Charles XII., instead of marching upon the Dvina, was near Minsk, whence he sent Stanislas with 8000 men to Poland, and hastened his own march towards the Russian frontier. In June he moved from Radoshkovichi eastwards upon Borisov, where there was a division of the Russian army ready to impede his passage across the Boresina: he turned aside, and crossed it much lower down, five miles from Golovchina. Then Sheremetieff and Menshikoff determined to attack him in crossing the small river Bibich; and on the 3d of July there was an engagement at Golovchina, in which the Russians were partially defeated, the division of Repnin, especially, being thrown into confusion; and the Russian army retreated towards Smolensk and the Dnieper, upon Shklovo, Mohileff, and Kopys. The Swedes, who were not more than 30,000 strong, had no great reason to be pleased with their victory.

The tsar, who had left Petersburg on the 26th of June, was accompanied or followed as far as Narva by all his guests, who visited Koporie and Yamburg. On the 30th (after his name-sday) he left them at Narva; and, after he had passed through Pskoff, he was met by the rotmeister Anton Devier, with the news that the Swedish army, after the engagement at Golovchina, was marching upon Mohileff, while the Russians had retreated to Gorki, near Smolensk. The tsar arrived at Gorki[34] on the 13th July, and stayed there till the 1st August, while the Swedes remained inactive at Mohileff. He appointed a court-martial to examine strictly into the mismanagement which had caused Repnin's division to be thrown into disorder; and Repnin himself was degraded, but afterwards pardoned and restored to his rank.

On the 4th Aug. news came that the enemy had crossed the Dnieper below Mohileff; and on the 9th all the Russian army was ordered to move to Mstislaff (E.N.E. of Mohileff and S.S.W.

[34] A small place near Smolensk, on a property formerly belonging to the Sapiehas, and bought from them by Menshikoff.

of Smolensk), where the tsar with half the infantry arrived on the 11th, and the rest on the 12th. Charles had hitherto been waiting for a reinforcement of 16,000 men, with a large convoy of supplies, to be brought to him from Riga by general Levenhaupt; but now the necessities of his army, and the expectation of being joined by the hetman Mazepa, caused him to march southwards, without waiting for Levenhaupt.

On the 29th Aug. the tsar, seeing that Charles (who had turned northwards from Mohileff towards Mstislaff to meet the Russians) had too much divided his army, attacked and defeated one corps of it, with a loss to the Swedes of 2000 killed and as many wounded, at a place called Dobro, on the Chernaia Napa, while Charles, though within hearing of the guns, was too far off to help. On this occasion major-general Golitsin received the order of St. Andrew. On the evening of the 30th the Russians retreated to Mstislaff, and thence to Mignovich, closely followed by Charles, whose pursuit of them, however, was only a feint: for he was not seriously making for Smolensk: but on the night of the 9th Sept. he suddenly retreated; and on the 10th, at Sololen, the Russians learned that he had crossed the Soja with all his army, and was marching southwards towards the province of Sieversk and the Oukraine. His army was in a state of great exhaustion, the Russians, as they retired before it, having consumed or destroyed everything: on the 22d Sept. it crossed the Ipout, and entered Little Russia.

At this time information was received that Levenhaupt, with the reinforcements and supplies, was on his way from Riga: he had reached Shklovo, when he received by letter from Charles the information that the main army of the Swedes was marching southwards, with orders to make all the haste he could to Starodoub (in the government of Chernigoff, S.S.E. of Propoisk). But Levenhaupt had now two rivers, the Dnieper and the Soja, and the tsar between himself and the main Swedish army.

At a Russian council of war it was decided that Sheremetieff, with the main army, should follow the king of Sweden and harass his march; while the tsar, with a strong corps, was detached to intercept and fight Levenhaupt.

On the 15th Sept. the tsar came to Gregorkovo, and was misled by a Jew guide to the Dnieper, which Levenhaupt had crossed three days before, on the 21st and 22d Sept., near

Shklovo; but Peter hanged the Jew, and on the 27th came up with the enemy at a village named Dolgie Mchi; and on the 18th he followed them to another village named Liesno, and entirely defeated them after a battle which lasted from 1 to 7 o'clock P.M., including a pause of two hours. The Swedes lost 8000 slain; and the next day lieutenant-general Fluke and general prince Menshikoff were sent in pursuit, with orders to go on to the Oukraine; and at Propoisk they came up with the remains of Levenhaupt's force, slew above 500 of them, made some prisoners, and took all their remaining baggage and convoy—above 2000 carts:[35] and other attacks were made upon them, and other losses inflicted, till at length those who remained, about 5000 men, but in a state of utter destitution, joined their king. 'From 28th Sept. A.D. 1708 to 27th June A.D. 1709'—observes Peter—there are just nine months; so Liesno is the embryo of Poltava. The Russian force was 15,701 in all: but those actually engaged were only 14,001: their loss was 1111 killed and 2856 wounded. The Swedes were 16,000, of whom 8700 were killed and 876 taken prisoners. After the battle the Russians remained at Liesno three days. On the 2d Oct. the tsar, with the troops, marched for Smolensk, which he reached on the 8th. He stayed there till the 20th, and then went to the main army under Sheremetieff, where were the ministers and the état-major (the *generalitet*), in the parts about Starodoub in the Oukraine, ordering the troops to follow; and he came to them at Pogrebki, near Novgorod-Sieversk on the Desna, on the 27th. On the 29th they received from prince Menshikoff definitive information of the treason of Mazepa; and the next day Menshikoff came to Pogrebki, and prince Dmitri Golitsin the governor of Kieff; and at a council of war it was determined to send Menshikoff to seize Baturin: and 31st Oct. he marched thither, and 2d Nov. took, sacked, and burned it, bringing away all Mazepa's treasure; and on the 5th Dmitri Mich. Golitsin took Bielaia Tserkov.

The hetman had long before compromised himself by entering into correspondence with the king of Sweden; and he had been denounced, 7th Sept. A.D. 1707, by Kotchoubey, though Peter did not then believe the accusation, and capitally punished Kotchoubey as a calumniator, 14th July A.D. 1708. But

[35] Voltaire says the convoy consisted of 8000 carts.

the kozak chiefs perceived that Peter's government would deprive them of their rights and liberties; and the hetman had felt himself personally affronted and aggrieved by seeing orders issued to his people over his head, not only by the tsar himself, but also by Menshikoff, a man of no noble family. In A.D. 1706 the tsar had expressly required him and all the kozaks to obey the orders of Menshikoff. And now, when success seemed hopeless, he had been forced by a threat of Charles to declare himself, and had joined the Swedish camp on the 26th Oct. at Gorki, near Novgorod-Sieversk. But his defection came too late: the Russians were able to seize all his stores and treasures; and the majority of the inhabitants of Little Russia remained faithful to the tsar.

Then the tsar went to Glouchovo (5th Nov.), and Menshikoff came thither the next day; and on the 7th the kozaks there elected as hetman Ivan Skoropadsky. On the 8th there came the bishops of Kieff, Chernigoff, and Pereyaslaff, who, on the 9th, publicly anathematised Mazepa; and Mazepa was hanged in effigy.

On the 16th the tsar, leaving Glouchovo with his troops, marched directly south to Pontivl, which he reached on the 24th, in a hard frost; and sent on thence colonel Kelin, with five battalions, to Poltava. On the 26th Nov. he marched himself from Poutivl for Lebedin; and thence, on the 30th, to Veprika. Thence general Renn was to go to Gadiach, which had been Charles' headquarters, but he had now removed to Romen. General Renn had orders, if Charles did not come to defend Gadiach, to take that place; but if he did, to move upon Romen, and take that: and so it was done. They marched from Veprika on the 7th Dec.; and as Charles came out, losing many men from the frost, they went back, and secured Romen. The tsar spent Christmas-day at Lebedin, and on the 26th was at Soumi. Charles, from Gadiach, three times assaulted Veprika, and was each time repulsed; but at last the Russian garrison, having no more powder, surrendered, 6th Jan. A.D. 1709. The winter of A.D. 1708-1709 was extraordinarily severe. The winter quarters of the Swedes were on the Soula, in Gadiach, Glinsk, and Lochvitz, in a line from N. to S.S.W.; while those of Peter's army were in a line from N. to S.S.W., at Soumi, Lebedin, Achtirka, and Poltava, flanking those of the

Swedes, but extending much farther to the south; so that if the Swedes were to move on Moscow, they would be followed and harassed by the Russians.

At the end of A.D. 1708 Peter, by oukaz, divided the empire into *eight governments*, viz. 1. Moscow, under the boyar Tichon Nik. Streshneff; 2. Petersburg, under prince Menshikoff; 3. Kieff, under the blijni stolnik prince Dmitri Mich. Golitsin; 4. Smolensk, under the boyar Peter Sam. Soltikoff; 5. Archangel, under the blijni stolnik prince Peter Alex. Golitsin; 6. Kazan, under the boyar Peter Matv. Apraxin; 7. Azoff, under the admiral Theodore Matv. Apraxin; and 8. Siberia, under the commandant of Moscow, the prince Matthew Pet. Gagarin. One of the chief duties of these new *governors* was to collect and forward to Moscow, *in full*, the revenues to be collected in their governments. The inferior governors of the towns in each of the eight governments had still the old title of *voivodes*. On the 27th of Jan. A.D. 1710 there was an oukaz for comparing and balancing the expenditure with the income. The average revenue was then 3,133,879 rubles, and the expenditure 3,831,418.

Some years later, in A.D. 1713, by oukaz of 24th April, the collegiate principle was introduced into the administration of the governments, in each of which there were to be either 12 or 10 or 8 'landraths' elected by the dvorianins, to subscribe all acts together with the governor, the governor having a double vote. For judicial matters there were to be 'landrichters' and 'oberlandrichters,' independent of the governors, and responsible directly to the senate. Under the Kammer College there were, in the provinces, *zemskie kontóri:* the landraths were to collect all dues, as well as to administer justice; but the *posadskie* were not under the landraths, but only under their own burgomeisters.

### A.D. 1708.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

In A.D. 1708 there are fifty-four letters from the tsarevich to his father from 16th Jan. to 29th Dec.; all but one from Preobrajensk. In the first letter, 16th Jan., he writes that the council meets, as had been ordered, thrice in the week, and it keeps minutes of the proceedings, and the minutes are signed by all present; and copies of them are sent to the tsar. Other

letters are about the collection, drilling, clothing, and arming of recruits, especially of five new regiments, and sending them to their destination; of the hunting out of such dvorianins and sons of dvorianins as conceal themselves, and try to escape the service, and of confiscating their *pomiestia*; of increasing the garrison of Moscow, and of hastening on the fortifications; of increasing the number of labourers employed on the works; of sending to different destinations arms and guns; of casting cannon of a given description; of sending commanders or officers to such and such services; of causing foreign books of useful knowledge, military, naval, and scientific, to be translated; of communicating in this or that quarter particular orders of the tsar, and of receiving and transmitting to him despatches and information—especially all that related to the insurrection of Boulavin, among the kozaks of the Don, from the beginning of May to the 18th June. The tsarevich seems to have transmitted, on the 24th Jan., the earliest information of the overtures then already made by the kozak hetman Mazepa to the king of Sweden. This letter is very remarkable: 'There has just now come to me, as it is drawing to night,' the tsarevich writes, '*our*[36] confessor Timothy, asking me to send his letter to thee, the hossoudar, by a special courier, secretly, without an hour's delay. He said that the letter relates to matters of the very greatest consequence; so I have sent that letter to you in this packet by a special courier: his letter bears no signature.' Peter, however, did not profit at the time, as he might have done, by this information, which he regarded as untrue; but afterwards he rewarded with large grants of property in Little Russia the protopope Timothy, who was by origin from that region.

From these letters one may glean some notices of the personal history of the father and the son, and of their relations to one another. From the letter of Feb. 3d it appears that Catherine had been left at Preobrajensk, and was there confined of the second daughter that she bore to Peter, named from the saint of that day on which she was baptized Anna. The tsarevich writes: '*Auntv* and *Mommy* (*Tetka* and *Matka*, *i.e.* Anisia Tolstoy and Catherine Basilievsky), with the little *ones*, bid me

[36] *i.e.* the tsar's official confessor, the protopope of the sobor of the Annunciation.

give their poklon to your grace. I and the *hossoudarina* my aunt (*i.e.* the tsarevna Natalia, 'Hossoudarina Tetushka') have just now been sponsors (lit. have baptized) to the one newly born.' In the letter of Feb. 10th he mentions the '*major* hossoudar' and the '*minor* hossoudar,' or majesty—that is, the boyar Theodore Your. Romodanofsky (who was always addressed in speaking and writing by Peter, and consequently also by others, as 'His Cesarean or Imperial Majesty' or '*Kniaz Tsesar*') and his son (who by consequence, as answering to the 'King of the Romans,' was 'Tsesarevich,' and 'Veliki Kniaz' and 'Majesty' also): after these he names the 'hospodin kommandant' of Moscow, Gagarin. In the same letter he also reports that he has given, as desired, Peter's 'poklon to *His Holiness* (*i.e.* Zotoff), and to the rest.' Of his mock imperial majesty in another letter, March 23d, the tsarevich writes: 'I showed *our hossoudar* your letter, and he said, "Eh! I'll give him an answer from myself."' And Peter himself wrote of Romodanofsky to Menshikoff that he had hard work to get on with him. On the 10th and 14th Feb. the tsarevich writes that when he gives orders to hasten on the works, 'they answer me to every thing "*Dobro*" (Good): I have to speak again and again, and it is always "Dobro." Only I go on a long time hearing this "Dobro" in word without seeing anything good (*dobro*) in deed: and I am extremely sorry for this, that they are so slow in executing your commands. I assure you that I do all the business I am charged with without any delay, and with all the diligence in my power.' March 19th, he writes: '*His Holiness* has left to-day, and the rest (of those whom Peter had invited to Petersburg) have either started already or will start soon: my aunt will go some day this week. For me, who am to remain here, it is very sad that I shall not see your grace.' On the 2d Apr. he writes to Katerina Alexievna and Anisia Tolstoy jointly: 'Katerina Alexievna and Anisia Cyrillovna, health to you! Be so kind as to write, as I always desire to hear of your health. Alexis.' This letter is *directed* 'To Anisia Cyrillovna Tolstoy.' On the 19th May he writes to his father: 'I have just now received your letter, and for your kindness, hossoudar, I most heartily thank you.' May 30th, he congratulates his father for his birthday, and on a recent victory:[37]

[37] Of rear-admiral Botsis at Borgo.

'God grant that this summer may end as happily as it has begun! Here with me for this day and this joyful news we are all making merry; we have had good cheer, and have been making a great noise.' June 12th, he writes that he has heard from Alexis Narishkin, from Smolensk, that many vagabond peasants have come into the country around Briansk, as if to settle there in his, the tsarevich's, name,[38] though he knows nothing about them, and is annoyed. There are seven letters to his father in May, and eight in June. On the 29th June the tsarevich writes for the names-day of his father, who had then left Petersburg; and on the 4th July he has written, as desired, to Archangel and to Petersburg, to bid them be on their guard against any attack from the Swedes. On the 13th July he has, *as directed*, caused the annual grant of money for the polkovniks of the kozaks to be sent 'in the usual way,' that is, *through the hetman*. Aug. 4th, he writes that all the guests who had gone in March to Petersburg have now returned: and Aug. 18th, he writes from Viazma, having gone there for a few days to see to the erection of a magazine (and he writes to Menshikoff at the same time, telling him that he is at Viazma by his father's order). Aug. 22d, he writes from Preobrajensk: 'I returned yesterday, and I have made known [by a letter of 16th Aug. from Viazma] your oukaz to the hospoda the ministers:' he has ordered Luke Dolgorouky to join the army. Sept. 7th: 'Your letter with news of the recent victory[39] I received on the 4th (it caused us much joy). I congratulate you, hossoudar, upon it. May the Most High grant still greater success to your arms hereafter; as I always wish.' Sept. 16th, he again congratulates his father on the *good* (*dobroe*) victory of Dobro (of the 29th Aug.). Oct. 4th, he reports (from Preobrajensk) that the magazine at Viazma is now completed. Oct. 9th: 'I have received two letters with the account of your signal victories (those of the three days' fighting at Liesno) over the enemy, on which I congratulate you. God grant you in time to come also His grace and prosperity; this I wish always.' Oct. 24th:

[38] This may be connected with those proclamations which Charles XII. had sent into Muscovy, that he had been unjustly made war upon, and now sought to liberate the Muscovites from a tyrant, and bade them all set up *the tsarevich Alexis* against his father.

[39] Of major-general Golitsin at Dobro, on the Chernaia Napa.

'Gizen came on the 15th: I have given the foreign books to be translated.' Nov. 5th, on news from the admiral Apraxin of a victory in Ingermanland, 'on which I congratulate you.' Nov. 14th, he congratulates his father on the election of a new hetman for the kozaks, after the defection of Mazepa.[40] Nov. 16th, he writes in a postscript: 'I have to inform you, hossoudar, about Basilissa of Kazan, who was with my grandmother, and who was living till now at Preobrajensk: great numbers of people came to see her from all quarters, all sorts of low people (and she had made a vow to become a nun); so I, on that account, that no harm might come of it, sent her away to the Alexandrovskaia sloboda, and gave orders that she should be tonsured at once, according to her own former vow.' And on the same subject, Nov. 29th: 'As regards Basilissa, you have been pleased to write that there was a special oukaz of thine for tonsuring her, which must have been notified at the time; and that I am to make inquest about this; and I now make report to you that no special oukaz of yours has been notified here by anybody. She has been tonsured—*why*, I wrote to you, hossoudar, on the 14th—in pursuance of her own former vow, in the convent at the Alexandrovskaia sloboda; and an oukaz for this was issued *from the monastirski prikaz* after the usual form, such as is given for all those who wish to be tonsured: *special oukaz* there has been none, either written or spoken; but her vow was known to many.' On the same day, 29th Nov., he wrote also to Catherine: 'Katerina Alexievna, health to you for many years! For your letter I thank you very much, and I hope to hear from you again. Be so kind as to write and tell me how this has come about that Basilissa Euphemievna is [said to have been] tonsured by oukaz of batushka, when there was no such oukaz here. *Why* she was tonsured you can see from my letter to the hossoudar-batushka.' On the 8th Dec. he writes to his father: 'As touching what you are pleased to write (Nov. 27th, from Lebedin) that the three hundred recruits sent (to Bransk) do not all please you, and that I am negligent in doing the work committed to me, some one must have lied to you, hossoudar, in saying that against me, which pains me much. Indeed, hossoudar, I do the work committed to me to

[40] Who had been publicly anathematised in the cathedral, in presence of the tsarevich, on the 12th Nov.

the best of my power and wit, with all diligence. Better recruits at that time could not be found *soon:* and thou wert pleased to write that they were to be sent *soon*.' At the same time he wrote also to Catherine: 'Katerina Alexievna and Anisia Cyrillovna, health to you! I beg you be so kind as to find out and write me word *for what* the hossoudar-batushka is angry with me; for he is pleased to write that I, neglecting my duty, go after fooleries: and from this I am now in great perplexity and sorrow. Pray be so kind as to answer me about this without delay, that I may know what it is.' And on the 16th he writes again: 'Katerina Alexievna, for the kindness (*liubor*, lit. love, affection) you have shown me I heartily thank you, and for the time to come I beg of you, be so kind as not to fail me in any need that may happen: I trust in your goodness.' And 25th Dec.: 'Katerina Alexievna, I thank you very much for your goodness to me, that now I have received through your mediation a gracious letter from the hossoudar-batushka; only I am sorry that I have no letter from you. Also I give you to know that Annushka is well. Alexis.' And on the 29th Dec. he writes to his father: 'I had already started, as directed, to go to Sievsk, and was seventy versts out when I received your letter: I returned at once; and as soon as I have done what you desire, I will start again.' No doubt the motive for tonsuring Basilissa was rather precaution for his own sake than forwardness to anticipate the wish of his father; and in what he wrote afterwards about tonsuring *by special oukaz* there may have been some secret ironical allusion, though there was nothing outwardly to give offence.

### A.D. 1709.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

In A.D. 1709 the tsarevich came to the Oukraine to Soumi (19th Jan.), bringing for his father five newly-raised regiments: he had caught cold on the way, probably from the extraordinary severity of the weather, and this ended in a dangerous fever.

The tsar, hearing that the Swedes were marching southwards on the road towards Krasni Kout, sent Menshikoff to Achtirka; and on the 30th Jan. he wrote to him: 'I would have gone yesterday to Achtirka, but stayed on here on account of the illness of my son, who to-day is a little better.' Peter was at Achtirka

from 2d to 8th Feb. On the 7th Feb. Menshikoff wrote to him from Soumi: 'I came hither yesterday at 3 P.M., and found here *Matka* and *Tetka* (Mammy and Aunty, *i.e.* Catherine and Anisia Tolstoy), whom I will bring with me. Your son, thank God, is getting well: however, he must remain here for a week yet. I will go to Bielgorod.' The tsar was at Bielgorod on the 9th; and on the 12th he went by Soumi to Voronege, where he arrived on the 14th, and received a despatch from Sheremetieff from the Oukraine, from Glinsk. He invited to Voronege the tsarevich and Menshikoff. But afterwards, on account of the defection of the Zaporogs, he wrote to desire Menshikoff not to come. When the frosts were over, 7th and 8th Apr., he launched four vessels; and on the 9th, taking with him the admiral Apraxin, he left Tavrov (where the tsarevich parted from him to return to Moscow[41]); and on the 22d he reached Azoff. There he received a despatch from Menshikoff, from the Oukraine, informing him of an attack made on the 12th Apr., at Sokolno on the Vorskla, on the corps of lieutenant-general Renn. Again, on the 13th May, Menshikoff wrote that the enemy had been attacking Poltava, which is on the Vorskla.

While at Azoff Peter was forced to take very weakening medicines, having never yet recovered from the fever which he had still upon him when he left Petersburg in June A.D. 1708. He wrote to Menshikoff at the beginning of May, from Troitsko, near Azoff, that his course of medicine would confine him to the house for ten days, but he hoped to be able to leave Azoff to join the army on the 15th: but afterwards he wrote again that he was still as weak as a child, and it would not be before the 20th.

His fleet from Voronege and Azoff having shown itself at sea, the Turks—which was the object sought—confirmed (in Nov.) the existing peace with Russia.

Charles XII. would no doubt have preferred to advance upon Moscow while the Russians retreated before him: but having the Russian army on his right flank and partly behind him, he thought it necessary to deal with it first, and therefore at the beginning of May attacked Poltava; else he would have had to follow the Russians in whatever direction they retreated,

[41] There he was employed as before; and in particular he now studied *fortification* under the direction of Hallyburton.

and they would certainly not have drawn him towards Moscow. The place was well defended, and Charles had no artillery proper for a siege; but with his usual obstinacy he persisted, and for nearly two months seemed to think of nothing else, so as even to neglect, it is said, opportunities afforded him by Sheremetieff and Menshikoff, whose positions were too far apart. Peter wrote to them of the danger. After they had drawn together, and after Peter, who left Troitsko on the 27th May, and came through Kharkoff, had joined them (1th June), Charles, while still besieging Poltava, and seeming to be on the very point of taking it, was forced to give battle with only 28,000 men against 50,000. In this famous battle (27th June) the Swedish army was destroyed, 9231 men being left killed on the field, and nearly all the remainder, 14,030 in number, surrendering on the 30th to Menshikoff, Golitsin, and Bauer at Perevolochna, at the confluence of the Vorskla with the Dnieper. The Russians had 1345 killed and 3290 wounded. Charles himself—who had been badly wounded in the foot while reconnoitring on the night of the 25th, and so had not been able actually to command in the battle, though he showed himself in a litter on the field—was carried off with difficulty by a small band of his faithful officers across the Dnieper and the Bug into Turkey. Peter wrote to Apraxin: 'Now I think a stone has been laid, by God's help, towards the foundation of Petersburg.' Menshikoff was now created a field-marshal: and of the ministers present, count Golovkin, from high chamber (*komnatni*) councillor, was made 'chancellor;' baron Shaphiroff, from secretary of the privy-council, was made vice-chancellor; Gregory Dolgorouky actual privy councillor; and the boyar Ivan Mousin-Poushkin privy councillor. All the ministers, the staff, the officers, and the soldiers now begged the tsar to take the rank of full general in the army and of rear-admiral in the navy. He consented only to take the rank of lieutenant-general in the army, but accepted with gratitude his promotion to be rear-admiral in the navy.

On the 13th July all the army moved from Poltava to Rieshitilovka; and on the 15th prince Menshikoff, with the greater part of the cavalry, was sent to act in Poland against Stanislas and the Swedish corps under general Krassov; and Sheremetieff, with the bulk of the army, was sent to blockade Riga. Peter himself on the 19th left for Kieff, where he arrived on the 22d.

On his arrival he was greeted with odes and orations, especially by the young rector of the Kieff Academy, Theophanes Procopovich: he, in the cathedral of St. Sophia, before all the people, spoke an eloquent panegyric, which is contained in vol. i. of his *Sermons and Speeches*, and which Peter caused to be printed at Kieff at the time in Latin as well as Russ. Menshikoff too was flattered, as being the only other person named in the sermon besides the tsar: he was named in connection with his victory at Kalisch.

The tsarevich too came to Kieff to his father, who while there was again very ill. He wrote (8th Aug.) to Menshikoff: 'This *cursed* fever has prostrated me; they have broken its attacks by medicines; but I am so weak that I cannot stand even for a quarter of an hour, nor walk, though I am now well.' On the 10th he wrote again that his son the tsarevich was to be attached to Menshikoff's corps (then employed in putting down the party of Stanislas in Poland); and on the 15th he left Kieff, and took with him the tsarevich, meaning him now to travel abroad, and to marry some German princess.

On the 18th to the 21st Aug. he was at Polonno (where he heard that Charles XII. had been received by the Turkish seraskier at Bender): thence he went to Doubno: on the 24th he was at Krasni-star; and the next day joined his troops under field-marshal Goltz near Liublin. On the 28th there came to him to Liublin envoys from Augustus, to congratulate him, and to propose an interview at Thorn; and the king then, with 14,000 Saxons, reëntered Poland. And some of Stanislas' adherents now asking pardon of Augustus, the Swedish commander Krassoy retired into Pomerania, Stanislas with his family following. And on the 2d Sept. information was received from Augustus that he was now near Cracow.

The victory of Poltava led to a fresh league of the ex-king of Poland and elector of Saxony Augustus, the two kings of Denmark and Prussia, and the tsar against Sweden (15th July): and very soon, by the withdrawal of the Swedes under Krassov into Pomerania, and by the abdication of Stanislas, Poland seemed to have been recovered. But the power there was now really with the tsar, who went from Liublin (7th Sept.) to Soltsi, and there remained twelve days, while barges were preparing for him. At this time, on the 8th, there arrived an envoy from the

king of Prussia, to congratulate him, and to desire a personal interview. On the 20th he went down the Vistula to Warsaw, where (23d Sept.), in the house of the marshalok Bielinsky, he received the nobles, and returned to his vessel to sleep; and went on, on the 24th, to Thorn. At the distance of a mile from that place, on the 26th, he was met by Augustus. On the 29th and 30th Sept. they held councils for the renewal of their former league.

Meanwhile, on the 24th Sept., Menshikoff, from a place near Petrikov (near Bikhov), had written to the tsar: 'I must ask for a more distinct direction respecting your son, what I am to do with him. If you wish to send him to the place you know of (Dresden), it will be necessary to make an order about money: without that he cannot live abroad. Also it will be necessary to send with him three or four officers who know the customs of those parts, and can speak the languages needed.' The tsar called Menshikoff to himself to Thorn, to take part in the conferences: he arrived there on the 2d Oct.; and a new treaty, offensive and defensive, was concluded with the king Augustus. Another defensive treaty was also made, including the kings of Denmark and Prussia. On the 7th there came an envoy from the king of Denmark; and Basil Dolgorouky soon sent word from Copenhagen that he had concluded there a treaty against Sweden. On the 8th there came to the king a Turkish envoy, with congratulations, and with friendly assurances that the sultan would not assist the king of Sweden.

Meanwhile the tsarevich, who had not travelled together with his father, had a narrow escape of being taken by a band of hostile Poles.

At Thorn Peter stayed with Augustus till the 10th Oct., and then left, and was accompanied by Augustus for eight miles on his way, as far as Sviechi; and on the 14th, parting with him, he went on to Marienverder, to meet the king of Prussia; and on the 17th Oct. he made with him a defensive treaty, and a secret agreement on certain points, of which this was one: 'That the young duke of Courland, nephew of the king of Prussia, and a minor, should at once be declared to be of age, and should marry Peter's niece the tsarevna Anna Ivanovna, and that the *duchy should be no longer held as a dependency of Poland.*' On the 19th both the sovereigns dined with Menshikoff, to whom the

king of Prussia gave the order of the Black Eagle, and who then left to lead his troops into winter quarters on the Hungarian frontier; and major-general Nostitz was sent with two regiments to reduce Elbing.

From Marienverder, on the 23d Oct., Peter wrote to the tsarevich thus: 'Zoon! We give you to know that when hospodin prince Menshikoff comes to you, you are to go to Dresden: who is to conduct you thither, and who is to accompany you, he will appoint. Meanwhile we enjoin you that you while staying there live respectably, and give more diligence to study, especially to the study of languages (of German and French, which you are already learning), of geometry and fortification, also in some degree of political affairs. And when you have finished geometry and fortification, write us word. And so God direct your way.' From Marienverder Peter went to Mitau, and came thither on the 6th Nov., and on the 9th went to the army of Sheremetieff before Riga.

Sheremetieff appeared before Riga about the beginning of October, and the tsar himself reconnoitred the place; and at the fifth hour after midnight, on the 14th Nov., he fired off the first three bombs, 'sending them'—so he wrote—'as a present into this cursed place,' by which words he alluded to the affront put upon him there in A.D. 1697. Repnin, with 7000 men, was left to blockade the place; and the rest of the army of Sheremetieff went into winter quarters in Courland.

On the 15th Nov. the tsar left Riga, and on the 23d he was at Petersburg, his 'Holy Land,' as he called it. He was pleased to see how rapidly it had grown during his absence. In this year 1709 he ordered that houses should be built there of stone or brick; and he granted many plots of land in the neighbourhood to Catherine, to his sisters, to the tsarevich, and to the chief of his nobles. He now founded the church of St. Samson, in honour of the victory of Poltava (27th June), and *a church for the Lutherans*. On the 6th Dec. he laid down a ship to be called the Poltava, and on the 7th Dec. he left; and on the 12th he arrived at Kolomensk, where he found Catherine with her children, and his sisters and nieces. The next day there came out to him all the ministers and nobles, &c., then at Moscow, and the two regiments of the guards, and they began to bring in the Swedish prisoners. On the 15th there arrived from Poland

prince Menshikoff, and the triumph was appointed to be on the 18th;[42] but it was put off in consequence of Catherine being brought to bed of a daughter, named Elizabeth. On this occasion Peter went into Moscow to be present at a moleben and *Te Deum*, in the singing of which he joined himself. The triumphal entry from the Serpouchoff gates followed on the 21st.[43] There were seven arches, each built like a church, with pyramids and obelisks and pedestals on either side of them, with inscriptions and devices, and with trumpeters above. Twenty-two thousand Swedish prisoners, with their officers and commanders, and the captured guns and colours, the litter of Charles XII., and other trophies were paraded in procession; and after the prisoners there went the colonel of the Preobrajensky guards Peter Alexievich on horseback, with Sheremetieff and Menshikoff. At the last arch, erected by the clergy, instead of the odes and trumpetings with which he had been greeted at the other six, the metropolitan of Riazan spoke an address, and Peter dismounted, uncovered his head, and put off his sword, while he heard it; then he kissed the icons presented to him, and walking on foot bareheaded, followed by the clergy singing '*Quis te non benedicet, Immaculata*,' &c., arrived with them at the door of the cathedral (over which there is an icon of the Assumption). There, according to Mr. Polevoi, he '*fell* upon his knees,' and cried aloud: 'It is by thy patronage that I have conquered!' After the moleben and the *Te Deum*, that evening was passed quietly in the palace of the Kremlin: the festival and entertainments for the people were on the following days. On the Tsaritsin plain there was erected a vast temporary building, in which the Kniaz-Tsesar Theodore Romodanofsky was seated on a throne as emperor: and to him, bowing to the ground, there advanced and made their reports, Sheremetieff, of the victory gained under the happy auspices of his Imperial Majesty at Poltava; Menshikoff, of the surrender of the remains of the Swedish army at Perevolochna; and colonel Peter Alexievich, of the victory of Liesno. The Cesar replied graciously. Then they presented the prisoners. The Cesar having said a gracious word to them

[42] The day on which, in 1664, Nicon had been finally rejected and expelled from Moscow, when he also shook off the dust from his feet.

[43] The day of the commemoration of St. Peter the first metropolitan of Moscow.

also, beckoned with his hand, a partition wall vanished, and there appeared an immense number of tables covered with a banquet, to which the prisoners together with their conquerors were to sit down. On a raised platform apart, under a canopy, the Kniaz-Tsesar, colonel Peter, and the two field-marshals sat looking on: the dinner ended about six o'clock P.M., but the revels were continued till midnight. On the second day there was a banquet for the clergy; and again the military, the people, and the prisoners were feasted; and on both nights there was a general illumination and fireworks.

At Christmas there were carollings, after Peter's old fashion, and banquetings with the Kniaz-Papa, with Sheremetieff, with Menshikoff, with Apraxin, with Dolgorouky, with Golitsin, and with Golovkin; and each of these banquets was accompanied by a popular entertainment, and by fireworks.

At the end of this year, or the beginning of A.D. 1710, Peter ordered that the regiments should no longer be named from their commanders, but from cities or provinces; and that the regular force should consist of thirty-three regiments of infantry and twenty-four of cavalry, besides 58,000 men for garrisons.

The tsarevich had parted with his father in Poland, and had gone from Yaroslaff in Volhynia (then the headquarters of Menshikoff) to travel under the title of count Michaeloff, having with him count Golovkin (son of Gabr. Golovkin the chancellor), prince Troubetskoy, and as his hofmeister baron Huyssen or Gizen. The news from the envoy at Constantinople, Peter Tolstoy, that the sultan had confirmed the peace with Russia (3d Jan. 1710), and had promised no longer to give an asylum to Charles XII., reached him (Dec. 7th and 19th) at Cracow. Charles, however, refused to leave Bender.

### A.D. 1709.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

In A.D. 1709 there are thirteen letters of the tsarevich to his father, from Jan. 11th to July 10th, and one of Dec. 19th; and to his confessor six, from Sept. 5th to Dec. 7th.

Jan. 7th, he was at Sievsk; Jan. 11th, he writes from Gloubokov, seventy versts from Sievsk, that he has as yet only 1500 of the 5500 recruits ordered. Jan. 20th, Everlakoff and Viazemsky write from Soumi that the tsarevich and *all those with him* are well, in health and *prosperity*; and Viazemsky: 'Here

we have been received *quite as by a father;* and we are most thankful for this to the all-good God, and to the holy Mother of God: we don't know how to thank His goodness enough for such a mercy.' Feb. 5th, the tsarevich writes himself from Soumi, where he has been very ill, to his father: 'I am better, thank God, than when your grace saw me, only very weak. Katerina Alexievna and *Titka* (Anisia Tolstoy) bid me send to your grace their poklon.' And Viazemsky writes to the confessor that 'on the 30th Jan. his life was despaired of, had not his hearty confession restored him. The hossoudar has gone to Voronege by way of Achtirka (unless the prince Menshikoff stops him there), and has bidden us stay on here till the tsarevich is well.' Feb. 7th, the tsarevich writes from Soumi to his father, reporting improvement. Feb. 8th, ib.: 'Yesterday I received your letter, hossoudar, through the hospodin field-marshal (Sheremetieff); and as soon as it is possible I will go to Bogodouchov, as you order me.' Feb. 13th, Krasnopolie, four miles from Soumi: 'I am now, thank God, free from my illness, and have started to-day for Bogodouchov, and have dismissed the doctor, Mr. Lunel, to return to thee.' Feb. 16th, Bogodouchov: 'I came here yesterday, and the most illustrious prince (Menshikoff) came also yesterday, in good health. Of the 5500 recruits ordered, there are now 4558: I expect the rest soon.' And at the same time he wrote to Catherine: 'Katerina Alexievna, health to you for many years! My work with the recruits here is nearly finished, and I have written of this to the hossoudar-batushka. I beg you that I may not have to live on longer here, but may come to your grace, which is always my desire. Be so kind, fail me not in this my request. Alexis.' Feb. 21st, ib.:[41] 'I have now delivered the full number of recruits, as ordered by you. I beg you, hossoudar, to bid me come to you to Voronege.' Viazemsky too writes to the confessor, Feb. 27th, from Bogodouchov. March 18th, he writes from Voronege: 'The festival of the names-day (of the tsarevich, *i.e.* the 17th) was well kept: the more so because all went extraordinarily well with his grace.' The next letters are from the tsarevich, from Preobrajensk, to his father. Apr. 23d: 'I wish you joy for this festival of Christ's Resurrection (without writing Christós Voskrése!): the hossoudarina my aunt and *all* are well.' May 10th:

[41] This and the next six letters to his father have no cross marked.

'Till I received your letter (for which I heartily thank you) I was in anxiety. I have begun, according to your order, to learn *fortification*, also to go through a course of medical treatment. To teach me, hospodin Gizen has found an engineer newly received into the service, who came with Izmailoff, named Hallyburton. He himself has hurt his hand, and is lying sick. As for what you were pleased to write of sending me some little book for translation, I beg you to let it be some history (anything else I do not think I could translate). I gave your poklon to my aunt and sister, as you bade me: they are well, and send you their poklon. Thy son, Alexis.' May 23d, a letter for the tsar's names-day (the 30th): 'The hossoudarina my aunt and sister are well.' June 2d, ib.: 'I will get ready the recruits. . . . I congratulate you on the victory over the Zaporogs:[15] God grant that your enemies may ever be so handled by you! for this on your birthday, after the thanksgiving to God, *we* made great rejoicings.' June 9th, he congratulates his father on the news received from Poland; and writes of the recruits, who will soon be ready, and of their uniforms, and of the money wanted. June 26th, congratulations on another victory; and details about officers, of whom he sends a list from the commandant Gagarin. July 10th: 'Thy letter about the most glorious and unheard-of victory (of Poltava) I have received, on which I congratulate you: for this, after the thanksgiving to God, there were extraordinary rejoicings with me and with my aunt: never before have all the people been so joyful as for this victory.'

After he had joined his father at Kieff, where they stayed till the 15th Aug. (the festival of the chief church in the Pecherskay Lavra), we find the tsarevich next writing to his nurse, from Bikhov, on the 24th Aug. Sept. 5th, he writes to his confessor from Liublin: 'I received yours of Aug. 19th yesterday: in truth it is no small pleasure to me to receive your letters, for I have no other such friend as your holiness; of that God is my witness. I learn from your letter that you have had your house burned: I heartily condole with you; only do not grieve about it too much: remember Job and St. Eustathius, how they suffered calamities, but only gave thanks for all to God, saying: The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; as it pleased the

[15] They had sided with Mazepa and the Swedes; but were reduced (14th May), and their strongholds destroyed.

Lord, so it has been: and for such their patience and thankfulness in small things they received good things, both here and in the world to come. Blessed is the man who has the Lord for his God: they that hope in the Lord are as the Mount Zion, they shall not be moved for ever, says the scripture. It is better to trust in the Lord than in man. And again: Cursed is he that putteth his trust in man, and blessed is he that putteth his trust in the Lord. So I pray you to put your hope in the Lord: He does what He wills. And for this your need be pleased to take to yourself 400 rubles from my chest.

'I beg your holiness be pleased, with the rest (*i.e.* the rest of our compania who are at Moscow), to keep the festival of St. Eustathius in my house, as before, at Preobrajensk, or in my dvor in the Zagorod—that I leave to your choice—and send one of my denshchiks, whom you think the best witted, with a synodal letter to me.' Sept. 11th, Soltsi: Referring to the letter of the 5th, he writes: 'Let the denshchik to be sent be Daoudoff.' Sept. 17th, still from Soltsi, Viazemsky writes: 'We (who are here), in company with the hossoudar's grace, are in our former state, and we are all in good health.' And on the 24th he writes from Bikhov: 'We have gone with the Prince' (*i.e.* have parted from the tsar, and gone with Menshikoff). Oct. 10th, the tsarevich writes from Konetzpolie: '*Po koumplimenti*, we have prayed God for your holiness' health, and have asked the most holy Mother of God with the apostle St. James[46] to give us soon, through their intercession, all the good things we wish for. My poklon to *all*. In haste.' And Viazemsky writes: 'In truth we have drunk to your health each a little glass of Hungarian wine, . . . pray give my poklon to Andrew Theod., Michael Greg., Ivan Iv. (all three Narishkins), and *the rest*.' Nov. 14th, the tsarevich writes from Yaroslaff: . . .[47] 'I have a quantity of gold brocades; from them take as much as is wanted for the wedding dress (or trousseau, *pridanoe*) of your daughter; and the rest give away to different churches for church ornaments. But for the church (or pridiel) of the martyr St. Eustathius, at the Borovitsky bridge, be pleased from my wares to have a perfect set made of all the vessels and furniture proper for a church, and consecrate it. For all this I trust to your discretion. What seems good, that,

[46] 'Oct. 9, James the son of Alpheus, brother of St. Matthew.'

[47] The beginning of the letter is torn away.

if you please, do. The above-mentioned letter of change have ready, but do not send it to me till I write for it: we shall be leaving this place, I expect, soon.

'If I let a long time pass without writing, it was because we were journeying: let my people go every man where he wills.

'Pray do all this as soon as may be, so that it be done before our highest personages come to Moscow.

'Pray execute the above with as little publicity as possible: and do not exact any debts due to me till I return . . . Give my poklon to the bishop of Kroutitz, to father Alexis Basilievich, to Ivan Iv. and Michael Greg. (two Narishkins), to Theodore Sergievich, and to all the rest of our acquaintances; but do not show this letter; only tell them about my travelling.

'About the relics and icons I have written to the father kliuchar; pray consult with him, and do what is best. As for the rest of my things, please to sell them—or do as you please with them—that all my property may not be lost without doing any good to anybody. Of this be pleased to consult with whom you can, so that it may be done in the best way.

'To Vladimir don't go, for God's sake; neither with anybody else, nor with Andrew Theod. (Narishkin).'

And on a separate strip of paper: 'To Vladimir I think you must not go, because you are watched by many eyes; lest from that your journey there should happen to me also some mischief: for many now know in what relation you stand to me, and that all my secrets are confided to thee; and they remember too that something has been carried away into those parts. For God's sake do not go: there are now thirty years that you have not been there; and having waited such a long time, cannot you wait a little longer? Also, if at any time brother Ad should invite you to the Matrenan woods, as in time past was his intention, don't go there, for God's sake.'[48]

[48] Among the letters to the confessor discovered in 1720 (after he had been put to death in 1718), there is part of one which has been torn, beginning thus: 'Most ven. father, hospodin protopresbyter Yakoff Ignatieff, my benefactor! We wish you health for many years;' and after the middle part, which is torn away: 'That you will visit us poor people, I, on this account, again beg and entreat you: pray do us the favour, of thy grace, when thou canst make it convenient to pay us a visit at Rostoff.'

On this there is written, *in the handwriting of Dositheus*, 'My hossoudar and brother' (the rest is torn away), p. 294.

And on a similar loose strip sent in some other letter: 'Pray put off your visit to your native place, because there might ensue from this some mischief to us: it is better to put it off as long as they who are living in that neighbourhood are in this life: if they were to die, then you might go without any misgiving.'

[Nov.] 18th, Yaroslaff: 'About my property I wrote to your holiness: pray take an inventory of everything, and do as I wrote, and write to me about it. Also of the vessels, leaden, pewter, or copper, whatever you have need of pray take to yourself, and let the rest be sold. I send to your holiness, as a present, a copy of the miraculous icon of our Lady, called Chestakovskia, which I have myself seen; another copy I send, as a blessing, to brother *Id.*' Nov. 19th, ib.: There is a short memorandum given by Menshikoff to prince Youry Your. Troubetskoy and hospodin Ivan Gabr. Golovkin, who were to accompany the tsarevich abroad. Among other things, he mentions that they are to travel *incognito*; and he enjoins them to keep on good terms with one another and with hospodin Gizen; but on hearing a report that the king Augustus was going to Dresden, Menshikoff sent the tsarevich to Cracow, and wrote (29th Nov.) from Polonno to Peter for fresh instructions; and it was not till six months later that the tsarevich left Poland for Saxony. Nov. 24th, Viazemsky writes: 'The hossoudar the tsarevich is to go to Saxony, to Dresden; and with him prince Youry Troubetskoy, and Alexander Gabr. Golovkin, a foreigner from king Augustus named Andrew Andreyevich, my poor self, and Yân; and I expect he will start soon. Letters I hope you can get sent from the house of Gabriel Iv. (Golovkin, the chancellor).' Dec. 7th, the tsarevich writes from Cracow: . . . 'On the 3d of this month God vouchsafed me to communicate here in the holy mysteries of Christ's Body and Blood, with the blessing after confession of the confessor Stephen Verba, a regimental priest; and now he is to go with me beyond sea (*i.e.* across the frontier by land): he is by origin a Cherkass (*i.e.* a kozak). My poklon to all the compania, and to the dear brother of our mediocrity *Id.*' And to his father, Dec. 19th from Cracow,[49] he writes in German: 'I have received your order from Dero, and a letter from the field-marshal prince Menshikoff, bidding me stay here till farther orders . . . in expectation of which I am, with all dutiful respect, of

[49] This letter again begins with a cross.

your majesty, my most gracious papa, the most obedient servant and son, Alexis.'

A.D. 1710.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

In A.D. 1710, 28th Jan., the Russian forces having reduced Elbing (news of which reached Moscow 7th Feb.), Peter *did not restore this place* to Augustus, having secretly promised it to Prussia. Feb. 17th, he left Moscow, having sent orders to Menshikoff to go to Riga and to choose fit spots for earthworks between that place and Dinamund, and fit out some gunboats on the Dvina; and on the 25th he was at Petersburg, where general admiral Apraxin for his services was made a count and actual privy councillor. Viborg, which had been invested from the 22d of March, having on the 12th of June surrendered, the tsar, who had come thither suddenly on the 11th, and stayed till the 22d (Menshikoff coming also from Petersburg to congratulate him), set aside the terms just before granted by Apraxin and himself, and kept the garrison as prisoners.[59] On the 23d June he reëntered Petersburg in triumph, with the spoils and captives from Viborg. In the mean time he had again been ill with a cold and fever.

Riga also, which had been blockaded and besieged from the 12th Nov. A.D. 1709, at length, 4th July 1710, surrendered, and the news of this, sent by Sheremetieff, was received at Petersburg on the 8th. The Livonians were made to transfer their allegiance to Russia, the tsar guaranteeing to them the free exercise of the Lutheran religion, and their own laws and franchises. Thus Peter, who had promised to restore Livonia to Poland, again broke faith to his ally, now become his dependent: and, besides that, setting aside the terms granted to the Swedish garrison, he kept *half of them* prisoners. Dinamund also (8th Aug.) and Pernau (14th Aug.) were reduced by generals Bouk and Bauer; Arenberg with all the island of Œsel (after 15th Aug.) surrendered; Korel, or Kexholm, in Carelia, was reduced by Bruce on the 8th Sept.; and on the 29th Revel, the capital of Esthonia, surrendered. On the 17th Oct. Peter went to see Korel, or Kexholm, staying there till the 23d, and then returning to Petersburg. So in this year of successes, 'pleno successibus

[59] *Voltaire* here observes: 'Il y a plusieurs exemples de ces violations, et il serait à souhaiter qu'il n'y en eût point' (vol. i. p. 224).

anno,' as Peter called it on a medal, there were taken eight cities, two whole provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, and some part of Finland.

However, the Danes, who had invaded Sweden, were defeated (March 6th) with the loss of 6000 men: the diet of the empire determined to neutralise Swedish Pomerania together with the Swedish troops which had retired thither (though this neutrality was not eventually respected): the Poles were hostile to Augustus, and still more hostile to the tsar, whose envoy at Warsaw Dolgorouky and whose commander Menshikoff acted arbitrarily, and imposed on them contributions.

The young duke of Courland had come to Riga, and conferred with Menshikoff in his camp; and Menshikoff, after making him presents, took from him to Petersburg his envoys with proposals and conditions for the contract of marriage with the tsarevna Anna Ivanovna. The tsar wrote to Menshikoff: 'Make haste, and come to see the beauty of my Paradise, in planting which you have had a share.' Peter with all his court went out to meet him, and fired a salute in his honour. Menshikoff, who was now at the very pinnacle of greatness, had built for himself a new palace on the Vassili Ostroff, facing towards the Neva; and Golovkin the chancellor had built another on the Petersburg side. Peter had in this year founded near his own small house a church of the Trinity; and at Kronslot the fortress of Cronstadt, with the two harbours, commercial and naval. On the 27th June he celebrated the anniversary of the victory of Poltava, for which he had caused a special office with singings, epistle and gospel, &c., to be composed: he planted a cross on a site chosen by himself for a church of the Holy Trinity and of St. Alexander Nefsky, and for the future Nefsky Lavra and Academy; and he required the clergy to study, on pain of being forced to serve as common soldiers.

In the articles of the marriage contract of the duke of Courland it was provided that the sons to be born of that marriage should be of the Lutheran and the daughters of the Greek religion; and that Courland should be independent. The wedding, for which the bridegroom (after receiving, on the 18th Aug., an invitation from Peter, together with a letter from his fiancée) came to Petersburg, was celebrated 31st Oct. in the new palace of Menshikoff, the tsar following the young couple by water from

his own house, and attending in a powdered wig as Menshikoff's hofmeister. Then there followed public buffooneries, and a wedding of two dwarfs, which was followed by all the court in burlesque dresses, and with sledges drawn by all sorts of animals. But these heathenish revels ended ill for the young duke, who, having caught a cold at them, and having left while still unwell on the 3d of Jan. following, died on the 10th at Kipeni, a station on the road 40 versts out from Petersburg. On this Peter published a manifesto, that the government of Courland had devolved upon the widow, his niece, then aged sixteen.

The tsar had been projecting also another alliance for his elder niece Ekaterina Ivanovna, and he cast his eyes upon prince Leopold Charles, brother of the duke of Mecklenburg and of the queen of Prussia. It was true that this prince had a wife already, having married two years before a princess of Nassau: but the religion of Luther, like that of Peter, allowed of repudiation; and the prince, on being informed of Peter's intentions, divorced his wife, in June 1710, and so considered himself free.

Meanwhile the tsar had learned that his son, while staying at Dresden, had seen and liked the young princess Carlotta Louisa, who was a younger daughter of Louis Rudolph duke of Blankenburg, grand-daughter of Anton Ulric duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, and niece to the queen of Poland. The elder sister of this young princess was the wife of the archduke Charles of Austria, to whom his father (in 1703) had given the title of king of Spain. Augustus was favourable to the projected alliance; but Peter deferred giving his definitive consent till he should first have had a personal interview with the emperor Joseph, having unexpectedly received from the emperor's envoy Vilchek proposals that they should jointly make war on the Turks, and divide between them not only Turkey but Poland, the tsarevich marrying an Austrian archduchess, and the tsar taking the title of Cesar or Emperor, and giving to his son the title of King of Siberia, Astrachan, or Kazan. It was even hinted that the tsarevich *might* hereafter be elected to the empire. Peter suggested, as if to facilitate such an election, that Livonia should be admitted to form part of the German empire, with a vote: but to this the envoy objected that Livonia had not as yet been formally ceded to the tsar. War with Turkey there was to be: for through the intrigues of Charles XII. and his agent

Poniatofsky the grand vizir at C.P. had been twice changed, Ali Pasha having been supplanted in June by Niman Kipruli, and he again by Baltadgi Mahomet Pasha; and demands had been made upon Russia, Peter's answers to which (July 17th and Oct. 18th) so provoked the sultan that he imprisoned the Russian envoy Tolstoy, and on the 20th Nov. declared war. The news of this reached Petersburg on the 22d December.

### A.D. 1710.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

In A.D. 1710 there are no letters of the tsarevich to his father; at least none among those that have been published; but to his confessor he writes, Jan. 15th (still from Cracow): 'Give my poklon to all the compania; I salute brother *Ad* for the Theophany.' Jan. 28th, ib.: 'Yours of Nov. 4th and 11th, and of Dec. 24th I have now received, and with great satisfaction, for since the synodal letter and your letter with it in October I have had no news from Moscow from any one: and I could not write, as for two months we were in such places that no post went from us. You wish me to write about the things in my house a letter for you to show in case of need, and I now send you one; only do nothing (if you have not already) so long as our highest personages are at Moscow: after they have left do as I wrote before: keep the letter enclosed to be used only in case of great *necessity;* but so long as *they* are at Moscow only see, so far as you can, that nothing be lost from Preobrajensk; especially see to the books, which you can take—only a few at a time, to avoid suspicion—to your own house; or, till *they* are gone, touch nothing. Also I wish you joy on the anniversary of your union with *Pater*. Please to write what is the name of brother *Ad's* wife, and of what family is she? as in your letter you did not tell me.' Feb. 4th, ib.: 'As for what you write that you had been hindered, and had done nothing as yet about my things, that was extremely well, for I wrote then in a hurry, without much reflection; and now be so good, when the time suits—that is, after our highest personages have left—to do as I wrote in my former letters. . . . Daoudoff came here on the 1st of this month. . . . About your son-in-law (Peter Anthimoff) I am in doubt: I cannot well call him to me, as I know not myself yet whether I *am* to go to Saxony, *as was intended*, or *somewhere else*. I have written to him to do so and so, that he may be able to

plead this to get off from Romodanofsky.[91] To brother *Ad* I have not written now, because I have not yet had from him the letter that I expected about his marriage, . . . but give him my congratulatory poklon, and ask him to write to me, whatever it costs him.' March 4th, Warsaw: 'You ask that I should write you exact instructions what to do. I have already done that . . . and now I send another short letter which perhaps will do better for you to show than that sent before: and in doing what I wrote of in those letters, pray do not all at once, but only take a little at a time; do not carry away all the things at once; or do in whatever way may be best and safest for yourself. Okounkoff I have with no small difficulty obtained from Bestoujeff, and he is to go to Moscow. . . . But for me, I think, he never would have been allowed; for he (Bestoujeff) was very ill-disposed towards him for a certain reason.' And on a separate slip: 'It was for *this* reason, because they take the hossoudar's money and spend it for their own needs, and then bid the podiaks enter it as expended in some other way, and the like: and therefore he was not willing to allow him to go to Moscow, fearing for himself, lest he should inform against him: and now I have with the greatest difficulty extorted from him that he should let him go, only on condition, in writing, that he is to be ready to return at once as soon as called for. Pray tell his father Gabriel that if he wishes very much to get him freed, he had better apply to Ivan Alexievich (Mousin-Poushkin), or others, to ask the prince (*i.e.* Menshikoff) to let them take him by oukaz from Bestoujeff, for he is very ill-disposed towards him, and I could not get him away except on those terms: he would even have put into the writing that he should be capitally punished if he did not make his appearance next year.'

Apr. 19th (30th N.S.), the papal nuncio writes from Warsaw: 'Last night the tsarevich arrived here, quite incognito: he declined to be lodged in the palace, and is in the house of the Russian resident Dolgorouky. . . . The king yesterday thought that as he is here incognito, and is not admitted by his father to take part in political matters, I had better make that my excuse for taking no notice.' And Apr. 26th (May 7th N.S.): 'However, I thought it proper to do like the other ministers;

[91] Whose diak he had been before, and who now was minded to take him again.

and on Sunday I sent to the prince Dolgorouky as if to compliment him, and added that having learned that there was in his house a gentleman of much distinction, I should be glad to pay him my respects at the same time. He accepted the offer for both visits; and on going at the time appointed I was immediately introduced to the tsarevich, who received me with marks of much respect, and showed interest in the health of the H. Father, about which he immediately asked me. . . . I sat with him, and, after a conversation of a quarter of an hour, he let me go, and reconducted me to the middle of his antechamber.' And on the same date: 'The tsarevich keeps up his incognito, though he has been entertained by many ministers in their houses, and especially on Sunday by the king, who, the day before, after being at the mass sung by me in the church of the Missionaries, had gone himself to take him with him to an entertainment given by the vice-chancellor. To-morrow he is going on towards Dresden, where he is expected with more interest by those ladies who are concerned in his marriage than by the *States*, because the latter are afraid of being condemned to the same expenses as the city of Cracow, which had to pay for everything down to the smallest items. He is to be pitied for not having from his father a larger annual allowance[52] than 40,000 guldens (12,000 rubles or dollars), so appointed for him by the prince Menshikoff, *in order* to keep *him under*, and that he may exercise in these regions his arbitrary power, which will fail to have the same effect elsewhere, and then he will be discontented. From Dresden he will go to Vienna, where there is some idea of making a match for him with the archduchess Maddalena' (Theiner, *Monuments Historiques*, &c., p. 440).

Apr. 27th, Warsaw, the tsarevich writes to his confessor: 'You write to me, my very dear and careful friend, that you are distressed that I should be away from you; and I, I think, am equally distressed to be away. I call God Himself to witness that I have not in all the Russian empire such another friend as you, one from whom it is so painful to be separated, God is my witness. Though I should not have chosen to say this, yet as the

[52] Among the tsarevich's papers seized in 1718 there were some showing that he had borrowed money (1710-1714) from the tsarevna Maria, and perhaps from others; and in his account-book kept abroad in 1714 there is mention of a *present* of 48 gold pieces from the metropolitan Job of Novgorod.

occasion prompts it I will add: God grant that you may live long; but if you were to die, it would be not at all a thing for me to desire, but rather a pain, to return into the Russian empire, and not to see you there where I used before to see you: only I always pray to the Lord God and to our Lady that it may be granted me, before the separation of my sinful soul from the body, to see you again, though it be but for a short time. But about all this I resign myself to His will: He can turn things that are disagreeable to our advantage.

'But bless me yet to joke a little.' (And then another paragraph which is perhaps purposely obscure, but not at all jocose:)

'You write to me, my careful friend, that I (when) in good health make all your care about (my) mother to be of no effect; and you wish to see in me about this ardent zeal and respect: but I on this point give you to understand that I do not think myself (called upon) to be ardent in this matter above other people: I think that all will be well (lit. in measure): however, the future is unknown to us; God knows, it is possible that there should be people about me both worse and better (than those who are about me now).'

After this there is an interval of three months without any fresh letter to the confessor, except it be one without either date or subscription, written seemingly after he had left Warsaw, as follows:

'We have no priest with us, and can get none; and without making an official application[53] to write openly to Moscow is not without danger. I beg your holiness to look out for a priest (who can be trusted with this secret); not an old man, but one unknown to all; and instruct him to go to me secretly, divesting himself of all signs of his priesthood; that is, shaving off his beard and moustache, and letting the hair grow on the tonsured part of his head, or shaving his head altogether, and wearing a wig, and dressing himself in the German fashion: and so send him to me as a courier (seek out such a one as may be able to bear the fatigue of riding on horseback), and bid him call himself my denshchik, and on no account say that he is a priest: it would be best that he should be without a wife: he will be with me as a servant, and besides myself and Nikiphor (Viazemsky) this secret will be known to nobody. And at Mos-

[53] An official application might have obtained for him a confessor not at all to his mind.

cow keep this as secret as possible, so that in your own house scarcely anybody, or nobody but *Pater*, know about it. Also he in his own house, where he may be, should let nothing of this be known; nor should he take anything with him belonging to a priest, nor a trebnik, only some particles for holy Communion: all the books I have: his German dress you must buy for him with my money, and furnish him with whatever is necessary; and when you have made all ready, send him to Warsaw; and tell him to present himself there to the prince Gregory Dolgorouky, and to call himself my servant or denshchik; and he will send him on to me: I will desire him to do so. Be so kind, be so kind, I pray you, as to do this; have pity on my soul; let me not be in danger of dying without (the sacrament of) penance. I want him for nothing else, but only in case of danger of death, and in health for secret confession: I shall not make it known to anybody that he is a priest: he will be with me as a servant; and at the time of vespers, and matins, and the hours I shall not let him do anything as a priest, that my people who are with me in the house may not know of this. I beg you to execute this commission with all possible secrecy and discretion. It would be well that it should be a man without any fixed home, or wife, and young; and that he should be lost sight of by his acquaintances in Moscow in such a way as if he had disappeared without anybody knowing what had become of him, a thing that happens daily; for many are driven by distress, and by the changes made in the laws. The shaving off of his beard he need not scruple at: it is better to transgress *in a small matter* than that our souls should perish for want of a confessor. But he ought to be young, or at least to look young, that they may not discover him to be a priest, but may think him to be really my servant. Pray do this good work for me; even though you may not be able to do it quickly, only set about it zealously, and without waiting for any fresh letter from me. If thou declinest to do it, God will require our souls of thee, if they depart from this life without penance' (*Collection of Documents concerning the Affair of the Tsarevich*, &c. p. 40).

Oustrialoff writes that the tsarevich came from Cracow to Warsaw in *March* A.D. 1710, and was lodged there in the house of the Russian envoy Gregory Theo. Dolgorouky, was with the king at Villanova, and received visits from him. From Warsaw

he went in April to Dresden, and thence after some days to Carlsbad, for the waters. Ten versts from Carlsbad, at a small place called Shlakenwerth, he had an interview with the queen of Poland, who had with her her niece the princess Carlotta of Blankenburg, destined to become his wife. He saw her there more than once, and took no fancy to her. Her grandfather in Aug. A.D. 1710 wrote to Urbich: 'The tsarevich was greatly disturbed at the report of your interview at Eisenach with Shleinitz, guessing that there terms were arranged for his marriage with the princess. The Russians do not wish it, fearing to lose much, if their sovereigns are not as before allied to them by blood; and some people who have the confidence of the tsarevich try to set him, on religious grounds, against making a marriage which they think would give occasion to foreigners to be dominant in Russia. The tsarevich believes them. If the tsar lets the time pass, and does not order those about his son to work upon him, the matter will certainly not be effected, however much the tsar may wish it. The tsarevich has begun to pay attention to Mde. Firstenberg and the princess Weisenfels, solely with the thought of gaining time: he has asked his father to let him see some other princesses; and in the mean time he hopes that something will occur to call him back to Moscow. Count Golovkin, the son of the chancellor, has his confidence: he is a very rational and honourable man, and may give the affair a favourable turn: on the prince Troubetskoy my correspondent does not build much. The Russian ambassadress, countess Matveyeff, said at Dresden that the tsarevich will never marry a German princess. Of the intention of the tsar I have no doubt; but whether he can *force* his son to such a marriage I leave to your judgment. And what is the princess to expect if the tsarevich marries her against his will? Everybody pities her.' The matter, however, was arranged.

The will of Peter that his son should marry a foreign princess was fixed; only he allowed him a choice: and this being so, the son was content that it should be the princess Carlotta of Blankenburg: and on the 9th Nov. her mother wrote to Urbich a cheerful letter: 'The fears which we felt—perhaps not without foundation—have suddenly been dissipated at the moment that this was least to be expected. . . . The tsarevich has declared himself to the queen of Poland, and after that to

my daughter in the most flattering and agreeable manner. My daughter assures me that the prince has changed much to his own advantage; that he is very intelligent, that he has agreeable manners, that he is honourable; and that she considers herself fortunate, and is much flattered by the honour shown her by the prince and the tsar in making her the object of their choice: nothing remains for me to wish but that the matter may end as happily as it has begun, and that there may be nothing to cause delay. I feel sure that all I have written will give you pleasure, because you wished much for this match: and I and my husband are proud of a daughter who has been thought worthy of so great an honour.'

May 17th, Viazemsky writes to the confessor: 'We have come all well to Saxony, to Dresden, and this week we are going to Toöplitz and to Carlsbad, and thence we shall soon return hither. Pray, batushka, give my poklon to Andrew Theodorovich (Narishkin), and *to the rest* who are gracious towards me' (p. 236). And June 15th, the chancellor Gabriel Golovkin writes from Petersburg to the confessor, transmitting to him letters: 'I have just received from the hossoudar the tsarevich letters from Saxony. The letters that I have received by this post in your packet I send herewith to your grace: only those letters have all had the seals broken at Narva, in pursuance of an order from the tsar's majesty to Cyril Alex. Narishkin to open and dry and fumigate all letters coming through Courland, on account of the pestilence which is in those parts. There is also a letter for Tichon Nik. Streshneff, opened in like manner, which he pleased to give to him, and explain. Asking your blessing and prayers,' &c. (p. 288).

July 22d, Dresden, the tsarevich writes to his confessor: 'Your letter written from brother *Ad's* house I have received. . . . Pray send me by Daoudoff, if it is printed, that sermon of the metropolitan of Riazan which he preached on the New Year: also write me word who is to be the bishop at Rostoff. Also I beg of you to execute the commission about which I wrote by Daoudoff with all diligence; this I earnestly beg of you.' Aug. 5th, ib.: 'My poklon to father *Judas* and to brother *Ad* and the rest. I wish them many years of life and prosperity in the grace of God. Amen.'

From Dresden, undated: 'There is here a prince of Wolfen-

buttel, who lives near Saxony, and has an unmarried daughter: he is related to the king of Poland, Augustus, who is also the sovereign of Saxony. This young lady lives here in Saxony with the queen, her relative; and they have long been thinking of marrying me to her, although my father has not been very open with me about that: and I now have seen her; and my father, having been informed of that, has thereupon written asking me what impression she has made upon me, and whether I should be willing to marry her. I knew before that he does not wish me to marry a Russian wife, but one from these parts, leaving me free as to the person. And I have written to him that since it is his pleasure that I should marry a foreign wife, I am willing that he should marry me to this princess whom I have now seen, and whose manner pleases me. She seems to me to be a good sort of person; and I think I should not be likely to find here a better than her, if I tried. I beg you be so good as to pray that if this be the will of God, it may be brought about; but if not, that it may be broken off; since my trust is in Him: He does all as it pleases Him. And write me word how your heart feels about this matter.' Oct. 1st, ib.: 'Yesterday I communicated in the holy mysteries from a Greek priest (Liberius Coletti), having confessed to him through an interpreter, viz. Theodore Borisovich (Everlakoff), as the priest could speak with him in Latin.'

Nov. 4th, Dresden: 'From that your letter I understand that God has saved you from a design of enemies, and those enemies themselves have been punished for their attempt. And for that I heartily thank God and our Lady, in the words of the prophet: "They that trust in the Lord are as the Mount Sion; they shall not be moved for ever." And again: "They became weak and fell. Though a host of men be set in array against me, yet shall not my heart be afraid: the Lord will avenge me. O Lord, despise not the work of thy hands." And for this be glory to our Creator, that again, according to the word of the prophet, "He has digged and dug a pit, and has fallen into the pit that he himself made." Finally, I wish you all to be ever so befriended from above; and may we see you again happily when it shall please God.' Nov. 8th, ib.: 'Pray write whether *Zasipka* (Alexis Narishkin) has gone yet from Moscow to the place (Ouglich) to which he has been appointed, or not. My poklon to all our *compania*.' Nov. 24th, ib.: 'If there should

be a pestilence at Moscow, pray go away to some safe place (only *not Vladimir*), as to Vologda, or wherever may be most convenient: for we hear that the pestilence is approaching Moscow.' Then, *in cypher:* 'What is more secret, write through Popp or Strogonoff.' Dec. 1st, ib.: 'There is a report here that Menshikoff is dead, only we have no certain information. About this, if you have (certain information), write; and send the letter through Popp; and write it in this cypher (which I am now using).' Dec. 30th Troubetskoy and Golovkin write from Dresden to Menshikoff: 'The tsarevich is well, and he is diligently following the studies enjoined. Besides what we reported of on the 7th, he has learned profundimetry and stereometry; and so, by God's help, he has completed all his geometry.'

With this year 1710 is connected a very painful episode in the tragedy with which we are occupied. We have seen that the tsaritsa Eudocia in A.D. 1703 and 1704 still wished and hoped to regain the goodwill of her husband. At that time his infatuation for Anna Mons was on the decline, and his connection with her was soon to be broken off. But years passed on: instead of Anna Mons visited only in a private house, there was Catherine installed in the palace; and *Te Deums* were publicly sung in the cathedral (A.D. 1709) on the birth of her illegitimate children. There was nothing certainly in this to encourage Eudocia to hope on any longer.

When Nicon was a prisoner in the Therapontoff monastery the envy and malice of those who had supplanted him made it one of their pretexts for fresh persecutions that suffering women and girls sought to him to be healed of their sicknesses, and sat at his feet, while he taught them out of the Scriptures. Times had changed: the successors of Pitirim and Hilarion and Paul and Joachim were now disgusted and alarmed at the roughness with which their beards were pulled by the son of Alexis; and while they were trembling for themselves and for their order, the adulterer and tyrant selected a monastery as the most convenient prison for his wife. Instead of a patriarch capable of healing and instructing suffering women of the poor, there was imprisoned a tsaritsa; a woman needing spiritual medicine and instruction as much as any poor person; under the charge of that hierarchy and that national Church which had sold itself to the State. What, then, was it which the charity of the nuns or the

piety and wisdom of their spiritual directors and of the bishop of the diocese could do to heal the wounded soul of Eudocia, and to teach her to turn her temporal wrongs and disappointments to an abiding gain? Certainly they did not much help either the tsaritsa or her son.

Regarding her and her son as destined to be their own patrons in a future reign, they fed her imagination with vain and superstitious hopes of a change in her temporal lot; and instead of guiding her to attain supernatural virtues, they even facilitated for her the natural descent from mere discontent and disappointment to degrading sins.

Reports reached the tsaritsa in the Pokrovsky monastery that Dositheus, the hegoumen of the Snovidsky (afterwards archimandrite of the Spass-Euthymieff at Souzdal, and then bishop of Rostoff), had the gift of prophecy. She went secretly to see him.

'Such reports about him were, in fact, widely circulated; and later' (so Esipoff writes; and no doubt there is some truth under the story, though as given it does not suit known dates), 'when Dositheus was archimandrite of the Spass-Euthymieff at Souzdal, Menshikoff himself was influenced by them. When some of his malpractices were made the subject of an inquest, and he was in danger of losing the tsar's favour, he wrote to Dositheus begging his prayers, and asking at the same time if he would escape from misfortune and from the tsar's anger. Dositheus replied that God would deliver him; and when this prediction was fulfilled, and Menshikoff had been pardoned, the princess Menshikoff sent to Dositheus one hundred ducats (*chervontsi*) and one hundred rubles as alms. And by her influence it was that Dositheus was made bishop of Rostoff.'

The tsaritsa Eudocia, a good many years before Menshikoff, in A.D. 1699, laid her griefs before the hegoumen Dositheus; and he comforted her, and in dark prophetic hints foretold that the tsar would restore her to favour. Thus encouraged, she returned to the Pokrovsky monastery, and threw off the monastic dress, after she had worn it unwillingly six months; and she had been tonsured, not in the church, but in a room and behind a curtain.

Having resumed her secular dress, she lived in the monastery in a way very different from that to which Peter had doomed her; and it is wonderful that, at a time when informers abounded,

she should have been able to do as she did for so many years with impunity.

After Yazikoff had left in A.D. 1699, the authorities of the monastery sent to Moscow a petition to be allowed to build special cells for the nun-tsaritsa. Permission was granted to build, but at the expense of the monastery. At first they built her a lodging near the warm church and the refectory: afterwards, in A.D. 1705, they made another near the church of the Annunciation, which was over the holy gates. The first was burned in A.D. 1710.

The lodgings built for her in A.D. 1705 were spacious. The tsaritsa placed in them those nuns who were her own attendants. There came to her from Moscow her former dwarf Ivan Terentieff. From the corridor of her cells she could go straight into the church of the Annunciation, in which there was made for her a covered place with tale windows. There were on service daily at her lodgings, from the monastery, six persons for messages and different domestic services. In her kitchen there were two cooks. For her table there was prepared on fast-days fish, on other days meat. She seldom herself ate meat, because it disagreed with her. The provisions were bought with the money of the monastery, but in the account-books the flesh-meat was entered as *fish*. The dishes were brought from the kitchen by the day-servants, and taken from them at the entrance to the lodgings by the nuns and the maid-servants.

On the festival of the church of the monastery, viz. that of the Pokrov (Protection) of our Lady, 1st Oct., and on the names-days of the tsar Peter and the tsarevich Alexis, there commonly came to Souzdal the bishop and the secular authorities, the voivodes and landraths. After the liturgy they visited the tsaritsa, to pay their respects. There came also the burgomeisters of the judicial and finance departments of Souzdal, with offerings of fish, cakes called *kalachi*, honey, and apples. The bishop and the voivodes were received by the tsaritsa in her lodgings, and she gave them with her own hand a small glass of vodky and red wine. The burgomeisters she did not admit to her own presence: they were regaled with wine at the cellar of the monastery; and afterwards they came before the stair of the tsaritsa's lodgings, and made three obeisances to the ground.

On these festival days the tsaritsa gave the bishop and the

voivodes, the hegoumina, and her confessor Theodore Poustinni gifts from her table. These were round *pirogi*, dishes of boiled and broiled fish, &c.: to the hegoumina there were sent specially *lerashniki* (a kind of cake with berries or plums). The tsaritsa always wore a secular dress: dark-blue, green, or other plain-coloured *kountoushi*, Russian *shoubes*, short *tiouloguéyi* (bodices), *doushegrieyki* (jackets, lit. comforters), and on her head *porcoiniki* (turbans), white *sviazki*, and Polish *shapki* (caps). She was interested to know what was doing in the tsar's circle, and about her own 'Alesha, whom she could not see,' *i.e.* the tsarevich. About him she received news in letters from her brother Abram Lopouchin, and from others, as, for instance, from the prince Simeon Tscherbatoff, and from the princess Anastasia Trockourova. Her correspondence was carried on through her confessor Theodore Poustinni, the kliuchar of the cathedral at Souzdal.

In A.D. 1710 the *confessor* Theodore Poustinni proposed to her to make acquaintance with the major Stephen Gleboff, who had come on recruiting service to Souzdal. As if she had had a presentiment of the consequences of this acquaintance, she for some days did not consent. The *confessor* brought to her from Gleboff rich presents—two skins of black fox, a pair of sables, and forty sables' tails. Gleboff was rich and young (?); and the tsaritsa's *confessor* and the nun nearest about her, named Kaptelina, were *covetous*: he *gained* them, and they persuaded the tsaritsa to receive him. Eudocia consented, and with the help of Kaptelina she did not stand out against the seductions of Gleboff.[54] . . . Her letters to Gleboff which have been preserved (and which Peter caused to be read out publicly at the inquest in A.D. 1718, as if unconscious that the guilt was more his own than hers) show how passionately she loved him. Her letters are printed in vol. vi. of the *History of Peter the Great*, by Oustrialoff.

At the beginning of her passion for Gleboff she did not conceal from those about her her relations with him; and he on his side was equally regardless of appearances, and did not seek to screen the reputation of the tsaritsa. Many persons in the monastery knew of the *liaison* of Eudocia with Gleboff, but they were afraid to say anything. The intendant of the monastery, Athanasius Sourmin, heard *from the protopope* Simeon that Gleboff

[54] She must then have been about thirty-eight years old.

was in the habit of going to the tsaritsa at nights. He mentioned this again to the *bishop* Dositheus:[55] Dositheus naturally *told* the tsaritsa. She called Sourmin before her: 'Why do you, you thief, say such words? Do you know that I have a son living, who will pay you off?' Through the influence of the incensed Eudocia Sourmin was *displaced from his office*; and the *protopope Simeon* too was *deprived of his place*, and even threatened, so as to make him fear for his life, which caused him to become a monk. Dositheus *openly dissembled* his knowledge of the immoral *liaison* existing between the tsaritsa and Gleboff. She drove to visit him at the Spass-Euthymieff monastery *in company with Gleboff*, and *supped with him* in his cells. But the happiness of Eudocia lasted not long: Gleboff after two years abandoned her altogether. Her thoughts again reverted to hopes of being restored to Peter, and to the throne. She *prayed*, but *found no comfort*. She got into a state of despair: 'I pray much to God,' she said to the bishop of Rostoff, Dositheus, 'but God does not hear me.' Dositheus exhorted her not to murmur, *not to fall away from God*; and in order to keep up her faith he every year comforted her with predictions: 'Thou shalt be again tsaritsa!' The year passed. The tsaritsa asked: 'What do you say now?' Dositheus replied: 'This is for the sins of your father, who is in hell' (*hades*, *i.e.* in purgatory). The tsaritsa sent to him money, that he should pray for the soul of her father. When the following year came, Dositheus communicated to her that he had seen her father, as if now out of hell (purgatory) down to the waist; the year after that, according to the words of Dositheus, he had emerged as far as the knees.

The tsaritsa took to making excursions as pilgrimages to different monasteries, chiefly in the summer. Besides this, she often went to the Spass-Euthymieff monastery, the Prepodobensky monastery of nuns, and the parish churches of Souzdal, especially the Kazan and Tichvin churches. To Souzdal she went always by night, in the carriage of the hegoumina. Of such expeditions of hers there are accounts, with very minute details, relating to the years 1716 and 1717, which, like all the facts mentioned above, were brought out by the inquest of A.D. 1718 (Esipoff, in the *Russkia Dostopamiatnosti*, vol. i. art. 6, p. 12. Moscow, 1866).

[55] He was made bishop of Rostoff, after the death of Demetrius, in A.D. 1711.

A.D. 1711.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

In A.D. 1711 Peter, leaving Menshikoff at Petersburg, and sending (somewhat later) the admiral Apraxin to Voronege, and ordering Sheremetieff to move the army as quickly as possible from Livonia to the frontier of Moldavia, started himself on the 17th Jan. for Moscow. There, by oukaz of 22d Feb., he created a 'Governing Senate,' consisting at first of eight[56] members, viz. count Ivan Al. Mousin-Poushkin, Tichon Nik. Streshneff, Peter Al. Golitsin, Michael Vlad. Dolgorouky, Gregory Pleniannikoff, Gregory Volkonsky, Michael Samarin, and Basil Opouchtin. All the members were to have equal voices, and the oukazes were to be subscribed by all. The senate was to be obeyed in the tsar's absence even as the tsar himself, on pain of death; and the tsarevich (who, however, was then at Dresden, and who is not mentioned in the *Journal* of Peter) is said to have been charged with the oversight of its proceedings.

On Sunday the 25th Feb. a manifesto, of the Turks having declared war, was read in the cathedral; and Peter caused new red standards, instead of their former white ones, to be blessed for the two regiments of the guards, with these words emblazoned: 'For the name of Jesus Christ, and for Christendom;' and at the top, around a cross in glory, these words: 'In this sign thou shalt conquer;' so proclaiming himself a champion of the Cross. But the Cross did not accept him for its champion; and his profanation of religious language was to be signally punished.

On the 2d of March a new oath was taken in presence of the tsar, in the cathedral, by the senators, and by the governors, to discharge faithfully their duties; and an oukaz was published the same day defining the powers of the senate, and appointing all over the empire 'Fiscals,' with one 'Ober-fiscal,' secretly and openly to hunt out corruption and other abuses, and to denounce them to the senate.

Peter had a misgiving as to the issue of the Turkish campaign, and as to his own life; and with a view to contingencies he determined now to give Catherine the title and rank of Tsaritsa, with a *promise* to marry her if he lived to return from the Turkish war. In a letter to Menshikoff he wrote these words: 'I thank

[56] Solovieff says 'nine,' and adds the name Mielnitsky, and an obersekretar Onesim Stchoukin.

your grace for congratulating me on my promise (*parole*), which I was obliged to make on account of this campaign of uncertain issue, in order that if they[37] are left orphans their position may be better; but if God of His goodness ends this business well, then we will complete it (the promise) at Petersburg.' And on the 6th of March 'there was published a manifesto concerning the Hossoudarina the Tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna, that she is a true and lawful Hossoudarina.' That is, Peter now gave her by oukaz a legal right to the titles of Hossoudarina and Tsaritsa, as if she had been really his wife, with a promise to marry her if he lived (*Journal of Peter the Great*, part i. p. 308).

On the 12th of March A.D. 1711 Menshikoff, writing to Catherine from Petersburg, begins for the last time, 'Katerina Alexievna, health to thee,' &c., and directs his letter to 'Katerina Alexievna Michaëlova:' but on the 30th Apr. he writes, 'Most gracious Hossoudarina Tsaritsa:' and calls her daughters 'the hossoudarinas the Tsarevnas' (Solov. *Hist.* &c. vol. xvi. p. 72). In the letters of the tsarevich there is the same change of style in mentioning Catherine after the oukaz of 6th March A.D. 1711.

But the feelings and comments of the *people* are expressed in the following words, quoted by M. Semevsky: 'A *monk* cannot be called tsar; no more can *she* (Catherine) be called tsaritsa: she is not a native woman, nor a Russian; and we know'—so said one of the old people in the service—'how she was taken captive (24th Aug. A.D. 1702) and brought under the colours in only a shift, and placed under charge of a sentinel (a picquet), and our officer of that picquet put over her a kaftan. . . . She with the prince Menshikoff have bewitched the tsar's majesty; and but for this, that there were then (at Moscow) no soldiers, he having sent them all away in different directions, there would have been something done to them,' *i.e.* to Menshikoff and Catherine (*Of the Mons Family*, p. 47).

On the same day on which the above-mentioned oukaz was published (6th March) the hossoudar started for Poland, to join his army, together with the hossoudarina the tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna, going by Viazma, Smolensk, and Gorki, and on the 13th reaching Sloutsk, then the headquarters of Sheremetieff.

Leaving Sloutsk on the 25th, they arrived on the 27th at Loutsk; and there Peter fell very ill of an attack of 'scorbutica,'

[37] *i.e.* Anna and Elizabeth, his natural daughters by Catherine.

the worst fever, as he wrote on the 9th April to Menshikoff, that he had ever had in his life, with violent and very dangerous paroxysms. It had then lasted a fortnight.

On Thursday in Holy Week, 13th April, Sheremetieff was ordered to march so as to have his army by the 20th of May in position from Bratslav to the Dniester, with provisions for three months; and on the same day their majesties left, and came on the 16th April to Yavorovo, where on the 19th they received news that the emperor Joseph had died of the small-pox.

At Yavorovo, on the 10th May, Peter signed the contract which had been drawn up for the marriage of his son the tsarevich (called in this document the *kron-printz*) to the princess Carlotta of Wolfenbuttel; and he sent it off the same day to Brunswick, to be signed by the other parties concerned. The princess was then seventeen years old. She was to be free to follow her own Lutheran religion, to have her private chapel and pastor, and to appoint the officers and servants of her own household: the tsar was to give her 50,000 rubles annually for her household, and 25,000 for herself.

The tsar and Catherine stayed on at Yavorovo till the 20th May, expecting the king of Poland; and then going to Yaroslaff, they met there the king, and the crown-prince his son. Here the ministers of the two sovereigns held conferences. The Poles did not consent to act against Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania, nor to declare war against Turkey, till the 30th of May; and then Peter had to give them a subsidy of 100,000 rubles, and a *fresh promise* (this time *in writing*, but to be broken equally with the former verbal promise) to restore to them Livonia.

A letter written by the tsar on the 24th April to Apraxin shows that he was then still much depressed, feeling, as before, the issue of the campaign to be uncertain, and even speaking in a tone of despair; and besides that, he had scarcely returned to life from his fever. But presently things looked brighter: the Tatars invading the Oukraine were defeated with great loss, and the son of the khan was slain: and Catherine wrote to Menshikoff (12th May) that the Polish nobles gave her banquets, and evening parties, and balls, at which she danced; and that 'if he heard *any idle reports*, he was not to believe them, for the hospodin rear-admiral retains you as before in his favour and affection.'

Peter himself had written to Menshikoff in March: 'I never expected such conduct of you.' And again: 'I wonder very much that your baggage lingers above a year after you in Poland. Also it seems that Chashniki has been taken from its owners for you. I earnestly beg you not for such small gains to lose your glory and credit. I request you not to be annoyed at this: for the first rebuke is better than the last. And for me who am in such sufferings, it now touches myself, and I shall not spare any one.' The farther he went into Poland, the stronger were the complaints against Menshikoff. Menshikoff wrote that it was not a matter worth attending to if some '*trifles*' *had* been taken from the Poles. But Peter replied: 'As for what your grace writes of these plunderings, that they are trifles, it is no trifle, but our interests are thereby damaged through the irritation of the people. God knows how much annoyance we suffer here through that. Besides, they have become so licentious that they do not attend to orders, and I shall have to punish with death some of them,' &c. However, Menshikoff had a powerful intercessor in Catherine, who wrote, as we have just mentioned, to tranquillise him from Yavorovo. But after his return to Petersburg Peter saw that his 'herzens-kind' even in the government committed to him was abusing the tsar's favour.

On the 30th May their majesties left Yaroslaff, and returned to Yavorovo, where they learned that Sheremetieff was now on the Moldavian frontier; that he had crossed the Dniester without difficulty at Rashkovo, and had sent a strong detachment under brigadier Kropotoff to Jassy, to receive there the prince Dmitri Cantemir of Moldavia.

On the 1st June their majesties left Yavorovo for the frontier, going by way of Lvoff to Bratslav, where were the two regiments of the guards: and thence on the 8th they went to Vishkovtsi; and the same day Sheremetieff wrote word that he was now with the cavalry on the Pruth: and he came with prince Cantemir, and stated that the Turks were crossing the Danube, and had already put across about 40,000 men.

In June there were great heats; and there had been before that a plague of locusts. The Turks began to cross the Danube on the 18th of June, at Isakcha; and Peter by the 9th of June was at Shpikov in Podolia, whence he would have sent Catherine and her ladies back to Poland for safety, but she pressed him so

hard to let her go on that against his will he consented: and on the 12th of June he came to the Dniester, where all his army concentrated itself, and crossed on the 17th.

The march of fifteen days from the Dniester to Soroki and thence to Jassy was very difficult. On the night of the 24th Peter reached the Pruth, and on the next day Jassy, where he was met by Sheremetieff and Cantemir, and by the protospathari of Wallachia, who came in the name of the people, but was not sent by the hospodar Constantine Brancovan. It seemed to be a sign of weakness in the enemy, that the sultan commissioned the patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthus, jointly with the hospodar Brancovan of Wallachia, to propose to treat for peace, which Peter refused, partly from suspicion, but still more not to encourage the enemy. Accompanied by Cantemir and Cantacuzene, Peter returned to the army on the Pruth; and after celebrating on the 27th the anniversary of Poltava, he held a council of war. At this council, in consequence of information that the Turks had not yet all crossed the Danube, it was determined, in spite of the want of supplies, to try to anticipate them, and to march down the right bank of the Pruth as far as Faltsi, detaching general Renn with his cavalry to seize the stores of provisions said to be at Brailoff, and to bring them to Galatz. So Renn was detached on the 30th June; and the main army, crossing the Pruth, marched down its right bank (though there was information that the Tatar khan had crossed in their rear) till the 7th July, when, on a false report received at six P.M. that the Turks had crossed the Pruth in front of them, general Yanus and the advanced guard of the Russians were recalled. Meanwhile the Turks did cross, so cutting off the communication with Renn and his cavalry; and the Russian army fell back, and on the 9th July about noon reached a spot called Novoe Stanelishche, where they put the baggage towards the river, and stationed the army round it. Here the Russians, 38,246 in number,[58] were surrounded by a force of 119,668 Turks and 70,000 Tatars (so the numbers are given by Solovieff), and

[58] 31,554 foot and 6692 cavalry, and 121 guns and mortars of all sorts, according to Peter's *Journal:* but in his oukaz for the coronation of Catherine, in A.D. 1723, he speaks of the army as having been reduced to only 22,000 men, while the Turks, he says, professed to have had 100,000 foot-soldiers and 120,000 horse, besides 50,000 Tatars, or in all 270,000 men, with 469 guns.

Peter was in despair. He wrote to the senate a letter containing these words: 'Gentlemen senators, I hereby inform you that I, with all my army, without fault or blunder of ours, but only through false information, am surrounded by a Turkish army four times more numerous than my own: and all ways by which provisions could reach us are cut off; so that, *without some special help from God*, I see nothing in prospect but either complete destruction or Turkish captivity. In the latter case, you must no longer regard me as your sovereign, nor do anything, whatever comes to your hands, though it be an order written by my own hand, so long as you do not see me personally. But if I perish, and you receive trustworthy information of my death, then elect from among *yourselves* the *worthiest* to be my successor. Peter.' Hence it appears that he was already inclined to disinherit his son, and adding one blunder to another, to extinguish the dynasty of the Romanoffs, even at the very time that he was seeking to marry his son to a sister of the empress of Germany. But for the present he and his army, and his son too, and the dynasty were saved by a happy thought, with which the mercy of God (willing to warn him, if it had been possible for him to be warned) inspired a weak woman, a foreigner, his slave and captive. For that night, when he was in despair, alone in his tent, and had given orders to admit nobody, Catherine, breaking through this prohibition, suggested to him, and succeeded in persuading him, to propose to the grand vizir to treat for peace; and this proposal, contrary to all expectation, was accepted. Peter was ready even to give up all that he had conquered from Sweden, if required, except Ingria, and instead of that to cede such other territories as might be required;[59] but the Turks finally insisted only on certain inconsiderable concessions to themselves, the neutrality and independence of Poland, and a safe conduct for Charles XII. to return to his own dominions. So a peace was signed[60] July 12th; and Charles, who came

[59] Shaphiroff was also empowered to promise to the vizir and other individuals very large sums of money—to the vizir 150,000 rubles, to his kegal 60,000, to the chaoush-basha 10,000, to the aga of the Janizzaries 10,000, and to the secretary, the interpreter, &c., in proportion.

[60] 'When the first trumpeter was sent to the vizir, Sheremetieff said to us that whoever had suggested to the tsar to make this proposal must be the greatest simpleton in the world; only, if the vizir were to accept the proposal, he would be a still greater' (*Memoires du Comte de Lion*, i. 91; ap. Solov. xvi. p. 390).

when it was just too late to the Turkish camp, showed his displeasure in vain. On the 20th the Russian army recrossed the Pruth from Stepanovichi; on the 23d it reached the Dniester, and rested on the opposite side till the 3d of August.

From the spring of A.D. 1711 Peter's health, though he was then only in his fortieth year, failed more and more; and now, after all that he had gone through, he needed rest and medical treatment. He determined to go to Carlsbad; and on the 3d Aug., though unwell, he left the army, inspected Kamenetz, and went thence by Jolkva to Yaroslaff (15-18th Aug.), and by water down the San to its junction near Sandomir with the Vistula (20th Aug.), and so on by the Vistula to Warsaw (24th Aug.), receiving at Yanovetz the ratification of his treaty with the Turks, sent to him by Shaphiroff from Constantinople. He stayed at Warsaw two days (24-26th Aug.), and went on by the Vistula to Thorn, where he stayed from the 29th Aug. to the 3d Sept. While there, on the 31st Aug., he received news, by a messenger from the king of Poland, that Stralsund was now invested, and that the Swedes had concentrated all their forces, amounting to 14,000 men, in Stettin, Vismar, and Stralsund, sending their cavalry into the isle of Rugen. Peter left Catherine at Thorn; and he left with her that battalion of the Preobrajensky regiment of the guards which had escorted them.

Within its own Russian dominions the strong will with no law but its own passion had done what it pleased; it had tonsured a wife by special oukaz, and proclaimed a female captive of low birth, without marriage, Hossoudarina and Tsaritsa. But when he was going into Germany, to meet sovereign princes and the ladies of their families, and to be present at the marriage of his son to a German princess, Peter thought it necessary to leave Catherine behind him; and in this no doubt he was right, though she, poor woman, was much less worthy of reproach than her master.

Peter went from Thorn to Poznan, and thence to Dresden, where he stayed from the 9th to the 11th Sept. On the 12th he reached Carlsbad, and on the 15th began his cure of three weeks. There he kept the anniversary of Liesno. He wrote to Menshikoff: 'We wish you joy on this day as the beginning of all good; wherefore also to-day we have drunk an extra glass.'

On the 3d Oct. he left Carlsbad, and was at Dresden for

five days (7-12th Oct.). Then he went by the Elbe to Torgau, to a palace there belonging to the queen of Poland, to be present at the marriage of his son the tsarevich Alexis to the princess Carlotta Christina of Wolfenbuttel; and this marriage was celebrated according to the Greek rite on Sunday the 14th at four P.M., in the great hall, in the presence of the queen and of the members of the bride's family. After the ceremony and the usual interchange of kisses, they went to the apartment of the queen, and were there about four hours. Meanwhile a banquet was prepared in the hall, at which by the desire of the tsar his officers, count Golovkin, general Bruce, Basil Dolgorouky, and the princes Boris Kourakin and Youry Troubetskoy, sat all at the same table with himself and the queen and the ducal family. After the banquet they danced in the same hall: and when that was over, the tsar himself conducted the new-married couple to their apartment. On Monday the 15th he went early to the rooms of the tsarevich, where was their bed-chamber; and there he also dined with the tsarevich incognito, there being only the crown-princess present besides all his own ministers. On the 16th the tsar did not go out from his own quarters all day; on the 17th he dined in state in the palace of the queen of Poland; on the 18th he gave audience to the Saxon field-marshal Fleming. On the 19th he left Torgau.

Peter had written to Menshikoff on the 14th, saying that he would answer his letter on business later, but just then the wedding prevented it: he added that a water-melon sent by Menshikoff had figured on the table, and was regarded as a great curiosity. And he wrote to the senate thus: 'Gentlemen of the senate! we give you to know that to-day the marriage of my son has been celebrated here at Torgau, in the house of the queen of Poland, and there were present a great number of distinguished persons. Thank God that this has been happily accomplished. The family of the princes of Wolfenbuttel, our connections, is a very illustrious one.'

Peter is said to have been pleased with his daughter-in-law, who, however, had not the attraction of beauty, and was marked with the smallpox.

'A minister whose memoirs about the court of Russia have been printed'—writes Voltaire—'says of the tsarevich in a letter to his master, dated 25th Aug. A.D. 1711: "This prince is tall

and well made: there is in him a strong likeness to his father: he has bright black eyes, and is gifted with intelligence and ability: he has a good heart, is pious, has read the Scriptures, and likes much to read the old Greek histories; his mind is large, and ready; he knows mathematics, understands war and navigation and hydraulics; he knows German, and is learning French" (vol. ii. p. 37).

It is remarkable that in one hundred and four letters of Peter to Catherine, written before the end of A.D. 1717, there is *once* only mention of the tsarevich Alexis: this is on the occasion of his marriage, when Peter charges Catherine 'to notify it to the all-comicallest Kniaz-Papa and the rest (*i.e.* the members of his mock college), and to beg him to be pleased to bless this young couple, after having robed in full pontificals, together with all those who are with you.' Peter felt sure that *such* a jest as this would be to the taste of 'Katerinushka' (Semevsky, *Of the Mons Family*, p. 55).

The duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel *wished to keep the new-married couple with him for a year*, but Peter did not consent to this, having determined to employ his son, *only three weeks after his wedding*, in collecting and storing provisions;[61] and before leaving Torgau, only four days after his marriage, he gave him on the 18th Oct. a paper of instructions headed thus: '*What my son is to do in Poland during my absence*:[62] 1. To collect magazines on both the Baskas which run into Pomerania for 30,000 men, for six months. . . . And for this there are to be commissaries Russian and Polish; and he is to send out universals (*i.e.* manifestoes) fixing a term for the exaction. 2. These stores are to be carried in vessels to Stettin, except what is wanted for Bauer's corps this autumn. 3. For this he is to employ dragoons detached from the corps of Bauer, who are always to have over them officers of the guards; and any undue exaction is to be punished with death.'

So the tsarevich went to Thorn, and wrote thence 10th Nov. to his father: and some weeks later (19th Dec.) he was followed thither by his bride.

[61] Another instance of Peter's blundering incapacity, wherever higher considerations than those of mere material interest were concerned; incapacity caused by the want of a moral and religious education.

[62] By his treaty made with the Turks he was bound not to meddle with Poland in any way.

Urbich, who has been mentioned above, and who had been the chief agent in bringing about this marriage, wrote to his court that they were displeased with him on this account at Vienna; that the empress dowager was angry because the tsarevich had not married an archduchess: he wrote, 'And I have been scolded by her court ladies, because they at that time had had great hopes of introducing into Russia the [free] profession of the Catholic faith.' After the celebration of the marriage he wrote to Golovkin: 'I congratulate your excellence on this event, because you have had a share in it; and I myself am not a little pleased, because I laid the first stone towards it, and encountered no small amount of trouble and annoyance on the Wolfenbuttel side. I have always thought this princess well educated and sensible, and she seemed to me the best suited of all foreign princesses for this match.' He also wrote that the news of the crown-princess having so soon parted from her husband, and having gone to Brunswick while he went to Thorn, had produced very disagreeable stories at Vienna.

Meanwhile, on the 20th, Peter had met at Krossen the crown-prince of Prussia and two Danish ministers, with whom on the 22d he held a conference, and wrote points for them, about the siege of Stralsund. On the 27th he rejoined Catherine at Thorn; and the next day, with only a small suite, they went by the Vistula to Elbing (31st Oct.), where was then a Russian garrison commanded by Theodore Balk,[93] whose wife was Matrena, the elder sister of Anna Mons. Thence on the 7th Nov. they went by sea to Pillau, and to Königsberg, where they arrived late on the 9th. On the 11th they went to the village of Shaken, and thence by the Courische-Haff in yachts on the 12th and 13th to Memel, and thence by land to Mitau (16th Nov.), and Riga (18th Nov.), where they stayed till the 7th Dec., and reached Revel on the 13th, stayed again there till the 27th, and on the 29th were at Petersburg. A fresh body of Russians under general Bauer was sent to reinforce those already coöperating with the Danes and Saxons in Pomerania.

At the end of A.D. 1711 Basil Luk. Dolgorouky went for his health to Carlsbad; and early in 1712 (29th Feb.) at Dresden he received an order to go to Warsaw to represent Russian in-

[93] Balk had been colonel of a regiment since A.D. 1699; he was commander at Dorpat from A.D. 1704, and at Elbing from 1710 to the beginning of 1714.

terests at the Diet, where the Poles made no objection, on their own part, to the presence or passage of the Russian troops, but would not consent to feed them.

A.D. 1711.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

Of this year 1711 there are nineteen letters from the tsarevich to his father, most of them relating to his marriage; and thirteen letters to the confessor, two of which are from Everlakoff. To his confessor the tsarevich writes, Jan. 15th, from Dresden: 'I send herewith a letter of condolence for Andrew Theod. (Narishkin, nicknamed *Satan*): pray enter the names of the deceased in the (diptychs of the church of St. Eustathius now) ready, and cause them to be prayed for. Also write me word about the metropolitan of Riazan, what is going to be done with him.' Jan. 26th, ib.: 'As to what you write about my own affair, to force that person to embrace our faith is quite impossible: it is only afterwards, when she comes into our country, and sees and considers for herself, that she may do this; but before that this is quite out of the question. And about this we must all repose our chief hope on the will of God: He often turns things which seem to be adverse to our advantage; while we often, without His help, turn even those things that seem to be advantageous to our hurt. Your holiness in that your letter has not at all pained me, but has rather given me pleasure, wishing me all good, temporal and eternal. But about all this God's will be done: He, for the prayers of his holy Mother and of his saints, will either bring it about or break it off, according to his own divine will, in which I put and will put my trust.' Feb. 9th: 'Daoudoff' came Dec. 26th, and brought all, for which I thank you, and I have already written to that effect. Also I thank you extremely for the good news of your sending me the father Slonsky, at which I rejoice with all my soul . . . and I rejoice the more, because he is a good man, and one with whom we may well be content. Though it could not be thyself, do not grieve for this; God turns even what is disagreeable to our good. To conclude, I wish all good things to you, and to those of our acquaintance who are with you.' Feb. 24th, ib.: 'For the strip with our cypher alphabet I thank you much, and I am very glad that you can write it (so when there is any need we can write in it for secrecy whatever there may be occasion so to write).' April

11th, ib., with thanks for sending him the news from Moscow, and asking him to continue to write of whatever occurs there. April 24th, ib., to his father: 'Of the horses given to me by the duke of Wolfenbuttel I have sent to you two, wishing you prosperity in riding them; and I have also sent to Matushka (Catherine) two.' April 25th, ib.: 'As you bade me, I am starting this moment for Wolfenbuttel.' May 1st, Brunswick, to his confessor: 'You think I write *despairingly* of my coming back to you, because I wrote: *When* this will be God knows. Not so; for all our life is in the hand of God: it would rather be "despairingly," if I did not write so.' May 4th, ib., to his father: 'In pursuance of thy order, I came here to Brunswick to the duke of Wolfenbuttel, he being here now, one mile from Wolfenbuttel; and he, the said duke, the grandfather of the princess, as well as her father and mother, received me cordially. To-day I have received your letter, directing me to tell the duke that the articles of the marriage contract shall be sent soon, and to stay on here till thy farther order. I have told the duke, and he is very glad; and I will stay on here till farther order.' And the same day he wrote also to Catherine: 'Madame, I give your grace to know that I have come hither by order of the hossoudar-batushka, and the dukes, the father and grandfather, and the mother of my future wife treat me with much attention. Other news I have none to tell: only I beg you to continue to me your grace, and to write to me.' May 5th and 7th, ib., he writes to his father: 'I have heard that the king of Poland is going to you: I in Saxony received much kindness and attention from him . . . and there was a wedding present from his majesty to me . . . he is a good man, to whom I feel very grateful.' And to Catherine on the same date, May 7th: 'Madame, I have heard that the hossoudar-batushka has been pleased to *declare* your grace his *consort*,[61] and on this I congratulate your grace; and I beg that I may be still in the same grace with you as before, which I trust will be so. Alexis.' 'P.S. I have not dared to congratulate the hossoudar-batushka on this at present, because *I have no written announcement from any one*.' And again, on the 23d

[61] Hence Oustrialoff writes of Peter's having declared or made public 'his *marriage*:' but Peter gave Catherine the titles of 'Hossoudarina' and 'Tsaritsa,' properly belonging to a married consort, by oukaz, without any marriage, though he writes to Menshikoff of a *promise*, to be made good, if he lived, *afterwards*.

May to Catherine, from Salzdhalen: 'Madame, the letter of your grace written from Yavorovo on the 10th May I have received, and I thank you for it, and hope you will continue to write to me. The treaty of marriage, according to the order of the hossoudar-batushka, has been concluded here, and is sent by this messenger. Herewith I commit myself to your constant grace. Alexis.' 'P.S. My future wife thanks your grace, that you have been pleased to remember her in this your letter.' And at the same time he writes to his father: 'I have received your letter sent by Mr. Weyde, with the draft of my marriage contract; and by your order I did my best about the annual settlement on my wife that is to be, that it should be 40,000 rubles; but they did not agree to this, and asked for more. As I could not bring them to be content with less, and your letter authorised me to go as far as 50,000, I did my best, and brought them, not without much difficulty, to accept of this, and so they were content, and I entered this sum in the blank spaces. Nor would they consent either that it should be diminished, if after my death she did not live on in Russia: and as I could not move them, in pursuance of your instructions, I wrote in the contract that the annuity was to be the same whether she lived in Russia or not: and having so done I signed, and they also signed and exchanged; and so by God's help this is finished and done. A ring I could not find here; so I have sent to Dresden and elsewhere, and when I have got the best I can I will give it.' 'P.S. Of the two copies which they gave me signed and sealed, I have sent one to thee, hossoudar, keeping the other myself.' Also about the same date, from Salzdhalen, to the confessor: 'Anton has brought the draft (project) of the marriage contract already signed by my father, and I have signed it here, and the relations of my wife that is to be.'

June 1st, ib.: 'Pray take Peter Evlia,[65] who is with *Ad*, and

[65] M. Pogodin supposes that this was a natural son of the tsarevich; and the letter of June 20, A.D. 1706, may probably be connected with his birth: if so, the boy was born when the tsarevich was between sixteen and seventeen years old, and was now put to school at the age of five. He would, for the first three years, have been with his mother or some nurse; and possibly the tsarevich's question (Jan. 28, A.D. 1709) about brother *Ad's* wife and her family may have been connected with the thought of asking *Ad* to take charge of the boy for a time, when it was becoming desirable that he should be taken from the woman who first had charge of him. There is unhappily no reason to doubt that the tsarevich, like his father, was very early initiated into other immorality besides that of intemperance in drink.

put him into some school, to be taught, that he may not waste his days uselessly in idleness: give directions to teach him Latin and German; and for his clothes and schooling do you pay, according to your discretion: if it can be managed, let him learn French too: and when you have placed him, write a report of your having done so to me.'

June the 22d, from Salzdhalen, he writes to Catherine: 'My gracious hossoudarina-matushka! Yesterday there came hither hospodin Shleinitz (who was sent to the hossoudar-batushka), and brought a letter from the hossoudar-batushka; but from you, hossoudarina, I received no letter by him, at which I am not a little grieved. Are you not angry with me? I beg you to continue me in your grace, and to write to me. Alexis.' June 25th, from Brunswick, to his confessor: 'Most honoured father, pastor of Christ's sheep, with *Pater* and the children, health to thee!' Then of letting his people go wherever they like; and on the back: 'Pray give my poklon to hospodin *Zasipka* (Alexis Narishkin), and bid him not to sorrow too much for that affliction which has now befallen him.[66] As Job says: "The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away." Pray write about him, what is to be done with him.' July 6th, Wolfenbuttel: 'I wish you joy, my careful friend, on having now a second relation a bishop in the father Dositheus,[67] to whom pray give my poklon, and ask him to pray for me, since I have known from you before that he is a holy man. And I beg you hereafter, whenever they make a new bishop, to write and tell me. And tell me both of this father Dositheus and of the other new bishops, what revenues they are to have? and are they to have jurisdiction over the whole of their dioceses, as used to be before their time, or, like the bishop of Kroutitz, to have, as you write, only the burial fees and offerings to live from?' Sept. 3d, ib., to his father: 'Your letter of the 10th Sept. (*i.e.* N.S.) I have received to-day. The old duke has not yet come from Aachen: when he comes, I will ask him as you bid me: I will send your letter to him forthwith.' Sept. 4th, ib.: 'I have received a letter from Aachen from the old

[66] His son Gabriel had died at Ouglich in the sixth year of his age, and the confessor had mentioned this.

[67] M. Esipoff writes that 'Menshikoff, when in danger of losing Peter's favour, wrote to Dositheus asking whether he would escape? and when he had been pardoned, the princess Menshikoff sent to Dositheus large alms: and *by her influence* he was made bishop of Rostoff.' See above, p. 1119.

duke, the grandfather of my wife that is to be, to thee, hossoudar; and I forward it herewith.' Sept. 17th, ib., to his confessor: 'My father has come to Töplitz, where I was last year; but when and where my wedding is to be we do not yet know. It is too late to write now to hospodin *Zasipka*: the post is going: please bid him remember Job and St. Eustathius, who by afflictions like his gained heavenly blessings: by the next post I will write him a note, if it please God. Write me word where brother *Ad* is, and what has been done in consequence of my letter (of June 1st, about the boy who was) with him: also about *Zasipka*, where is he?' Below there had been written but blotted out: 'To my aunt the tsaritsa Natalia Alexievna and to the princess Viazemsky I have written your thanks by this and by the last posts.'

September the 20th, from Wolfenbuttel: 'This letter doesn't count (is extra numerum) being synodal.' 'Most honourable father, with *Pater* and the children, health to you! We announce to your holiness, that we here on this day of the great martyr Eustathius, after spiritual *vacancy*[68] (*i.e.* after *not* having had vespers, vigil, matins, and liturgy and sermon), are making merry spiritually and bodily, and we are drinking to your health. I wish you may live for many years, and that we may soon with joy see you again. And on this letter we have poured some wine, that you may be forced to receive it (the wine) together with this our letter, that you may live prosperously and drink potently, and remember us. God grant that our wish and yours may be fulfilled,[69] that we may be with you soon. All the Christians of Orthodox faith who are with us have subscribed hereto.

"*I, the sinful Alexis*," "*I, the priest John Slonsky*,"

confirm all the above with mugs, decanters, and glasses. To ourselves and to you we wish health. Here on this festival, for

[68] '*Prazdnovania*,' playing upon the adjective *prazdno*, empty or vacant, which enters also into the composition of the word prazdnik, festival, whence there might be formed a verb prazdnikovat, to keep festival, and a verbal substantive prazd*nikovanie*.

[69] Pogodin suggests that this and several other similar passages in other letters allude to a common wish that the tsar might soon die; but none of the passages justify this suspicion. The tsarevich in 1718, when examined, confessed that he *had* wished his father might die, and had told this wish *as a sin* to his confessor *in confession*. The confessor replied: 'God forgive you! we all wish the same.'

your health, we have exhilarated ourselves not in German fashion, but in Russian fashion; and we all desire always your prayers to God that we may be prospered soon to come to you. Yea, we grieve to be absent from you, and we are distressed also for our families; yea, we wish all to come to you, and especially *Nikiphor Viazemsky*.

'In truth we are drinking pretty freely, and we remember you our hearty friends: we hope we may be with you against the next recurrence of this festival, and may keep it joyfully with you.'

"*I, Theodore Everlakoff*, salute you, and heartily wish to see you. Hereupon I have made a libation upon the paper, saluting you for the festival, and to your health I have drunk off all the rest."

"*Ivan Athanasieff*" (this last subscription is added in the handwriting of the tsarevich).

'For all of us who are present we ask of your holiness forgiveness that it is incorrectly written: in truth, when people are drunk this will happen; and we are drinking after the true Moscow fashion, in remembrance of the good things we have enjoyed in former days with you: and we all beg you to make our poklon to father Ivan Athanasievich, and to show this to him, and to all the rest of our compania.'

September the 21st, from Wolfenbuttel, to his father: 'Your letter of the 16th, from Carlsbad, I have received to-day; and I have spoken with the father and mother of my wife that is to be of the wedding being at Carlsbad, and they are willing; only the old duke is not here (and they can do nothing without him); as soon as he comes I will ask him, and I will go to you with a full answer from him at once. I have sent a messenger to the old duke with a letter, begging him not to delay; and I am informed that he has already left Aachen.' Sept. 28th, ib.: 'The old duke has come to-day, and on his arrival he received a letter from Mr. Shleinitz, informing him that you wish my wedding to be at Torgau, and the duke assents to this your wish; and the father and mother of my future wife will go there with her on the 3d of next month, and the old duke will follow them speedily: I will go in a day or two, so as to be there before them.' Sept. 30th, ib., Everlakoff writes to the confessor: 'His highness the tsarevich is in good health, and all his servants. We expect the matter which he has on hand soon to be finished. The tsar's majesty is now only forty miles off from us, at Carlsbad, a place

belonging to the emperor, for medical treatment (where we were last summer), and he has written from thence to ask the family here (his new connections) where they will have the wedding to be, or rather asking that it may be in Saxony, at Dresden, to which there has been no answer as yet from hence, because the old duke is not here; he is in Holland.' Oct. 10th, Torgau, the tsarevich writes to his father: 'Yesterday evening, three miles short of this place, count Golovkin received from his father a letter written by thy order, directing that I should come hither and ascertain whether all is ready for the celebration of my wedding; and I accordingly have come hither this morning, and have seen the queen, and have spoken with her about this, and she said that all was ready; we are only waiting for thee, hossoudar, and wishing to see thee: God grant that we may see thee all well.' Nov. 10th, Toroun (Thorn): 'I report to thee, hossoudar, that I have come hither to-day: my wife has remained for needs of her own at Brunswick, and will be here soon: what I do here in execution of your orders I will report hereafter.' Nov. 18th: 'To-day there has come the podpolkovnik of the guards, prince (Basil Vlad.) Dolgorouky; and I have received thy letter and the universals (manifestoes) signed by Gabriel Ivanovich (Golovkin, the chancellor), which I will send out to-morrow. My wife has not yet come; I expect her soon; and when she comes, I will look after her people, and see that they live peaceably, and do no wrong to the inhabitants here.' Nov. 25th, ib.: Of having sent out the universals, &c. Undated, ib.: Of having sent out the universals and commissaries and officers of the guards to collect provisions and make magazines in the places appointed, and other matters respecting the force there under Bauer. 'Many certificates of exemption are brought in signed by field-marshals, and ministers, and generals, &c.: what is your pleasure about these? exemptions under the hand of ministers, signed with thy seal, and written by thy oukaz?' Dec. 16th, ib.: Of having sent out the officers (of whom he encloses a list) to collect supplies in thirteen voivodates or districts throughout Poland; and of the difficulties caused by the Poles, who make false returns of the number of houses, &c. Dec. 20th, ib.: Of like matters. Same date, ib., Everlakoff writes to the confessor: 'His highness the tsarevich is well; our hossoudarina the crown-princess came here safely yesterday; and everything here

by the help of God is quite satisfactory.' Dec. 24th, ib., the tsarevich writes to his father: 'The officers write to me that the Poles are unwilling to give the contributions in kind, and want rather to pay money; but without your order I dare not take *money*; because when we have taken the money we may have a difficulty in getting corn for it,' &c. Dec. 31st, ib.: 'The officers write from Cracow that they will not let captain Solovoi into the city, nor furnish supplies,' &c.

### A.D. 1712.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

In A.D. 1711 and 1712 many new houses and other buildings were erected at Petersburg: the stone church in the fortress (in May), a summer and a winter palace on the left bank of the Neva, palaces for the tsarevich and the tsarevna Natalia, the Ekaterinenhof for Catherine; and in the environs, suburban palaces for the tsar at Doubni, Peterhof, and Strelna; and for Menshikoff at Oranienbaum and Ejova.

On the 17th Dec. A.D. 1711 the Turks, through the intrigues of Charles XII. at C.P., had again declared war; or, rather, they had threatened war for the following spring, on the ground that the tsar had not executed the terms of the treaty: but he, on learning this, hastened to order the restitution of Azoff and Taganrog, and wrote (22d Jan. A.D. 1712) a pacific letter; and the peace was not broken: news of its having been ratified afresh (5th April) at C.P. reached Petersburg later (on the 9th of May).

In January news came from Basil Dolgorouky that the king of Denmark would not join in continuing the blockade of Stralsund through the winter, and that he was secretly beginning to treat with the Swedes; but at length he had agreed to leave 6000 men; also that the Swedes had sent across to Vismar 6000 more men, having had before in Stettin and Stralsund 18,000.

On the 19th Feb., in fulfilment of his promise made a year before, perhaps not *only* to give Catherine and his children by her a better position in case of his death, but also from some regard to the decencies of foreign courts, and looking forward to the presence of a foreign daughter-in-law in Russia, Peter publicly married Catherine at Petersburg; and after the wedding there were great festivities in the palace.

On the 1st of March Menshikoff (who had already, in A.D. 1711, shown a wish to go there) was sent, with credentials to the three kings of Denmark, Poland, and Prussia, to be commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in Pomerania; and both Repnin (who was with thirteen regiments in Poland) and the two regiments of the guards from Polish Prussia and Courland were ordered to join him. At the same time Peter wrote to Menshikoff: 'You recommend to me rogues as honest men, and honest men you represent to be rogues. I say to you now *for the last time:* Change your conduct, unless you wish to ruin yourself. Think not that you are to do in Pomerania as you did in Poland. If there is the least complaint against you, you shall answer for it with your head!'

In this year, after the 8th April, the senate was partially transferred to Petersburg.

Other people besides Menshikoff deserved rebukes, though there was nobody to rebuke them. We have seen how Peter, after *forcing* his son to *marry* a foreign wife, of another creed, had no sooner married him than he stationed him in a garrison town in Poland, to collect supplies for the army, while the crown-princess, his bride, returned to her parents. However, after a time she joined her husband. And now that they have spent the winter at Thorn, in the service of the commissariat, her considerate father-in-law sends an order to his son to go (without any military rank) with the Russian army under Menshikoff into Pomerania. This order is brought by Menshikoff to the tsarevich and the crown-princess at Thorn; and after delivering it he writes on the 24th April A.D. 1712 to the tsar as follows:

'I cannot omit to submit to you, respecting your son, that both he and the crown-princess are in very great need of money; since here they are living *entirely at their own cost*, and *no allowance or rations have been ordered for them;* and what has been supplied to them on the spot has been only that which was absolutely necessary, only for the keeping of their highnesses' table: so too neither he nor the crown-princess have either horses or equipages of any kind to travel with, and to go on the campaign, nor any means for procuring them. And on this account the crown-princess intends, *when we leave*, to go to Elbing; and she will remain there till the tsarevich returns from Pomerania, or till there occurs some other *convenient* opportunity

for joining him. She *urgently requests* that the money fixed for her *may be paid*, because she has great need of it for the maintenance of her household. I, seeing them to be absolutely in want, since her highness the crown-princess asked me almost with tears about money, gave her on loan from the army-chest of the Ingermanland regiment 5000 rubles. If I had not done this, she would have been absolutely without the means of moving from hence.'

Truly the empress dowager of Germany had no great reason to be displeased with Urbich. The archduchess Maria Magdalena had had an escape.

The absence of the tsarevich abroad for nearly three years disquieted his numerous adherents in Russia. Their anxiety found an utterance in a sermon of the administrator of the Russian Church, Stephen Yavorsky—a sermon which made a great noise at the time. In the cathedral—'on the second Sunday of Lent,' according to Oustrialoff; but according to Solovieff, 'on the festival of St. Alexis the man of God,' which would properly have been *Monday* the 17th March, and the sermon was certainly preached as if for that festival and *names-day*[79]—after the liturgy, at which the senators were present, he preached of keeping the commandments, on this text: 'If ye will obey me, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye will not obey me, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.'

In the imperial archives there is preserved a MS. copy of this sermon, denounced by the senators to Peter as seditious; and Peter has marked in the margin three passages: '*Of breakers of the law of God*,' '*Of the fiscals*,' and '*Alexis*;' and where, after having already invoked the saint not to forget his namesake, the preacher repeated the invocation, and called the tsarevich 'our only hope,' Peter at this ambiguous expression has marked a theta (Θ). Also in reference to a passage about breaking the commandments in which he read, 'Do not commit adultery; do not covet thy neighbour's wife; do not put away thy wife;' and this: 'To keep piety, to keep the fasts, and especially this fast of Lent, to honour the icons.' . . . 'If any one hear not the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican'—applying all this to himself (though Yavorsky vowed that it

[79] Kept perhaps by anticipation on Sunday the 16th, on account of the fast.

had never so much as crossed his mind so to apply it)—he wrote: '*First to him alone, then with witnesses.*' Of the fiscals Yavorsky said: 'The law of the Lord is unblamable, but human laws are often blamable. What sort of a law shall I call this, for instance—to set an inspector over judges, and give him freedom to accuse whom he will, to dishonour whom he will, to set a trap for whom he will, with full impunity, though he fail to make out his accusation? This ought not to be so,' &c. And in conclusion, invoking St. Alexis, he exclaimed: 'O Saint of God! forget not him who is named after thee, who is an *exemplary keeper of God's commandments*, and thy most exact follower. Thou didst leave thy house; he likewise is a wanderer in the houses of foreigners: thou wert parted from thy parents; he likewise: thou wert deprived of slaves, servants, and subjects, friends, kinsfolk, and acquaintances; he likewise: thou wert a man of God; he likewise is a true servant of Christ. We pray thee then, O Saint of God, protect thy namesake, *our only hope*; defend him under the shadow of thy wings, as a hen defends her dear chick; keep him as the apple of an eye from all harm and evil.'

Yavorsky had said to the tsarevich before he went abroad: 'You must take care of yourself: if anything happens to you, they will not give your father another wife; he could only take your mother back out of the monastery (which he is not likely to do): there is only his life, and an heir is necessary.' They *did* give—Solovieff continues—his father *another wife; i.e.* Catherine, whom he publicly married at Petersburg early in this same year 1712; but still this had not set Yavorsky at rest; and he cried aloud by his sermon of the 17th March.

The tsarevich was terrified, when he heard of it, at this indiscretion of Yavorsky; and for two years he, in common with many others, expected that he would be dismissed from his place; and it may seem strange that he was not. But he made his peace; or at least his petition to be allowed to retire into a convent was not granted. The truth is that he was a double-minded man who looked two ways—to use Solovieff's words—at once; and he was all the more *useful* to Peter on that account: in the place that he filled, and for the time, a man who served and submitted with reluctance—but who did serve and submit—was a better instrument than a mere tool, such as Theophanes

Procopovich afterwards was. And besides that, it would have been awkward to make it treasonable for a preacher to denounce certain sins merely because the tsar was known to be guilty of them.

The tsar had been projecting an invasion of Finland, to be undertaken by himself in conjunction with the admiral Apraxin: but on learning that the Danes were moving the king of Poland to treat for a separate peace, in order to hinder this, he determined to go himself to Pomerania. So on the 15th June, leaving Apraxin to command in his absence, he sailed to Narva, where he was joined by Catherine; and thence on the 21st they went by land to Dorpat, and to Riga, where they stayed from the 25th to the 30th. While at Riga he learned that the English had made a separate peace with France. Then they went to Memel, and by the Courische-Haff to Königsberg (7th July), and on the 8th to Elbing. On the 13th they went to Obstad, which belongs to Prussia, and by the river three miles to a point where a battalion of the guards was waiting to escort them. And so they went on to Stolpe and other Prussian towns; and on the 21st Peter, having turned southwards, met the king of Poland at Landsberg, and conferred with him till the 23d; while the tsaritsa went on from Cöslin straight to the army, to Stettin. On the 23d Peter and the king left Landsberg, and on the 24th at Garz they were met by Menshikoff; and on reaching Stettin the same night they found there the tsarevich Alexis. After some time Peter went by himself to Volgast; and on the 16th Aug., the king of Poland also having come thither, it was decided in a council with the Danes to reduce Rugen first, and then to bombard Stralsund. On the 22d and 23d Menshikoff, and after him the tsarevich and the tsaritsa, moved from Stettin to Volgast: and on the 24th Aug. they went by water, and the king of Poland by land, to Greifswald, where was the division of prince Repnin. On the 3d Sept. they reconnoitred Stralsund. On the 9th it was agreed that the Russians should give up Elbing to a Saxon garrison. On the 17th they were on board the ship of the Danish vice-admiral.

On the 28th Sept. Peter, after giving a dinner for the anniversary of Liesno to all his staff and to the king, left Greifswald for Carlsbad. He was at Berlin two days (30th Sept.-2d Oct.). At Wittenberg on the 3d he visited the church where Luther

was buried, his library, and the rooms in which he lived; and they showed him ink-stains on the wall made when Luther flung his inkstand at the devil. But Peter, having examined them, found that they were fresh, and still moist: and when the pastors begged him to write something, he wrote with a pencil, 'The ink is fresh, and this story is certainly not true.' Then leaving, and passing through Leipzig, &c., he on the 8th Oct. reached Carlsbad, and stayed there that month, guarded by a battalion of imperial soldiers; and thence he went to Töplitz, 1st Nov. There he received a despatch from Menshikoff that the Swedish field-marshal Steinbok, with all his forces, was marching from Pomerania upon Mecklenburg.

On the 5th Peter went down the Elbe to Königstein, and to Dresden, where he rested till the 14th; then, still by the Elbe, to Wittenberg, and so back by land to Berlin (16th Nov.). On the 20th, with a Prussian escort, he went to Mecklenburg, to his troops, through Oranienburg, Brederich, and Templin. On the 28th he was at Menshikoff's headquarters at Laago, where on the 30th he entertained the king Augustus and all his own staff. On the 2d Dec. all moved to Güstrov. On the 7th news came that Steinbok was marching on Schwerin and Gadebusch, and meant to attack the allied Danes and Saxons commanded by the king of Denmark and marshal Fleming: so a part of the Russian troops was sent from Güstrov to join them; and the king of Denmark was advised to wait for their junction. On the 8th the tsar marched himself from Güstrov, and went as far as Crivitz; and he sent again three officers, one after another, to bid the king of Denmark wait: but the king did not wait: and he was said to be in agreement for that with the Saxons. At this time the king Augustus had gone away to attend a diet in Poland; and news came from C.P. (of a date later than 25th Oct.) that the Turks had again declared war.

On the 10th news met the advancing Russians that the Danes and Saxons had been entirely defeated near Gadebusch: on this they fell back to Güstrov, and there learned that the Swedes were invading Holstein, and that the king of Denmark wished to see the tsar at Neustadt. In spite of his displeasure, the tsar on the 19th ordered his troops to march against the Swedes, and sent away the tsaritsa to Petersburg, with a battalion of the horse-guards to escort her: and he himself went to Neustadt,

where he found general Bauer, but not the king of Denmark; and he went straight to his army. On the 23d at Pampov, north of Neustadt, there was held a council of war, which decided to join the Danes and Saxons, and to march after the Swedes and attack them: and the tsar thereupon moved to Pakendorf, and thence on the 27th to Hollenbou. There they remained till the 31st, and watched the enemy: and when it was ascertained that he was near Hamburg, the tsar followed him thither.

### A.D. 1712.— *The Son, the Tsarevich.*

The spring and summer of A.D. 1712 the tsarevich passed near Stettin in the corps of prince Menshikoff, and the following autumn and winter in the duchy of Mecklenburg: in the mean time his wife was staying at Elbing. In the autumn the brigadier Balk (the commandant at Elbing) announced to her that it was the tsar's pleasure that she should leave: apparently he desired that she should go to Petersburg: and she wrote on the 28th Oct. to the tsar a letter containing the following passages: 'I should have done at once, as is my duty, according to your directions, and I was myself quite ready to leave; but since this *could not be done without money*, I humbly beg your majesty not to be angry: as soon as the money comes I will immediately obey your directions.' *No money came*, probably because the tsar changed his mind, and directed the tsaritsa and the tsarevich, who were to go together to Russia, to turn aside to Elbing, and take on with them thence the crown-princess. But when they came in December to Elbing they did not find her there. She, being so left to herself, and not receiving the payments due to her and necessary for her household, had gone off to her parents to Brunswick. This step displeased Peter, and he wrote to her: 'Your letter of the 17th Jan. (A.D. 1713) we have received here, and from it we have learned what led you to take that unexpected step of going off to Brunswick. We will not discuss the reasons stated by you, only we acknowledge that this your hasty resolution, taken without communicating with us, greatly surprised us, the more because we should never have thwarted your wish to see your parents, if only you had advertised us of it beforehand. But as for what you say of the want of money, we do not see why that either need have put you upon such a hasty resolution. Our consort with our crown-prince have left us now

some time ago to return to our dominions and to Petersburg; and we trust that you, our love,[71] will follow them thither.' This produced a fresh letter from the crown princess, to which Peter replied again on the 11th of February: 'Friendly-amiable mistress daughter-in-law! Your different letters we have duly received, and from them we have learned what led you to make your hasty departure from Elbing to Brunswick. We doubt not that you have before now duly received those 5000 chervontsi which were sent you through the son of baron Levenvold; and herewith we enclose farther a bill of exchange for 25,000 Albert dollars (*ephimki*) on the banker Popp at Hamburg; and we trust that your love will now as soon as possible make your journey to Riga, and so on to Petersburg, where our consort and our crown-prince have gone some time ago. And we will give the necessary orders to expedite your journey within our dominions: and we assure you of our constant fatherly regard, and remain of your love the friendly regardful father.'

'This letter,' Solovieff observes, 'is written in a different *tone* from the the former one.' The crown-princess and her family wished that Peter should pay them a visit at Brunswick for a complete reconciliation; and not venturing to write directly to the tsar, she wrote to the chancellor count Golovkin: 'I thought it best of all to apply to your splendour with a request to manage so that H.M. may not pass by us without stopping: the direct road from Hanover to Berlin passes through Brunswick, and the duke and my father and mother will be much grieved if they know that H.M. has been so near without their having the honour of seeing him here; and for me this would be a great happiness, for I impatiently expect the happy moment when I may kiss his majesty's hand and hear him bid me go to the prince my dear husband. In any case, if H.M. is not pleased to come hither, I hope he will do me the favour to name a place where I may see him.' Peter saw her in February in the castle of Saltzdhalen, near Brunswick; and after that, in the spring, she went to Russia.

From the tsarevich there are of this year 1712 to his father official letters or reports of Jan. 10th and 30th, Feb. 11th, March 12th, April 8th, 19th, and 29th, from Thorn, about the

[71] *lit.* 'your love,' as 'your majesty,' 'your splendour,' &c., instead of 'you.'

collection of supplies, and of the ill-will and opposition of the Poles. Jan. 30th he writes: 'I much fear you will be angry because the prescribed amount will not have been collected, but I cannot help it.' Feb. the 11th, he writes of a 'diet to be held at Warsaw, at which, they say, the king will be present.' March 12th: 'The reinforcement ordered, consisting of the Ingermanland and Astrachan regiments, has not yet arrived.' Apr. 19th: 'The most illustrious prince Menshikoff came on the 12th, and by him I received your oukaz to go to Pomerania: my wife will stay at Elbing.' Apr. 29th: 'Prince Menshikoff starts to-day for Pomerania; I too am going in obedience to your order: my wife went two days back to *Wolfenbuttel*, and will stay there till farther order.'

There are also letters from Thorn to the confessor. Jan. 7th, from Everlakoff: 'The tsarevich and the crown-princess and all are well: my most humble poklon to Viazemsky; his son Alexander here is well.' Jan. 23d, from the tsarevich: 'For the delicacies sent by Peter Iv. (Anthimoff) very many thanks. Herewith there goes a Greek hieromonach, Liberius; pray let him not want: recommend him to the metr. of Riazan, and to Ivan Al. Mousin-Poushkin, that they may appoint him to some school, or where he may be useful: and till then give him for his lodging and maintenance what you think suitable: and for the first days, if he asks you, pray keep him in your own house. I have written to the metropolitan of Riazan about Maximovich.' March 6th, from Peter Anthimoff. March 17th, the tsarevich congratulates the confessor on his promotion to be protopresbyter: 'Together with all who are with us, we have drunk your health, and have written you a synodal letter. If we have in it shocked you at all by what we meant to cheer you, not to make you despair, forgive us. And again I congratulate you; only I am very sorry that I was not present (but God's will be done); only now I hope that it may be granted me to see you in your new rank and to congratulate you in person. I think it was not without a divine Providence that you were in that disagreeable way removed from the church of the Archangel (for if you had remained there you would not have got this promotion). But our Saviour, seeing your zealous service, willed not that you should be without a share of his benefits, when they attacked his servant (though he was most faithful) for temporal gains; but it was his will to raise

thee from a lower step to an *eminence*,[72] to be with *Himself*, in his *own church*, since one can see of a truth that of his special love he keeps you. If God is with any one, what can man do against him? But about the kliucharship of the Annunciation do not be distressed: in truth there are enough of worries and misfortunes. Except it be the relics (of the saints), there is nothing else from which you can escape getting words, and it may be (though God forbid) worse mischief than words. But for this, that there are certain reports about Ivan Athanasievich also (the kliuchar of the Annunciation) you are yourself aware: may the Lord God keep him! but it might be better if he, without waiting till evil befalls him, were to resign (according to the intention which he had long ago of retiring to the Daniloff), and give up his place to some one else, retiring himself honourably. But your place with the Saviour is like that of the angels, quiet, free from storms, excellent, honourable, though not rich, yet, by the mercy of God, not either very poor: and the Saviour of his mercy does not abandon you, because he loves you and has appointed you to his *own* service.' March 20th, Everlakoff writes: 'The tsarevich and the crown-princess are well, and all here are in good case. My most humble poklon to Ivan Athanasievich' (the kliuchar), &c. March 24th, from Viazemsky: 'Here, God be praised, all are well. I came here on the 21st. . . . Pray give my poklon to Andrew Theodorovich' (Narishkin, *Satan*). March 31st, from Peter Anthimoff: 'Pray take care of Anastasia and Anushka. All here is satisfactory. His highness has been so good as to say that my wife may take from your holiness of his money one hundred rubles, and of this he has written to you . . . that she may get on without being in difficulties; for I, when I parted from her to come here, left her very ill provided.' Apr. 4th: 'There have left us for Moscow the priest Ivan Greg. Slonsky and Theodore Boris. Everlakoff: pray thank them for all their kindness to me.'

May 6th, from Poznan, the tsarevich writes to his confessor: 'You wish to know, my careful friend, whether my wife is in the family way, and I reply that to the time of my leaving Thorn there was nothing to be known for certain; but I told her if there should be anything to tell me, to write immediately; and

[72] In the palace '*above*,' in the Spassky sobor, *i.e.* 'the *church of the Saviour*.'

when I know anything I will write your holiness word.' May 17th, Garz, to his father: 'I came here safe and well on the 11th of this month.' May 20th, ib., to his confessor: 'I send my poklon to all the *good* people that I know; but for such as are not good, though I may know them, I have no communication of friendship.' May 25th, ib., to his father: 'The most illustrious prince Menshikoff will go the day after to-morrow to Dresden, to see his majesty the king of Poland.' June 2d, Garz in Pomerania, from Peter Anthimoff to the confessor: 'We here, thank God, are well. I went from hence to see Berlin, and came back safely, and I was within twenty miles of Saxony. Thank you for writing about me, in your letter of the 8th April, to his highness. We expect the tsar's majesty to come here about the end of this month. The prince (Menshikoff) has gone to Saxony, to the king, and we expect that he will not stay there long.' And he begs him, as in every letter, to take care of his wife and child, and to befriend his brothers: 'They say that they are taking now podiaks for soldiers; if my brothers should be so taken, they will be quite ruined.' June 13th, ib., the tsarevich to his confessor: 'I wrote not to build my house; don't let that perplex you: I so wrote only because I have heard that my father does not wish houses to be built in Moscow,[73] since it is his will to live at Petersburg. Also I beg you, for God's sake, avoid holding any communication with Abram Theod. (*Lopouchin*): do not go to his house, nor let him come to yours. You know yourself that this is not likely to do any good to either of us, but rather harm; therefore you must be very cautious about this: only be not alarmed: I have written thus only of caution, just as before now at Moscow I have spoken to you of the same many times;[74] and for the same reason it was that I would not let you

[73] In fact, in A.D. 1714, Peter issued an oukaz requiring all holders of pomiestia with 100 souls of male peasants to build a house at Petersburg, and forbidding to build with stone or brick elsewhere till farther order.

[74] An anonymous letter of A.D. 1708, written to the tsar, in a tone of flattery for Menshikoff, but hostility against Abram Lopouchin, gives (underneath its exaggerations) a curious glimpse of the importance then attached to Lopouchin, as the man likely to be most prominent if anything happened to Peter: 'The boyars mind thy oukazes less than they mind Abram Lopouchin: they believe in him, and fear him: and he, Abram, is master of them all: and what he devises for them that they do; whom he bids them condemn they condemn, and whom he bids them acquit they acquit; whom he wishes to be discharged they discharge, and whom he wishes to be employed they employ. In truth your

make the journey you intended making, fearing lest it should cause any mischief hereafter: but at present, thank God, there is nothing to cause alarm on that head; only be so kind as to be guarded, because many know of the love which there is between us; therefore we must be guarded.' 'P.S. We drank Aquilina's health on her names-day; you, I expect, were with her.' June 27th, ib., to his father: 'I most humbly wish you joy, hossoudar, for this triumphal day (the anniversary of Poltava) and for thy names-day; and I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you safe and well.' July 5th, to his confessor, about a letter written to the metr. of Riazan in favour of the priest Slonsky: 'It was not to suggest the removal of Ivan Athanasievich—God forbid!—but I wrote only *in case* of his having resigned; I wrote at Slonsky's request, that the chance might not be lost, because these places are not like yours: it often happens when a vacancy occurs by death that before the dead man is buried they have already sent him a successor. I have written of all this already to you by Slonsky, asking you, if Ivan Athanasievich is annoyed, to explain to him: and show him this letter, if you think well to do so, that he may be pleased, and may not think amiss of me. Also for the fire give him one hundred rubles, as I wrote before. I send farther a letter to Slonsky, not to do anything; pray read it to him in presence of some good people, and then give it him, that it may not be secret.'

And on a separate strip: 'As for what you write, my careful friend, about Aquilina's father, father Joseph, to get for him the place of the recently-deceased bishop (of Vologda), I should be glad in truth, and I will do what I can, through certain people; and you at Moscow must not be idle. Act through whom you can; for I think that you can act more freely there than we can here, because the metropolitan of Riazan, on account of certain sermons, is under great displeasure with my father, and for that reason it is unsafe for me to write to him; and they say that he will be dismissed from that administration which he now holds; and so it would be more easy for you to do this through some one or other; but I advise you to be very cautious how you deal yourself with this man, and not to see him often, that no

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health is very needful for us for this; it would be bad for us to be under that felon Abram; but he expects soon to be in power' (Solov. *Hist.* &c. vol. xvi. p. 53).

harm may come of it. However, I am aware that you must necessarily have to do with him so long as he is not dismissed from that administration: therefore I write only that you may be cautious, and be not often with him. Show this strip to nobody.' Sept. 15th, from Greifswald: the tsarevich thanks his confessor for his intention of buying a new house, in pursuance of a former letter (seemingly as an investment), 'for our common benefit, mine and yours. That father *Zachliusta* was comforted and cheered by my letter is a great satisfaction to me;' and more about the same. 'Show this letter to father *Zachliusta*.' Sept. 23d, ib., from Viazemsky: 'I think that we shall go from hence to Elbing, and to Riga;[75] don't be anxious if you receive no letters.' Oct. 5th, ib., from Ivan Athanasieff: 'His highness and all with him are well. The crown-princess, by order of the hossoudar, has gone from Elbing to Mitau, and will wait there, and then go to Riga. Your son-in-law Peter (Anthimoff) has not yet come from Garz. Next week we definitively expect the tsarevich, with the baggage and provisions. We have received an oukaz that we are to winter here with the army: nothing else worth mentioning.' Oct. 12th, ib.: 'All well: your son-in-law has come here safely to-day.' Nov. 26th: 'All well: the tsarevich *works in the regiment with a halberd*. Two days ago the tsar's majesty arrived here from Carlsbad; and to-day he has gone to the army, seven miles off. He intends to fight a battle with the Swedish field-marshal Steinbok, and he means both himself and the tsarevich to be present in it. If he breaks the horns of this goat, the eyes of the rest will be dimmed; but if not, then we shall all have to fly and retreat again, from which may God preserve us! Your son-in-law is well, and now in good spirits. I am at a distance of seven miles from the tsarevich, with the baggage; and I expect that in a day or two the hossoudarina the tsaritsa will go to our towns, to see which five weeks would not be enough; on which account I am ordered to follow her grace; but the tsarevich will remain some time longer yet with the regiment. I have nothing else to write worth men-

[75] In a letter to the confessor, written from Petersburg, Oct. 16th, Theodore Manoukoff writes: 'On the 10th we received news from Pomerania of the 14th September. The tsar had gone to Töplitz, and *meant* to go thence to Petersburg, so as to be there for the 1st December. The tsaritsa and the tsarevich and the crown-princess were expected at Riga; also the most illustrious prince, with the princess' (*Collection of Documents*, &c. p. 297).

tioning.' Dec. 15th, Güstrov, from Viazemsky to the confessor; also to his brothers Peter, Job, and Sergius Kondr., and to Euphemia Basilievna and the children: 'I was very sorry to hear of her having been ill: when our children come to you don't spoil them; let them not have their own way in anything: but as for the people, I wonder that you write to me as if there were no cudgels or whips in Moscow; and about that I have written to my brother Sergius. I think we shall not be many days here: we are hastening back to the Russian territory.' Dec. 23d, ib., Catherine uses the pen of the tsarevich to write to Peter the following letter: 'Hospodin contre-admiral, health to you for many years! Be so kind as to have a letter written to me about your health, of which I always wish to know. Be so kind, my batushka, as to write and let me know by what route you will go from where you are to Petersburg. Together with this I send you a kaftan, two camisoles, breeches, and belt (*partoupey*): God grant you to wear them in health. I think that the colour will suit your grace. Also I wish your grace joy for the festival of Christmas. I remain your wife, Catherine. From Güstrov, Dec. 23, 1712.' And below: 'Your most humble servant and son, *Alexis*.' The address is, 'Hospodinou, Hospodinou Contre-Admiralou' (as if in French, 'A Monsieur, Monsieur le Contre-Amiral'). And Dec. 26th, from Dobbertin, the tsarevich writes: 'Yours of Dec. 25th, from Pampov, I have just received to-day, after I had gone two miles out from Güstrov with the regiment; and in obedience to your order I have returned to Güstrov, and will travel with the hossoudarina-matushka. Your most humble son and servant, Alexis.' And a postscript: 'As you bid me, I will send to my wife.'

### A.D. 1713.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

On the 3d Jan. A.D. 1713 the headquarters of the allies were at Hamburg, whence Peter marched by Neuminster to Rendsburg (in Holstein), defeated the Swedish army of Steinbok at Shwabstadt, drove it out of Friedrichstadt, and shut it up in the fortress[76] and peninsula of Tonningen, where after a time they

[76] Steinbok obtained an entrance into this fortress, situate at the mouth of the Eider, and on its right bank, but belonging to Holstein, through an intrigue of Görtz, minister of the prince bishop of Lubeck, who administered the duchy of Holstein for the duke his nephew (nephew also to Charles XII., and then a minor).

would be forced to surrender. Then on the 14th Feb., leaving Menshikoff to continue the blockade under the king of Denmark, he went to Hanover, and saw there the elector: he visited also at Saltzdhalen—as has been related above—his connection the duke Antony of Wolfenbuttel; and went to see Frederick William, the new king of Prussia (who had then just succeeded to the throne), at Schöenhausen, near Berlin. There he stayed from the 27th Feb. to the 3d March; and then went to Stargard, whence he gave directions for the investment of Stralsund and Stettin: and continuing by Marienburg, Elbing, Mitau, Riga, Dorpat, and Narva, he on the 22d March reached Petersburg; where Catherine with the tsarevich had been since the 13th of February, and where on the 5th of March Catherine had given birth to a daughter, named Natalia.

On the 25th March Peter consecrated a wooden church of the Annunciation in the Nefsky Lavra: he ordered preparations to be made for a descent on Finland: and before the end of the month sent by the tsarevich to Moscow to all those of the senators who were still there an order to remove to Petersburg.

On the 25th of April 93 galleys, with 60 karbouses, and 50 large boats, having on board 16,350 soldiers, left Petersburg for Finland, the tsar going with the vanguard as rear-admiral, admiral Apraxin with the centre, and lieutenant-general prince Mich. Mich. Golitsin and vice-admiral Botsis with the rearguard. The tsar left Kronslot, taking with him the tsarevich, on the 2d of May, and the tsaritsa returned to Petersburg. On the 8th of May they were off Helsingfors: on the 10th at midnight Armfeldt set fire to the town, and, abandoning it, retreated to Borgo: the Russian fleet followed, but the enemy abandoned Borgo also. The fleet remained there from the 15th to the 25th, and then moved to a spot four miles off, which it was decided to fortify, and to wait there for the cavalry and the baggage.

In the mean time Peter's daughter-in-law, the crown-princess Carlotta, whom he had desired to come to Petersburg to rejoin her husband, having reached Dorpat (4th May), learned there that the tsar had taken her husband off to Finland. Not knowing whether the tsaritsa might not be away too, the crown-princess wrote from Narva (9th May) to the tsarevna Natalia; and she received a reply, in which the tsarevna said: 'We all

lament that the tsar and the tsarevich are absent; so far as I can, I will seek out all possible ways to cheer and enliven you; and I trust that they will return soon.' The chancellor Golovkin also wrote to her: 'Having heard from lieutenant-general Mr. Narishkin (by a letter of 5th May) of your highness's approach,' and regretted that the tsar's business made it impossible for him to go at once to pay his respects to her in person. At Krasna Kabatchka she was met by the senators: and after crossing the Neva in a splendid new sloop, she was welcomed and embraced by the empress, who was surrounded by all the court.

The way in which she was met and welcomed by the tsaritsa and all the other members of the tsar's family made an agreeable impression on the crown-princess and her relations, and set them at rest. In the summer of A.D. 1713 Matveyeff wrote from Vienna to Golovkin: 'I have learned from some persons of the empress's household that the hossoudarina the princess-tsarevicha wrote on the 6th June to the empress a private letter from Petersburg, expressing herself in high terms of the dispositions shown towards her by the tsaritsa and the tsarevna and all the high Russian personages, and describing the honours with which she had been received on her arrival,' &c. In Dec. the empress herself spoke to Matveyeff of the great satisfaction which it was to herself and her husband to hear of the kindness shown by the tsar, the tsarevich, and all the tsar's family to her sister.

On the 31st May the tsar, having heard of the arrival of three new ships purchased abroad, went off from the camp near Borgo to inspect them (seemingly he then also brought back the tsarevich); and on the 6th of June he went to Viborg, to hasten the movements of general Volkonsky and the cavalry.

On the 11th there came a despatch from Menshikoff, announcing that at last Steinbok with all the Swedish army, which had been blocked up in Tonningen (7800 men, besides 3000 sick or wounded) had surrendered by a capitulation made at Houzoum on the 3d of May. Menshikoff wrote also that he had levied fines of 200,000 dollars and of 100,000 marks on the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck for having continued to trade with the Swedes; and for this he was afterwards thanked by Peter.

At this time the celebrated minister of the court of Holstein and intriguer Görtz, who in spite of the remonstrances of Basil Dolgorouky had been received at Houzoum, established relations with Menshikoff, and suggested to him three projects: 1. To make a canal through Sleswig to connect the Baltic with the Northern Ocean; 2. To marry Peter's daughter Anna to the young duke of Holstein-Gottorp; and 3. To *sequestrate* the cities on the coast of Pomerania, so that on being surrendered by the Swedes they should be garrisoned by *Prussians* and *Holsteiners*, Prussia being so brought into bad relations with Sweden. Hence early in June there came to Berlin from the duke of Holstein and his guardian an envoy, Bassevich, to propose the *joint* sequestration of Stettin: and Dolgorouky represented that that must be done in concert with Russia, and that prince Menshikoff had full powers for it: whereupon Menshikoff was invited to come to Berlin, and the matter was arranged by him there.

At length on the 12th of June the tsarevich returned from Finland: but he had scarcely remained at Petersburg a month, when his father sent him to Staraia Rous and Ladoga, to superintend the cutting and transporting of timber for shipbuilding. It was not till late in August that he once more returned to his wife; and from that time his father—an ominous sign—ceased to torment him with 'service.'

On the 15th June the tsar sent vice-admiral Kruze to Revel, to bring up five more new ships bought in England: on the 27th there arrived a Persian embassy, with presents of lions, an elephant, and other rarities.

On the 3d July the tsar went to his fleet to Kronslot; and on the 7th, having had another attack of illness, he went to Kipin-miz for a cure, and ordered admiral Kruze to put to sea. At Kipin-miz (8-14th July) he heard from Constantinople that the Turks had again determined (Nov. A.D. 1712) to make war, and had imprisoned the Russian envoys, and that the sultan had gone to Adrianople. The Tatars too had made inroads. But again the danger passed off, chiefly owing to the mad conduct of Charles XII.: and after the Turks had disarmed him, not without bloodshed on both sides (1st Feb. O.S. in A.D. 1713), and had removed him from Bender to Demotika, near Adrianople, the sultan set free the Russian envoys, and

having summoned them (21st March A.D. 1713) to Adrianople, he made with them a fresh treaty (on the 19th June) for twenty-five years.

On the 29th and 31st July the tsar went with ships and supplies to Helsingfors, where Apraxin then was, having left Borgo, and arrived there on the 6th Aug., and was invited to take the rank of a full general. On the 15th, hearing that the enemy were posted on the Karislansbro between Helsingfors and Abo, Peter went thither and defeated them, and they retired to Abo: he pursued on the 17th Aug., and coming on the 28th to Abo, found it deserted.[77] So he returned to Helsingfors by the 8th Sept., and leaving on the 10th, he was on the morning of the 14th again at Petersburg.

Then there came to him from Moscow some of the senators, who represented that they had failed to discover and to take all the dvorianins, or sons of dvorianins, who evaded the service; and in consequence a fresh oukaz was issued (26th Sept.), that if any one of those between the ages of twenty and thirty did not appear before March A.D. 1714 before a senator named as commissioner, all his property was to be confiscated. Also Peter now ordered all Russian goods for export to be brought to Petersburg, and to be shipped from thence.

On the 6th Oct. Apraxin gained a victory in Finland over the Swedes, now commanded there by Armfeldt, who had retreated before him from Tavasthaus.

On the 14th Oct. there came from Menshikoff news of the capture of Stettin. He had invested it at the instance of the Holsteiners and the Prussians at the beginning of July, and he took it on the 21st Sept. On the 25th Sept. he had an interview with the king of Prussia at Sviet; and the next day a commandant appointed by the king with two Prussian battalions entered Stettin and garrisoned it. The allies, though they did not formally protest, were displeased at this; especially as Stralsund also and Vismar and Rugen were similarly mentioned in the secret convention made by Menshikoff.

After the capture of Stettin, Menshikoff with all the Russian troops were returning to Russia; but on the request of the king of Poland (7th Nov.) orders were sent to Repnin to detach

[77] The library, which was then carried away from Abo, became the nucleus of the public library at Petersburg.

6000 men to remain in Pomerania. From Nov. 12 there is a blank of two months of A.D. 1713 and more in Peter's Journal.

On the 12th Sept. Peter went to Kronslot, and to sea till the 25th. During November he was at Petersburg. On the 3d Dec. he wen with the tsaritsa to Oranienbaum, and slept there. On the 4th and 5th they were at Kotlin, and on the 6th at Peterhof, and on the 7th at Petersburg.

In spite of the remonstrances of the king of Poland and the uncle of the deceased duke, Peter placed Russian garrisons in Courland; and he continued still to hold Livonia. In this year A.D. 1713 he for the last time promoted a stolnik, Youshkoff, to the rank of okolnik.

Peter gave Stettin only *temporarily*, as he professed, into the hands of the king of Prussia, Prussia paying 400,000 dollars; and he persisted, as has been mentioned above, in keeping a Russian corps in Pomerania. He projected still more extensive operations for A.D. 1714, and sent to the king of Denmark, that they might act in concert to destroy the Swedish fleet at Karlskrona and attack Stockholm. But the king of Denmark was already suspicious of his ally, and discontented: he demanded to be put in possession of Stralsund, which as yet, as well as Vismar, was unreduced; and two years of uncertainty followed, in which little was done.

### A.D. 1713.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

Jan. 17 the tsarevich wrote to his father from Elbing: 'I report to you that hossoudarina-matushka arrived here yesterday in good health, and I with her grace. And since my wife had left long before our arrival, and the courier sent from me in pursuance of your order did not find her at Dantzig, hossoudarina-matushka has bidden me go on with her.' Feb. 17, Petersburg: 'Hossoudarina-matushka arrived here on the 13th, and I with her, all well. The hossoudarina my aunt and the hossoudarinas my sisters are in good health.' And Catherine, using the pen of the tsarevich, writes: 'My heart's-friend, hospodin rear-admiral, health to you for many years! Be so kind, my dear batushka, as to write to me, if it be but one line: since I left Demin I have not seen a single letter from you, and I am very anxious at not hearing of your health. Pray come to us as soon as you can. Annushka and Lizenka send their poklon:

they fret because I have not brought your grace with me, and bid me ask you to come soon. Herewith I commit your health to the keeping of God, and remain your wife, *Catherine*.' And below: 'Your most humble and obedient servant and son, *Alexis*.' March 5, ib.: 'By your letters to hossoudarina-matushka and to the admiral I have learned the news of your victory, on which I most humbly congratulate you: and I inform you that hossoudarina-matushka is well, and that God has given you a daughter, on which I congratulate you. My new-born sister and both the elder ones are thriving.' Moscow, Apr. 1: 'I came here two days ago, and delivered to the gentlemen senators your oukaz, that they should go (to Petersburg),' &c.

There is an incident connected with the marriage of the tsarevich and his visit to Moscow a year and a half afterwards, in A.D. 1713, which came out in one of the inquests set on foot after his death. The kliuchar of the Annunciation in the Kremlin, Ivan Athanasievich, having been arrested and examined Oct. 11, A.D. 1720, said thus:

'When the hossoudar the tsarevich, at the desire of his father the tsar, had contracted lawful matrimony with the noble crown-princess (of Wolfenbuttel), and had come to Moscow alone (in A.D. 1713), in Lent, on the Tuesday of Holy Week (March 31), I, seeing him, the hossoudar, at the matins, while the priest was reading the gospel, did my reverence to him, and congratulated him on his having entered into lawful matrimony. And he was pleased to say to me: "Marriage is marriage, only it is not with one of the same faith." And I said to him: Tsarevich hossoudar! let not that distress you; you know the Apostle says: "The unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband." If it please the Lord to save her by your orthodox faith and piety, you will have a double reward. And after that I asked him: What dispositions has she, the hossoudarina the crown-princess, towards our Orthodox Christian faith? And he answered: "I do not at present seek to force her to our Orthodox faith; but when it shall please God that we come with her to Moscow, and she sees our holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and the churches adorned with the holy icons, and the vestments and ornaments of the bishops, the archimandrites, and the priests, and all the beauty and magnificence of the church ritual and ceremonies, then, I think, she will of herself, without any com-

pulsion, seek to come over to our holy faith and to holy baptism: but at present she has neither seen nor heard anything of the beauty and magnificence of our worship. But there are some things—as this, that now with us the priest makes the dismissal at vespers, matins, and the hours only with his epitrachelion—which she may quite as well not see. But with them (the Lutherans in Germany), in their religion, there is no sort of sacerdotal ornament, and their pastor ministers their liturgy in nothing but a gown (an *epancha*). But when she sees the beauty of our church services, and the vestments of the bishops and priests, and hears the divine singing with the human voice, not with soulless instruments, I expect that she will be delighted, and will heartily desire to be united to our Orthodox Christian Church." And I replied to him, the hossoudar: God grant that this your hope, hossoudar, by his divine furtherance, and by the grace of the most holy Mother of God, and by the prayers of all the saints, may be fulfilled!' (*Collection of Documents*, &c., Moscow, 1861, p. 353).

July 10, from Selo Oujin, or Oujinski-riadok: the tsarevich of Siberia, Ivan Iv. Narishkin, and Everlakoff, being there with the tsarevich Alexis, write jointly to the confessor: 'Yakoff Ignatieff, my gracious friend, health to you for many years! I, your servant, Basil, tsarevich of Siberia, as I am drinking a glass at Oujinisheke, do you my obeisance.' 'Yakoff Ignatieff, health to you for many years! I, your servant for ever, Ivan Narishkin, as I am drinking a glass, salute you.' 'Together with their high lordships, I also salute you, my hossoudar, and wish you health for many years, with all your family, and make you my most humble obeisance: your slave and servant, Theodore Everlakoff. From the Selo Oujin, near lake Ilmen, fifteen versts on this side of Staraia Rous.' July 14, ib., the tsarevich to his father: 'I came yesterday, in obedience to your oukaz, and have been inspecting. There is but little timber cut, and the Greek foreman says that they have had too few people,' &c. Aug. 4, Staraia Ladoga (on the same subject): 'Your letter from Petersburg of the 28th July I have received to-day.' And then he reports of the quantity of timber already cut and delivered, to be taken down to Petersburg; and he has sent off a courier to the *Kazan* forests, to learn how soon the timber cut from thence will be at Novgorod. Aug. 12, St. Petersburg (another report on the same

subject); and Aug. 17: 'My messenger has returned, and has brought information from the lieutenant-captain Gorochoff that he will be at Ladoga with the rest of the timber from the Kazan forests by the end of this month, and he has written before of this to you, hossoudar.'

There are also mentioned as written in this year 1713 to the tsarevich by Viazemsky three letters and a loose strip, about sending off to him the two Peters (Anthimoff, major and minor), of the building of his house at Petersburg, and of the tsar's intention of going to sea with the fleet, of the sending of timber from Ladoga, and of the health of the tsaritsa and the crown-princess. So these letters were written between 10th July and 17th Aug. Also the tsaritsa Catherine wrote a letter to him (either in August or in the May preceding), informing him that she and the crown-princess were well. And the tsarevich wrote to Moscow to Ivan Athanasieff about removing his books to Petersburg.

The tsarevich and his wife the crown-princess lived at Petersburg in a separate palace, built or finished in A.D. 1712, on the left bank of the Neva, near the church of our Lady of Consolation (*Viech Skorbiashchikh*). To the right, in a line with the church, they had the house of the tsarevna Natalia Alexievna, to the left that of the tsaritsa Martha Matveyevna.

Their court was numerous. In A.D. 1715 in the half of the crown-princess there were the princess of Ost-Friesland, the ober-hofmeister baron Shleinitz, the hofmeister St. Hilaire, the maids of honour Von Rostarten and Levenvold, the ladies De Roux and Strenthorst, the ladies of the chamber Petrie, Cleaver, Hornberkin, and others; the nurse Kestier, the kammerherr-marshal Biberstein, kammer-yunkers Bestoujeff and Budberg, the doctors Loze and Will, the private secretary Kilver, and the chaplain pastor Miller. For all the household, except the ober-hofmeister, the salaries amounted to 11,351 rubles yearly. With the tsarevich there were the baron Huyssen, Nikiphor Viazemsky, Nikiphor Bogdanoff, Ivan Athanasieff major, Theodore Everlakoff, Yakoff Nosoff, Peter Soudakoff, and Peter Meyer.

He possessed at Petersburg, besides his house near the church of our Lady of Consolation, another house in the Vasili-Ostroff, a house beyond the new brickfields on the Neva, called Kokous, with the derevnia of Koupsina, and a house at Peterhof: in the

riding of Koporie he had the Kourovitskaia miza, or selo Rojdestveno; in the riding of Narva, in the volost of Semer, the hundred of Osmina, with its derevnias; in the riding of Ladoga, at the mouth of the Sia, some riadki; in the riding of Alatorsk, in the government of Moscow, the volost of Porietskoe. The tsarevich was an attentive manager of his property, and went over all the accounts, as is shown by the papers and register-books still in existence, containing a multitude of directions and observations in his own hand.

His long stay of three years abroad had but little changed the tsarevich. In one of the confessions extorted from him in A.D. 1718, five days before his death, he wrote: 'When I came from abroad to my father to Petersburg, he received me graciously, and asked, Had I not forgot what I had been taught? to which I replied as if I had not forgotten. And he bade me bring him some plans of my drawing. But I, fearing lest he should set me to draw a plan in his own presence, which I should probably have been unable to do, thought I would mutilate my right hand so as to be unable to do anything with it: and having loaded a pistol, I took it with my left hand and fired it at the palm of my right hand, meaning to pierce it; and though the bullet missed the hand, the hand was singed by the powder, and became inflamed: the bullet made a hole in the wall of my room, which is still visible. And my father saw that my hand was inflamed, and he asked how it came to be so. But I then told him another story, and did not tell him the truth.' This story gives one a clear idea of the terror with which he habitually regarded his father; and it is not the story of a boy, or of a peasant afraid of being taken to be made a soldier. He was twenty-three years old, married to a sister of the empress of Germany, and himself heir to the throne of Russia.

'The crown prince,' Pleyer wrote to the emperor (19th Aug. A.D. 1713), 'has brought away with him from Germany but little of German feeling and manners: the greater part of his time he spends with Muscovite popes and common low people; besides that, he is addicted to drunkenness; on which account the princess in secret grieves much, though she does not let it appear openly.'

He did not love his wife. 'The tsarevich had been out to some friends'—writes his kammerdiener Ivan Athanasieff major

—'he came home in liquor, went to the crown-princess, and came thence to his own apartment, took me into his bedroom, and said angrily: "Gabriel Ivanovich (the chancellor) with his sons have hung a she-devil to my neck: no sooner do I go to her, but she gets angry, and will not speak to me: if I only live, I will certainly pay him off: as for his son Alexander, his head shall be stuck on a post, and Troubetskoy's too: it was their doing; they wrote to my father to make me marry her." I said to him: Tsarevich hossoudar! you are pleased to speak angrily, and to cry out: whoever hears such words, or hears of them, will be alarmed; and others also will be afraid to go near you, not they only. He said to me: "I spit upon them: only let me have the common people. When there shall be a time without my batushka, I will whisper a word to the bishops, the bishops to the parochial priests, and the priests to their parishioners; and then they will make me ruler[78] whether I will or no." I stood and was silent. He said to me: "Why are you silent and moody?" I said: Hossoudar, what can I say? He looked at me a long time, and then went to say his prayers in the krestovaia. I went away.

'The next morning he called me, and began to speak blandly: "Last night did not I abuse somebody?" I said: No. "Did not I say something as if drunk?" I said: You said so and so, as above. And he said to me: "A man drunk is no longer a living man, is he? A man who is drunk always says too many words; I in truth have a strong suspicion of myself that when I am drunk I am very irascible, and say many foolish words; but afterwards I am very sorry for that. Mind, you must not repeat those foolish words: if you do repeat them you will not be believed: I will disown them, and they will torture you." So he said; but he laughed at the same time. I said: What is it to me? and to whom should I repeat them?'

The mission to Staraia Rouss and Ladoga to superintend the cutting of timber in July and August of A.D. 1713 was the last public service—so far as is known—required by his father of the tsarevich. The wonder is that he should have gone on so long, after marrying his son to a foreign princess, treating him

[78] Oustrialoff has '*scidictelem*,' witness, which Solovieff corrects into '*cladictelem*,' ruler.

like a schoolboy still under the ferula, or like a common man of low rank bound in spite of himself to serve. If his object had been to prevent the new-married couple from living together and taking to one another, to prevent the princess from learning anything Russian through her husband, or the tsarevich from being improved by his wife,—if even he had designed to put the son upon imitating his own example of adultery,—he could not have devised a more suitable plan. But when at length the crown-princess was established at Petersburg, surrounded by a little German court of her own, and in communication with her relatives at Brunswick and Vienna, it was difficult for Peter to go on exactly in the same way. At the same time, from the moment that he left his son to himself, the contrast between his son's manifest popularity with the people, with the clergy, and, in spite of all their caution not to show it, with the old nobility too, would be intolerable to the tyrant: and even though the conduct of the tsarevich had been more discreet than it was, and though the crown-princess had lived, they could scarcely have been allowed by him to go on living side by side with himself in Russia. Solovieff's observations on the position of the tsarevich at this time are as follows:

Peter at first (*i.e.* till the autumn of A.D. 1713) was angry, scolded, and beat his son; but at length he was tired out, and ceased to speak to him: an ominous sign for Alexis. What then did the son? was he alarmed? did he seek for a reconciliation? No: he had himself long before become cold and obdurate in his own way; it was long [ever since he could remember] that he had felt in the presence of his father a heavy weight pressing upon him, and it was only away from him that he breathed freely: 'not only military matters, and the other works of his father, but his father's person itself, had become hateful to him, and for that reason he wished to be away from him.' His wish was fulfilled: they no longer disturbed the tsarevich: they no longer sent him on campaigns, nor to provide for the building of those cursed ships. When they invited him officially to a banquet with his father or with Menshikoff, when they called him to one of those festivals which his father loved, to the launch of a ship, he said: 'I had rather be in the galleys, or in bed with a fever, than be there.' His father was angry, and did not speak to him; but what then? The *future* was not for

*him*, but for the tsarevich. The father and the son were at issue about that most important *question*, the question of the *future*.

For the tsarevich the future looked promising. His father was not yet old, but he had frequent and violent attacks; he was not likely to live long; and with him all his works would perish. What he thought when sober the tsarevich uttered when drunk: 'The people who are about my father shall be impaled; Anisia Tolstoy too, and Barbara Arsenieff (the sister-in-law of Menshikoff): Petersburg will not exist long after us.' When they cautioned him that it was dangerous to speak so, as his words would be repeated, and people would be afraid to go near him—they were, it was said, already afraid, and few visited him—the tsarevich replied: 'I spit upon them all; if I only keep the common people.' But the tsarevich well knew that they were not only the common people who were for him; the clergy were for him, and not only the native Muscovite bishops, but even the close guarded 'foreigner,' Stephen Yavorsky, even he ventured to declare himself for him. Before Peter had married Catherine (*i.e.* before the tsarevich left Moscow in the summer of A.D. 1709) Yavorsky had said to Alexis: 'You must take care of yourself; if you die *they* will not give your father another wife; the only thing for him would be to take back your mother out of the convent (which he is not likely to do); there is only his life, and a successor is necessary.' *They* did give to his father *another wife*; but this did not set at rest Yavorsky, and he uttered a cry in his famous sermon of the 17th March A.D. 1712. Alexis was terrified at the unguardedness of the metropolitan of Riazan; and he wrote to his confessor to be very cautious how he had any dealings with him; and he expected him to lose his place. Yavorsky, however, kept his influential position, and the tsarevich heard it said to him from different sides: 'The metropolitan of Riazan is good for you, he is of your side, he is wholly yours.'

Among the more distinguished ecclesiastics there was only one man who was entirely devoted to Peter and his works, and who on that account kept quite aloof from the tsarevich; that was Theodosius Yanovsky (elsewhere described by Solovieff, vol. xvi. p. 364, as ambitious and covetous, without either learning or talents, but bold and energetic, and bent only on his own advancement). In return the tsarevich and his companions did

not spare Theodosius: 'I wonder at my father, how he can like the archimandrite of the Nefsky,' said Alexis; 'except it be for this, that he brings in among the people Lutheran habits, and allows them to do anything.' They wrote out a verse (a troparion) from the office which had been composed for the day of the victory of Poltava, beginning with the words: 'The enemy of the cross of Christ,' and in their drinking bouts in the 'compania' of the tsarevich they sang it, applying it to Theodosius; they said that it would be well to sing this verse when Theodosius was to be consecrated bishop. Nikiphor Viazemsky wrote this verse with notes, and said that he would give five rubles to the singers to sing it, because Theodosius does not venerate the holy icons.

The bishops were for the tsarevich; and many of the nobles of distinguished families were also for him, especially the very noblest of all, for whom it was a grievance to hold secondary places, while in the first places there were low-born people, and in the most conspicuous place of all Menshikoff. So it was especially with the Dolgoroukys, whose descent was from Ruric, and the Golitsins, who were descendants of Hedimine. The new tsaritsa, closely connected with Menshikoff by her former relations with him, and his natural protectress, could not be acceptable to them; and so on her account also they were all the more devoted to the legitimate heir. The tsarevich perceived this to be so, in spite of the guardedness of the prince Yakoff Theodorovich (Dolgorouky): when Alexis said to him that he meant to pay him a visit, the old nobleman replied: 'Pray do not; there are other people looking after me, who watch to see who comes to my house.' The prince Basil Vlad. (Dolgorouky) said to the tsarevich: 'You have more sense than your father: your father has sense to be sure, only he does not know men; but you will better discern men of intelligence.' The sense is clear enough: Your father keeps near him Menshikoff, Golovkin, &c.; you will know how to choose better; you will prefer the Dolgoroukys and the Golitsins, &c. So again the prince Dmitri Mich. Golitsin could not reconcile himself to the new marriage (the bigamy rather) of the tsar, a marriage in his, Golitsin's, eyes disgraceful and invalid; and so he was all the more devoted to the tsar's son, the issue of a lawful and honourable marriage. 'The prince Dmitri' (Golitsin)—so said the tsarevich—'was a faithful friend to

me, and he said to me: "I shall always be your faithful servant." He obtained for me many books from Kieff at my request, and also of himself; and I said to him: Where do you get them? And he said: "From the monks of Kieff: they are very devoted to you, and love you much."' Another Golitsin, the prince Michael Michaelovich, who was more popular than his elder brother Dmitri and was admired and praised even by foreigners, was one of Peter's bravest and ablest generals; and there is a story of him that once when Peter had bidden him name his own reward, he replied: 'Hossoudar, pardon the prince Repnin!' though Repnin was not his friend. He too, no less than his brother Dmitri, disliked foreigners, and was regarded as a friend by the tsarevich. A third Golitsin, Peter Alexievich, governor of Riga, had the same feelings with his relations. The old field-marshal Boris Petr. Sheremetieff, in spite of his rank and his long and meritorious services, was in no close favour, but was mortified by receiving orders through others, and by being treated without ceremony by the tsar, with whose character that of the knight of Malta did not harmonise. So Sheremetieff did not like the entourage of the court; he did not like Menshikoff; and he also was devoted to the tsarevich. 'In the main army,' said this latter, 'Boris Petrovich, and many of the other officers are friends to me: Boris Petrovich said to me in Poland, at Ostrog, before a number of my people and his own: "You do amiss not to keep some attendant who knows those who are at the court of your father: so you would know all that is going on."' The distinguished diplomat Boris Kourakin also showed his attachment to the tsarevich: once in Pomerania he asked him: 'Is your stepmother good for you?' 'Yes, she is good,' Alexis replied. Kourakin observed on this: 'So long as she has no son she may be good for you, but whenever she has a son of her own she will not be good.' In a word, the tsarevich could reckon as his friends nearly all the people of old families, for they regarded him as a man about whom there would be no place for Menshikoff and his fellows. From hatred of Menshikoff, from resentment too against Peter for having disgraced him not long before, the wellwishers of the tsarevich included also Alexander Kikin; the more naturally inasmuch as Ivan Bas. Kikin was treasurer to the tsarevich. Others hoped to rest a little when Alexis should be tsar; whereas there was no prospect of rest, nor of any possibility of attending

to their own private affairs, under a tsar who did not understand how it was possible to sit at home unemployed. Simeon Narishkin said to the tsarevich: 'Alas for us! he (the tsar) says: "*What do you do at home? I don't know how to remain at home doing nothing.*" He knows nothing of our needs. But if any one looks well after his own house, he won't be an hour unemployed. If *he* had to come home and find at one time that there was no wood, at another that there was no beer, at one time one thing wrong, at another time another, he would find out what we do at home.' The tsarevich fully sympathised with these people who longed to get away from public activity, from service, to their homes, to their domestic occupations. The difference between the father and the son lay in this, that for the father the house was too confined, though the house was a palace; he had elbow-room and could breathe freely only when he was traversing Russia, Europe, or the open sea: the son could not endure these journeys, this breadth, and longed for the house, for the close domestic circle, where there was quiet, ease, and rest. 'For *him* wherever he goes everything is ready; that is why he understands not our needs,' was the answer made by the tsarevich to the complaints of Narishkin. The heir of the throne of Russia, of the throne of Peter, had himself exactly the same point of view with the private person, he identified himself with him, and spoke of '*our* needs.' The son of the tsar and the hero-transformer had the modest nature of a private man, thinking in the first place of his supply of fire-wood. And in fact Alexis was a good landlord; he loved to occupy himself with his accounts, with the management of his own estates, with making observations and writing directions.

Alexis was assured that the clergy, the hereditary nobles, and the common people were all for him: he was at ease as to his future, and the present he could endure and get through in one way or another, if only he could see but seldom his father and his father's favourites. But the more the son was at his ease with regard to his future, the less at ease was the father as to his. And what if, in order to set himself at rest as regarded the *future*, the father were to determine to use his own *present* time? The father had been working, and was still working, indefatigably: he saw already how the seeds sown by him were growing up and bearing fruit; but at the same time he felt the decline of

his physical powers, and he heard most malevolent voices: 'He will die, and it will all perish with him; Russia will return to her former barbarism.' These malevolent voices would have had no power to disturb him if only there had been an heir capable of continuing his work. Certainly Peter could not allow himself to make so preposterous a demand as that his son and successor should possess all the same personal means as he possessed himself; but he thought that he might quite legitimately require that his son and successor should have the wish to continue his work, and that he should be convinced of the necessity of carrying it on in the same direction. Any want of strong capacity would be compensated by the comparative facility of the work; for the first, the most difficult, part of it had been already done. The work was lighter also for this reason, that the successor would have to work surrounded by a company of able workmen prepared by his father. For success under such conditions nothing was wanting but the will, sympathy with the work: it was necessary that the son should be one of the nurslings (or '*chicks*') of the father, one of his assistants and fellow-labourers. But Peter, with all his toil, could not reckon among the company of his fellow-labourers nor bring into it one man—his own son and heir! To the summons which called those Russians, whose right and *duty* it was, to assist the transformer in his work, the tsarevich, the heir, answered by a *refusal!* The only means to secure the future continuance of his work was to remove the man who would else be the chief obstacle to this, to disinherit the heir. This thought would naturally occur to the mind of Peter, as soon as he saw in his son a fixed aversion for his father's work. The same thought could not but occur to others also. Peter might utter it in the form of a threat. The more the tsarevich showed aversion for his father's work, the less hope was there of a change, the more would the thought of disinheriting him gain strength in the mind of the father. For other people (as Catherine and Menshikoff), whose prospects would be benefited by the disinheritance of the tsarevich, it was not necessary, and it might rather be dangerous to seek to strengthen this thought, for it would necessarily be growing stronger and stronger of itself: all that was necessary was to leave the matter to take its own natural course: by any meddling they could only hurt themselves: for Peter of his natural penetration would immediately perceive that other

people were acting in this for their own ends. If the stepmother thought that the disinheritance of the tsarevich would be for her advantage, it would be for her to endeavour as far as possible to dissemble her feelings and wishes in presence of her husband and of others. The prince Basil Vlad. Dolgorouky said to the tsarevich: 'If the severe temper of the hossoudar were not mitigated by the tsaritsa, it would be impossible for us to live; I would be the first to rebel.' The object of Catherine was this, to aim at obtaining universal popularity by endeavouring to render services to all, by being 'good' towards all: she was *good* even for her stepson, to whom she had not as yet been able to give a rival in a son of her own. If Catherine and Menshikoff did not seek, or were unable, to set Peter against his son in A.D. 1711, when the position of the tsarevich was strengthened by his marriage to a foreign princess, it was useless to be active for that afterwards, when the conflict, even without them, became a matter of necessity after the return of Alexis from abroad, on the first juxtaposition of the father and the son in public life and action. Besides, Menshikoff could not at that time act against Alexis, because he was himself morally in disgrace; his former close relations with Peter existed no longer.

Unfriendly relations between the father and the son developed themselves without any assistance from other quarters: nor was the development of these relations really assisted by the misconduct of the tsarevich towards his wife. Peter, it is true, eventually in his letter to the emperor Charles VI., and in his public accusation of his son, mentioned this; but in his letter to the tsarevich himself, written or dated on the 11th Oct. A.D. 1715, there is not a word about it.

### A.D. 1714.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

On the 1st Jan. A.D. 1714 news came that in Sweden they had made Ulrica Eleanora, sister of Charles XII., regent: and the king of Poland was suspected of wishing to make a separate peace. On the 24th the tsar went with Theodore Apraxin to Revel; and on the 2d Feb. they began to construct a port there. On the 3d the tsar, leaving Apraxin still at Revel, went by Pernau to Riga, where he stayed from the 6th to the 11th, and on the 15th he was again at Petersburg. In this same month of Feb. Golitsin in Finland totally defeated the Swedes under

Armfeldt. On the 20th May Peter put to sea with his fleet, both ships and galleys. On the 15th June news came that the Swedish squadron was off Gangouda, the S.W. promontory of Finland. On the 20th July the Russian fleet was at Tveremund; and on the 27th there was gained a naval victory off Gangouda over Ehrenschild, the Swedish rear-admiral, who, with his frigate the Elephant and nine galleys or lesser vessels, was captured in sight of their main fleet. Besides this, on the 29th July Neuschloss surrendered to Shouvaloff.

On the 30th July Catherine wrote from Revel to Peter: 'On the 27th the sound of cannonading was very audible here: pray let me know by the bearer of this, Kishkin, what it was, that we may not be anxious.' Two days later she heard of the 'unprecedented naval victory' over the Swedish fleet, and replied (4th Aug) by congratulating him, and by giving him an account of the feast with which that victory had been celebrated by them. She wrote too: 'As for what you wrote that we should expect your grace here, or, if you were long, go to Petersburg, I heartily wish to see you arrive happily here; but I know that your grace will not leave your work for a woman; and so I intend to start, if it please God, for Petersburg on the 16th of this month. Committing the health of your grace to the protection of God, I remain your wife, *Catherine*. P.S. I beg you to give my respects and congratulations on the present victory to the hospodin Kniaz-Bass (Ivan Golovin). Also, pray ask him what are *his intentions* as to the present foundlings (the ships[79] taken from the Swedes)—are they to be owned for *children*, or disowned as stepchildren? Also I beg you, my batushka, if you do not expect to be soon with us, to write to me often, which will give me no small pleasure' (Semevsky, p. 54).

On the 27th Aug. news came of the death of Queen Anne of England. On the 4th Sept. the Russian fleet was again at Cronstadt; and Menshikoff and some other distinguished persons came on board the flag-ship. On the 9th at Petersburg the Kniaz-Cesar received the prisoners, and the report of the victory, in the senate, and promoted the rear-admiral Peter Alexievich to be vice-admiral. A little before Peter had petitioned for this promotion, and had been refused by the Admiralty College, on the ground that there were other deserving officers, his seniors,

[79] But probably with a farther sense underneath.

to come before him. He was much pleased at this refusal: but as he observed that he would have *punished* them if they had *not* refused, it may be surmised that they were shrewd enough to suit themselves to his humour. Menshikoff gave the banquet. Peter founded as a monument of this his first victory on the sea a church of St. Panteleëmon.

Voltaire gives a *précis* of a speech made by Peter at this his first naval triumph. The main thought is this: 'Arts and enlightenment have visited in turn various lands: in old time they sojourned in Greece: let us work on:[80] I foresee that a day is coming when the Russians also will excel other nations in *exploits* and in *glory*.'

On the 24th Nov., the names-day of the tsaritsa, Peter invested her with the insignia of a new order for ladies, called the Order of the Liberation, or more commonly of St. Catherine. This was now instituted in the name of the tsaritsa, in memory of her presence with the army in A.D. 1711 on the banks of the Pruth, and of the service rendered by her at that time, 'when she behaved not like a woman, but like a man.' This order was to be conferred by her: but the first persons on whom she actually conferred it were her own daughters, Anna and Elizabeth, after Peter's death.

On the 28th Nov. the admiral Apraxin returned from Finland, and made his report of all that had been done there under him since he parted with the tsar on the 15th of August. He had gone up the coast to Christinstadt and Vaza, whence on the 11th Sept. he sent major-general Alexis Golovin across the gulph, to make a descent on the Swedish coast at Ouneo. And hearing that Armfeldt, who, after the capture of Neuschloss on the 29th July, had retreated northwards, was at Nitkarleby, he went on thither, being supported also by the cavalry under general Bruce, who had followed from Tavasthaus. But the Swedes retreated before them to Bragestadt, and thence to Torneo, so evacuating all Finland. After this, on the 28th Sept., he began to return; and meeting with bad weather, he lost in all, by storms and casualties, 16 galleys, 12 smaller vessels, and 285 men.

[80] Polevoi makes Peter *write*: '*Pray*, and work;' and such language may have been really used; it is not unlike Peter's style. But Voltaire, rightly judging that the injunction to *pray* was out of place, has omitted it in his *précis*.

On the 4th Dec. there came from Constantinople the envoys Tolstoy and Shaphiroff, bringing the ratification of the peace with Turkey. Michael Bor. Sheremetieff had died on the road. There were also received from Basil Luk. Dolgorouky reports of what had been doing by the Danes.

In the mean time, in the autumn, count Lieven, having been sent from the Swedish Council to Demotika, succeeded in persuading Charles XII. to return; and on the night of the 21st Nov., getting through the positions of the blockaders, he in his travelling disguise entered Stralsund.

Peter's allies for some time past had been doing nothing; the Danes had been disputing with Prussia about their occupation of Stettin, and all were suspicious of Peter, and desirous of peace with Sweden. But the return of Charles XII., and his unchanged tone—for he even declared war against Hanover and Prussia, after having written first to the king of Prussia in the hope of gaining him to be an ally—led to a renewal and enlargement of the league with Peter against him. Charles confirmed the marriage contract of his sister Ulrica and the prince of Hesse-Cassel (who were married in A.D. 1715, on the 15th Apr., at Stockholm), and the prince was made generalissimo of the forces in Sweden.

Louis XIV. having died, the emperor Charles VI. joined the Venetians in a fresh war against Turkey.

As an episode, we may connect with this year 1714 an account of some circumstances by which the personal favour of prince Menshikoff was lessened and his public position imperilled, from the time that he was first sharply reprimanded in A.D. 1711 till the death of Peter in 1725.

At the same time that Peter (in A.D. 1712), while sending Menshikoff to command in Pomerania, bade him change his conduct, and warned him that if there were now the least complaint against him he should answer for it with his head, the Dutch resident Debie, in writing to the States of Holland, informed them how the commandant of Revel, Zotoff (a son of the Kniaz-Papa), was oppressing the people there, and how he was acting in concert with Menshikoff. But the most dangerous accusation against Menshikoff was to come from a client of his own, the tsar's 'revenue-increaser' Kourbatoff.

Kourbatoff had first risen from obscurity through a suggestion

made anonymously of introducing government stamps as a source of revenue. By his advice, from the close of A.D. 1700, the patriarchate was suspended, and the temporalities of the Church were committed to the management of the boyar Mousin-Poushkin: and from A.D. 1705 to 1711 he was placed over the *ratousha*, or 'revenue-house.' We have seen—Solovieff writes—that in time past, while he was envious of those in power and denounced them to the tsar, Kourbatoff constantly trusted for his own support to him who was the most powerful of them all, viz. Menshikoff, calling him in his letters to the tsar 'the chosen vessel of God, the *only man* who was faultless before the tsar.' In order to have the support of Menshikoff, Kourbatoff sought in all manner of ways to serve him; and made himself a medium for others who had need of the favourite, and who were ready to pay largely for his goodwill. Thus in A.D. 1704 Kourbatoff wrote to Menshikoff: 'In gratitude for your kindness, Gregory Plemiannikoff has sent to me as a present for you, hossoudar, in money 2000 rubles,' &c. However, there were also collisions. Thus Menshikoff insisted that certain towns and slobodas should be taken from the cognisance of the *ratousha* (of which Kourbatoff had the direction) and committed to the Sibirski prikaz and the palace chancery: he insisted too that the Pskoff inquest should be made with Cyril Narishkin for one of the assessors. But Kourbatoff wrote: 'What reason is there for putting those towns under the Sibirski prikaz? The dues collected in the prikaz amount not to 100,000 rubles, but those collected in the *ratousha* amount to 1,500,000. Yea, yea, it is always better to have one concentrated administration for one and the same thing.' Of the people of Pskoff he wrote that he would rather die himself than that such knaves should obtain grace; and that Cyril Narishkin was in concert with them. Menshikoff, when he knew of the opposition of Kourbatoff, was irritated, and began to speak of him as his *adversary* and *maligner*. Kourbatoff was frightened, and wrote to the tsar: 'Most gracious hossoudar! suffer me not, poor wretch that I am, to perish in my present alarm: my most gracious patron (Menshikoff) *has been*[81] angered against me; and I tremble at this anger, and am horrified. Cause that he may be again gracious towards me.' The tsar reconciled them; after

[81] *i.e.* by the *communication* of the honest advice and opinion written by me *to thee*.

which Kourbatoff began to be obsequious and serviceable to Menshikoff more than ever. The 'revenue-increaser' had a *very large* view—as we must think it—of what was allowable in respect of such services. Not only did he think it quite lawful to accept gifts as tokens of gratitude for things done officially, but he said distinctly to the tsar that he was in the habit himself of receiving such tokens of gratitude, and that others too received them, and ought to receive them. Thus he wrote that it was *needless to give a salary to the judges;* the judges were not necessitous people: they received no small amount of voluntary offerings from the affairs of the prikazes; and he instanced *himself*, saying that he had received in this way in two years above 600 rubles. More than this: Kourbatoff, while busying himself with all his might to increase the revenues of the treasury, thought that he had a right to dispose of the increase obtained by his pains, and to apply a part of it for the benefit of his gracious patron, in reward for the services of this latter to the tsar! Thus in A.D. 1708 he wrote to Menshikoff: 'I, your serene highness's slave, having received your order to send to you certain quantities of spirits, have got them ready with all the speed I could, and I have now sent them to your serene highness in bottles. But the money, the cost of those spirits, I ordered *not* to be taken from hospodin Kouzma Doumasheff (Menshikoff's intendant or agent), because they have been procured with *revenue-increase* money; money which in time past was not (received nor receivable) in the *ratousha;* and in improvement of the regular income of the finance chamber many thousands have been added, which may always be considered as under the supervision of your serene highness, because it was through the report made by you, our most gracious patron, to the hossoudar that I, poor man, was appointed to this work; and hereafter I shall be ready with all zeal to send to thee, hossoudar, not only any such small quantity as has been sent now, but as much as may be needed for all the household of your serene highness, for your services to the most gracious hossoudar the tsar.' We see here how the 'revenue-increaser' teaches the tsar's favourite to look upon the money of the treasury as his own.

In A.D. 1711 Kourbatoff, whether he willed it or no, was sent as vice-governor[82] to the city of Archangel. Here he again

[82] *Nominally* vice-governor, but *really* governor. Peter in this showed some

came into collision with his old patron. Menshikoff had favoured and employed three brothers named Solovieff. One of them, Theodore, managed the property of the most serene prince; another, Osip, was the tsar's commissary in Holland for the sale of the government exports, and the bringing of money from Russia, &c.; the third brother, Dmitri, was ober-commissary at Archangel, and had with him as commissary that same Plemiannikoff whom we have had before us already as sending a present of 2000 rubles through Kourbatoff to Menshikoff. The Solovieffs and Plemiannikoff acted all of them in concert, and with a friendly understanding, in the interests of their benefactor. After the appointment of Kourbatoff to be vice-governor, there was issued (at his desire, no doubt, expressed through the secretary Makaroff to Peter) in Sept. of A.D. 1711 an oukaz of the senate: 'That all (government) goods are to be received and sold in the city (of Archangel) and sent beyond sea by the vice-governor Kourbatoff and the ober-commissary Dmitri Solovieff jointly, whereas before this was all done by Solovieff with the commissary Plemiannikoff.' Thus Plemiannikoff was set aside, and Solovieff had to act together with the vice-governor and in subordination to him. A year passed; in May A.D. 1713 there was a fresh oukaz of the senate: 'As regards the government goods which have been managed at the city of Archangel by the vice-governor Kourbatoff and the ober-commissary Solovieff jointly, henceforth the vice-governor (except that he is to have the superintendence of the custom-house and of the accounts of the customs) is not to meddle with them at all,' &c. The senate, having an old grudge against Kourbatoff, was ready enough, no doubt, to second the wishes of Menshikoff. But Kourbatoff was not a man to be set aside with impunity.

In June A.D. 1713 he gave in an information: that 'Dmitri Solovieff exported of his own corn, in A.D. 1709, 1710, and 1711 respectively, 8081, 7556, and 6973 chetverts of corn, and of wheat 156, so in all in the three years 22,766 chetverts; while of government corn there were exported in the same time 32,709 chetverts. But by oukaz of A.D. 1705 it was forbidden under pain of death for traders to buy grain for foreign exportation: it is to be bought

regard to the jealousy felt by the old families of his new men, and would not give *at once* the full title of governor to a man of such low origin as Kourbatoff.

and exported only on account of the tsar,' &c. (and other accusations, with details).

At the end of August there was a fresh letter from Kourbatoff to Makaroff: 'The most serene prince and the baron Shaphiroff keep here in this city with us a sort of firm (a *companiâ*), and trade in salt, cod, and sea-ivory; and this trade is managed by Dmitri Solovieff and his nephew Yakoff Nekliudoff: and they purchase in this city, on account of the most serene prince, a great variety and quantity of goods and wares, as if with the money of that trade, for the house expenditure of the most serene prince, but things altogether unsuitable for his highness, *e.g.* some hundreds of pairs of sleeves, of stockings, of handkerchiefs, and of the finest wares a great quantity: *it is plain that the most serene prince knows nothing about that*, but they buy these things under his name for themselves, without paying the duties.'

But those Russians who were against the 'revenue-increaser' found allies among the foreigners; and two Dutch merchants presented to their resident at Petersburg a complaint that Kourbatoff had forced them to pay in the most arbitrary manner a sum of 6000 rubles: in the senate Kourbatoff had an active foe in Samarin, who revived an old affair about debased silver.

In consequence of the information of Kourbatoff against Solovieff, and at the same time of the complaints of Russian and foreign merchants against Kourbatoff, there was sent to Archangel the major prince Volkonsky to make inquest. The vice-governor was dissatisfied with the proceedings of this inquisitor, and wrote to Makaroff in Nov. of A.D. 1713: 'The major prince Volkonsky has only asked questions of Solovieff and the others, but whether he has any intention to make a *real inquest* God knows; for he seems to be proceeding with them very easily. I beg you earnestly, of your fatherly grace, to let me know, what does he write against me to his majesty? I fancy that he will make much instance to be empowered to question me upon the oukaz of the senate, and disturb me, and so hinder me from proceeding with the affair of Solovieff: and if he is allowed in this, it would be better for me to die than to be so disgraced in all the government. Is that to be my reward for my truly zealous labours? I wrote the information against Solovieff of my zeal, without fearing anybody: but if they believe that railing which he, when he was questioned, uttered against me, then what is to become of truth?

How will it be possible hereafter to go on with zeal? If I would have been silent I might, I know, have received from him a very large present. But all that of my zeal I despised. My most gracious hossoudar and father (*batka*), if you abandon me in my orphanlike condition, I shall have no one else hereafter to seek aid from; what I say to you is the truth: nearly all have come to hate me!'

But at the same time at which Kourbatoff wrote this letter the Dutch resident Debie presented a note respecting the unjust and oppressive acts of the vice-governor of Archangel. In January of A.D. 1711 Kourbatoff came to Petersburg. Debie being informed of this, went several times to Golovkin and Menshikoff, and took with him his two merchants who had complained of the wrongs done to them by the vice-governor. With the Hollanders Kourbatoff made matters up amicably, without waiting for a decision of the senate; and he was dismissed to return to Archangel: but Volkonsky presented a report in which he was accused of having taken many bribes. Then Peter, who had been taught by experience not to trust anybody, and who had determined not to spare anybody, sent Lodijensky to supersede Kourbatoff, and wrote in May A.D. 1711 an autograph instruction to the new vice-governor that 'on your arrival at the city you are to notify to the late vice-governor, Kourbatoff, that Volkonsky has written against him that he has taken many bribes; and on that account you are to supersede him; but he is not to leave the city till Volkonsky has returned: and those of whom Volkonsky shall write as having had dealings with him are to be taken and kept, that the inquest may be more speedily ended while he is present; and the same Volkonsky, Kourbatoff, and the rest who shall be affected by that inquest are to be sent by you (the vice-governor) at the beginning of September hither to Petersburg; and beyond that time there is on no account to be any farther delay.' But Peter was out in his expectation that by September the whole affair might be finished. The investigation was transferred to Oustiog, as a central spot in the government of Archangel. In August Kourbatoff was questioned on various points: the affair, as he thought, ought to take a favourable turn for him; and he, after being questioned, wrote triumphantly to Makaroff that Volkonsky was in despair, having been forced himself to admit that many of the accusations which he

had written against him to the tsar were calumnies, especially one of his having exacted 81,817 rubles in excess of the sum fixed for the general payment from the government. . . . 'I hear that the most serene prince has informed the tsar against me that I have stolen from him, the tsar, as much as 100,000 rubles, and have plundered the government: report for me, my batka, that I have not appropriated to myself intentionally, I will not say 100,000 rubles, but not 100 kopecks. And what little in money and provisions I have taken for my maintenance is all clearly stated in the chanceries and in the senate; and that I did trusting in his, the hossoudar's, grace, knowing (as he does) my zeal, and the many hundreds of thousands of additional revenue which I have procured him: but if I had lived so (as I am accused of having done), I might have lived without any salary, and might withal have left something for my descendants. If I live to come to Petersburg I will present to the hossoudar an inventory of all my wealth, which I in sixteen years have accumulated; he may know then how rich I am: but it would have been possible enough in the *ratousha* (office-chamber of income or revenue) in six years (A.D. 1705 to 1711) to have acquired a hundred underhand bags (*kosich mieshkoc*).'

Menshikoff informed against Kourbatoff at a time when his own position was a very bad one, in consequence of the abuses which had been discovered in his administration of the government of St. Petersburg. His relations with the tsar had changed: their former familiarity existed no longer: there was no more in their letters to one another the same friendly, companion-like, jocular tone. Menshikoff had begun to write as a subject to his sovereign. Pain and intemperance had broken the health also of the most illustrious prince. In May of A.D. 1714 he had such an attack of illness that the physicians declared that unless there was a very speedy change for the better there would be little hope of saving him. Already for more than three years previously he had been spitting blood, and had been visibly getting weaker; but he did not change his manner of living; as before, he drank excessively, and they said that he had a galloping consumption. His iron constitution, however, deceived the physicians: he recovered, in spite of his intemperate life and his increasing troubles. At the end of A.D. 1714, the tsar having gone to Menshikoff's house, to his family festival, as he had been used

to do in old times, reproached him in the very strongest terms for his misconduct, and for the misconduct of his creatures: he said that they had all enriched themselves in a short time by their plunderings, while the revenues of the treasury were exhausted. Immediately after this there were arrested all the officials of the Ingermanland chancery; also those of the chanceries of the city and the admiralty; there were arrested also two of the senators, Volkonsky and Opouchtin, who had been accused of corrupt practices, the one in respect of the government establishments at Toula, the other in the mint (the *monetni dvor*). The vice-governor of Petersburg, Korsakoff, was subjected to torture: the tsar saw in him the most subtle and cunning of the servants of Menshikoff. Another of the persons arrested was Alexander Kikin, who had been reckoned a prime favourite of the tsar, and who stood at the head of the administration of the admiralty. Siniavin too was arrested, the chief commissary for constructions, who in four years had amassed an immense sum of money. In April of A.D. 1715 Korsakoff was publicly knouted. There were rumours that the most illustrious prince would lose his government of Ingermanland, and *that it would be given to the tsarevich Alexis*. It was said that certain powerful enemies of Menshikoff, when they had lost the hope of destroying him, were endeavouring at least to remove him to a distance from the tsar and from the government. Together with Korsakoff the two senators also were subjected to public punishment: their tongues were branded with a hot iron. Those who were present at the execution said that the tsar was greatly enraged against Volkonsky, and called him a Judas. Kikin wrote to the tsar a deprecatory apologetic letter: he professed himself penitent for having done wrong, dared not ask for grace, but asked only permission to live in the country with his brother. He was made to pay a fine in money, and received permission to live at Moscow.

Meanwhile the affair of Kourbatoff went on slowly: in March A.D. 1715 he wrote to Makaroff: 'I, poor wretch, have written several times to the tsar's majesty, and oftener to you, setting forth my innocence; but my letters have done me no sort of service, while the letters of Volkonsky written maliciously do their work,' &c. In A.D. 1716 Volkonsky was discharged from the farther prosecution of the inquest, which was to be committed to colonel Koshileff: but Volkonsky was long in making the

transfer, and in June Kourbatoff complained of the delay to the tsar: 'From the 15th May to the 18th June he has not completed the transfer of the papers of one box, and there are four boxes of them.' In October Kourbatoff wrote to Makaroff: 'The tsar wrote to me with his own hand that if I built three ships I should be made *full governor:* I have built not three only but seven ships, and not only have I not been made governor, but I have lost my former rank, and am already in poverty.'

Kourbatoff was at that time at Petersburg, and he could not be otherwise than disquieted when he saw that Menshikoff was still in power as before. Notwithstanding the change of his relations to his former favourite, the tsar could not forget his services in time past, and he had need too of his ability for the present. The constructions at Revel and at Petersburg made good progress owing to this, that they were under the energetic superintendence of Menshikoff. Peter began again to show him flattering attentions: he wrote to ask after his health: he sent him from Dantzig a present of a pound of tobacco. Menshikoff now could respond to these attentions only by respectful letters. Thus on the 20th Apr. A.D. 1716 he wrote: 'I am very sorry that your majesty has not rightly recovered your former state of health; but I pray the Most High to send down his Holy Spirit on the waters which you are using for the perfect reëstablishment of your health. But as for my own ail, that too, by God's help, has, I think, passed away: as regards my internal complaint, I will write, as you graciously desire me, a description of the symptoms to doctor Erskine by the next post; and for that your very gracious fatherly care of me I most humbly thank you: but inasmuch as your gracious letters can do me more good than any medicines, I most humbly beg you to continue to show me the same favour (of writing to me) as you have shown now.'

When in Peter's absence, on the 18th June A.D. 1716, his sister Natalia died, Menshikoff wrote to him: 'And since you know that this is inevitable, and we are all bound to endure such afflictions as Christians, I therefore most humbly intreat you not to prolong this grief, but to follow your own wise observation by which you have been used to divert others from such afflictions; and remember your grandmother, Anna Leontieva, whose courageous endurance of the many afflictions which befell her you

are in the habit of praising, and instancing as an example, when you would divert others from their griefs.'

Though he had changed his tone in his intercourse with the tsar, Menshikoff showed no disposition to change it in dealing with any others whatsoever. One can understand that he was not well pleased with the institution of the senate, which narrowed the sphere of his arbitrary action, and he never missed an opportunity of attacking the dilatory and unmethodical habits of the governing College. Once at a wedding, at the house of an officer of the guards, the Dutch resident Dehie asked Menshikoff whether the question about a duty on corn was decided. Menshikoff replied that the senators never finish anything, but waste their time on trifling matters. In July A.D. 1716 the admiral Apraxin, who was with the troops in Finland, wrote in a tone of desperation to Petersburg that his men were dying of hunger, and unless supplies of provisions were sent immediately he must return. Menshikoff went to the senate and began to reproach the governing gentlemen with their neglect. There arose a violent dispute: the senators said that it was not their fault if vessels with provisions had not yet come to Petersburg, that in the treasury there was no money, that all the sources of the revenues were utterly drained, and that the tsar could not require from the senate impossibilities. Menshikoff objected that the senate busied itself only about trifles, and neglected the interests of the state, and that on the present occasion it had the means of supplying the wants of the army. The senators in great wrath asked him how he dared so to speak; he had forgotten that the senate represents the person and authority of the tsar's majesty, that it has the power to put him under arrest, and then to demand satisfaction against him from the tsar! Menshikoff went out from the senate, and without more ado, of his own authority, gave orders to take provisions from the merchants' warehouses to the value of 200,000 rubles, and put them on board of vessels to be sent to Abo. The senators hereby were made still more angry: they began to say that Menshikoff had his own magazines of corn, which he bought up, and so produced a dearth and famine at Petersburg, in order to sell afterwards at a higher price. Menshikoff said that nothing of this was true; but the senators were provoked at the measure taken by him, because each of them had an interest of his own in the corn which he had ordered to be

taken from the merchants. The contention ran so high that they sent complaints from both sides to the tsar. Peter, as one may imagine, could not be displeased with Menshikoff for his energetic measure which was the saving of the army, especially when Apraxin, after his return to Petersburg, wrote to the tsar at the end of the year: 'I am always absent; and, as I am informed from others, if there had not been here the most illustrious prince Menshikoff, things would have gone very ill for the public service.' The energetic Menshikoff was felt to be wanted when the same Apraxin wrote to Makaroff: 'In truth, in everything that is to be done, we scramble about like blind men, and know not what to do: there have been everywhere great disorders, and to what resource to betake ourselves and what next to do, we know not; money is not brought in from any quarter, and everything in consequence is at a standstill.' Between Menshikoff and Apraxin there was a constant league, as is manifest from their correspondence. So in Jan. of A.D. 1716 Menshikoff hastened to inform Apraxin of a complaint made against them both by Kikin, who was then again in favour with the tsar: 'I give your brilliancy to know,' wrote Menshikoff, 'we were at the house of Sklaeff with the tsar's majesty: Kikin came, and the tsar asked him why he looked so sad, and had he been sick? Kikin replied that he had been made sad by me, and by your brilliancy; but in what way he said he would report at length to the tsar's majesty afterwards. But to those words which he then uttered I made answer enough to him, stating all his roguish doings between us, and I begged his majesty and the hossoudarina the tsaritsa not to believe that his lying petition against me and thee. And so this attempt was defeated: and besides, the tsar was just then leaving for Revel. If after his return there should be any words said by him to thee, I hope your brilliancy will try likewise to give the tsar a full idea of all the roguish doings of Kikin, and beg him not to believe his information.' 'And so this attempt was defeated,' Menshikoff wrote to Apraxin: but all the same he was apprehensive, as is plain from his letter to Makaroff, in which he begged the hospodin secretary, whom he calls his benefactor, to let him know whether an information has been sent in by Kikin, and if so, what is its purport.

It was not only by energetic measures and able dispositions that Menshikoff strove to regain the favour of Peter: but know-

ing the tsar's love for his young son, the *tsarevich* Peter Petrovich (born in Oct. A.D. 1715), he also wrote to him abroad long letters about 'that inestimable treasure,' his own most dear young master (lit. master of the house or household), as he called the young Peter.

It was difficult to decide upon an open conflict with Menshikoff, but Kourbatoff decided upon it. He bought over to himself a servant of Menshikoff named Simeon Diakoff, who stole certain papers necessary for Kourbatoff, which contained clear evidence against the Solovieffs. With this treasure in his hands, Kourbatoff wrote from Petersburg to Peter abroad in Oct. of A.D. 1716: 'The three brothers Solovieff, Dmitri, Theodore, and Osip, have deliberately caused very great losses to your treasury by embezzling your majesty's revenue of the customs, of which there will be plain proof from the present inquest; but their guilt shall be still more completely convicted upon your arrival, because I hold in my possession written papers of such a nature that they cannot possibly make any explanation or defence against them, but will have to be tortured, and to answer for very large sums due to you. If an inquest is made abruptly about the two Solovieffs who are here, and their brother Osip gets to know of that, there will be danger lest their brother Osip remain abroad, and live altogether at Amsterdam or elsewhere, and so they will be able to conceal all that part of their wealth which is abroad. And in this present year they have sent away from Petersburg on board ships potash bought from the admiralty to the value of above 10,000 dollars, fraudulently, in the name of their accountant Hayter and the Englishman Collins—men who possess no property whatever, but live here with them, the Solovieffs, in their house. And for that potash they agreed to pay the admiralty with foreign salt at the rate of ten altines for a pood; and in the same names (of Hayter and Collins) they have purchased from the admiralty a monopoly of salt and tobacco for all Finland, as I and the ober-fiscal have ascertained. And if your majesty gives order to send on some ground or other that Osip Solovieff back to Russia, then for the keeping up of the commission of your commerce (in Holland) in his stead, I can recommend of my true zeal two persons, who, I think, will be fit and able to manage it without damage to your interest; viz. the Moscow merchants Ivan Korotkoi and Athanasius Pauloff,

who are men of intelligence, known as commercial dealers, not old, and well reputed of by the foreigners as merchants of integrity.'

Kourbatoff chose an unfavourable moment: the tsar was abroad for a prolonged absence; and all his attention was engrossed by foreign affairs, and by the flight of his son. It was only in Oct. of A.D. 1717 that a report reached Petersburg that Osip Solovieff had been arrested at Amsterdam, his books seized, and he himself sent off under guard to Russia. This news alarmed his brothers and Menshikoff. The latter ordered his intendant Theodore Solovieff to make out an exact report of all that was under his charge. There was set on foot an inquest, in which the chief proof for the conviction of the accused consisted of autograph letters of the Solovieffs obtained by Kourbatoff from Diakoff. Being convicted by their own letters, the Solovieffs confessed themselves guilty. In December A.D. 1717 the prince Volkonsky was shot for having dishonestly managed the inquest made respecting the Solovieffs on the earlier information of Kourbatoff. Respecting other rogueries of the Solovieffs an order was made to examine with torture their secretary Riazanoff. The day for this examination was fixed to be the 13th Feb. A.D. 1718. On the day before that there came to the house of Kourbatoff for his names-day two clerks of the chancery of Menshikoff, the brothers Artemius and Daniel Astaphieff, as if to salute him; but on the following day, the 13th, he had a visit of another kind: there came to him a major of the guards, the prince Yousoupoff, with soldiers and izvoshchiks, searched all his house, found nobody, sealed up the house with all the papers in it, set a guard over it, put Kourbatoff, with his son, his servants, and the podiaks who lived with them into the sledges which they had brought, and took them first to the Winter Palace, and thence to the Fortress, and brought them before the prince Menshikoff. 'Where is my secretary Sergeyeff, and the podiak Kaminsky?' he demanded: 'yesterday my chancery clerks the Astaphieffs saw them in your house. And why did you take to yourself Diakoff?' 'Yesterday,' replied Kourbatoff, 'at dinner and after dinner there were with me many strangers, but Sergeyeff and the podiak were not there, of that all the visitors can bear witness.' 'Why did you take to yourself Diakoff?' thundered Menshikoff: 'he is a thief: he stole from me a number of papers: and you have made yourself a thief like him, since you have taken in a thief

and keep him with you?' 'Those papers which Diakoff brought to me about the felony of the Solovieffs,' replied Kourbatoff, 'I made known to the tsar himself, and by those papers the Solovieffs have been convicted: and Diakoff appeared in consequence of those matters in the chancery of general prince Dolgorouky, and he ought not by us to be reckoned among thieves?' Kourbatoff was set at liberty, but Diakoff was taken to the fortress and kept in irons under strict guard. Kourbatoff in a letter to Makaroff complained: 'On the 15th Feb. the most illustrious prince sent a diak, and ordered him to examine all my papers. But as regards the Solovieffs, though they had been clearly convicted, *their* houses, furniture, and papers were not inventoried nor sealed up: nay, more than that, the inquest about them has been stopped because the informant Diakoff is kept in irons, and his mother and wife and children and people are kept, by orders from the house of the prince Menshikoff, in their own house under arrest. At the same time the prince Menshikoff took into the fortress also the diak *Voronoff*, and said to him: "You *black* horse (*voronoi kon*), I'll cut your —— for you, and I'll destroy your roguish company." And through the fright caused by this my affair has been stopped, and they dare not proceed with the inquest.'

But the inquest could be thus stopped only for a time, during the absence of the tsar, who was then occupied with *his own* affair in that for him terrible year 1718, while Menshikoff could do what he pleased at Petersburg. The inquest was carried on to its end, and the result was that there was a sum of 675,040 rubles to be recovered from the Solovieffs on behalf of the treasury, while all their property according to the description and schedule made of it amounted to 407,447 rubles; so that there would still be a deficit of 302,177 rubles. But at the same time with the inquest respecting the embezzlements of the Solovieffs there was still dragging on that about the abuses charged against Kourbatoff himself. In Jan. A.D. 1719 he wrote to the tsar: 'By your command there have been written out *heads* of the charges against me. Of your merciful grace, hossoudar, after examining them and ascertaining what are my offences, pardon them of your mercy: for I of sorrow and anxiety have been unable these four years past to recover from my sickness, and the doctors give me no hope: and besides that, I am all but utterly

ruined, and have fallen into many debts, and at Moscow my poor house has been greatly damaged through the fault of my good-for-nothing people; I have not been in it for above three years: give order that I may be allowed to go to Moscow till the middle of March. . . . Yea, yea, I have worked for you with all my soul, but I have nobody to praise me, for I have not sought to please any one else but you, hossoudar, and therefore I am abandoned by all. Also I beg with tears: be so gracious, hossoudar, as to order some small matter to be given back to me for my sustenance, because this is the sixth year that I have received no salary, and what my service has been in the affair of the Solovieffs is known to your majesty.' Kourbatoff was allowed to go to Moscow, and to stay there till the 20th of March.

Two years passed: the affair was coming to its end; but not such an end as Kourbatoff had hoped. In March A.D. 1721 he wrote to the tsar: 'God knows that I have done nothing before your majesty with evil intention, nor have appropriated anything of your revenue secretly and of design, but have worked for you, hossoudar, alone with all my heart and soul; and of this your majesty is not ignorant. But now in the chanceries, through the illwill borne me by the gentlemen judges, I am fined as heavily as if I were altogether guilty, and they have put upon me fines and other monies to the amount of 20,000 rubles . . . and they pay no attention whatever to my statements and explanations made to justify myself. Be merciful, hossoudar, let them not destroy me without a cause: order all the papers about me to be taken from their chanceries, and brought together for your own examination to the Cabinet, or to the Kammer College. And if I to your godlike judgment appear to have been guilty of any grave offence, then I do not ask for grace; order me to be stripped of all, and let me go naked: only for the profit brought by me in time past to the state, and for my fidelity, I pray you to save my life, seeing that even so from my grief and my sickness I expect to die soon. O most gracious hossoudar, be pleased to know *how they who trust only on you are destroyed*; even as I, poor wretch, placed all my hope and trust in you, the hossoudar, alone, and now on that account I perish without cause. But if I *do* now perish without cause, you, hossoudar, will regret it hereafter, because I, poor wretch, by the help of God, have not been an unprofitable servant in your empire.' Soon

after writing this letter, in the summer of A.D. 1721, Kourbatoff died, before the final decision of his cause. The court in the chancery of major-general Matiushkin, on the judgment of the staff and superior officers, decided that there must be exacted from Kourbatoff above 16,000 rubles. The greater part of this sum, viz. above 12,000 rubles, was on account of money taken by him from the treasure, without any order: the rest was for transferring goods without any bargain or sale to his subordinates in consideration of presents: of presents[83] there appeared to the value of 1085 rubles. There were besides fifteen matters needing verification in different governments still unfinished.

The account against Kourbatoff was as nothing in comparison with the huge sums to be accounted for by Menshikoff. Peter promised him to remit a part of the fines; and he wrote to him in A.D. 1718: 'Since your majesty of your extreme grace to me was pleased to promise that in the matter of the present fines you would *lie*[84] in my favour, I most humbly ask of you the performance of that promise, in such wise as God may put it into your heart. My own regiment (of which your majesty knows that I raised and armed it *solely* of my zeal for *your service*) is now by your order disbanded, and its men are to be reckoned to me as so many recruits furnished from my estates: I beg your majesty that there may be reckoned in like manner the dragoons and soldiers who in time of need were taken to my house from the regiments and from the recruits, of whom there are now here 150 men, and 4 sailors, and at Koporie and Yamburg from the streltsi of Toropetz and Velikie-Louki 300, making in all 454 men. And from the first raising of that regiment till it was disbanded, I had spent upon it of my own money 19,156 rubles, which I beg may be counted in my favour. Since your majesty has more than once encouraged us to hope that if any increase were obtained for the state revenues, one-tenth of that increase should be given as a reward, and under my administration, in the chanceries and in this government here, there has been an increase of the revenue to be collected annually of 476,819 rubles, and by my own special heads presented to your majesty in the last

[83] Regarded by his judges as bribes, but accepted openly by himself, as we have seen above.

[84] *i.e.* let me off as easily as possible, by allowing me to reckon various services as money paid by me to the treasury.

winter there has been obtained an increase in the revenue from salt to the amount of 100,000 rubles (and it ought with proper management to be still more), I beg that I may be allowed (to set the tenth part of this increase to my own side of the account). All the governors receive, each in his own government, all that is necessary in abundance; and some, besides that, have also a salary in money: but I from the moment that I was made governor, *i.e.* from A.D. 1702, have never received any salary whatever . . . and whatever accrued to me from this government here, that has all to the last farthing been placed to the account *against* me: and therefore I beg your gracious consideration herein: if there is anything which it does not please you to reckon in my favour as I have reckoned it, then be pleased to order me a payment of so much annually, that it may be possible to regulate my expenses, without bringing myself down to absolute want. Moreover I think that your majesty will remember that at various times of need, by your own personal verbal orders only, there have been made by me disbursements of considerable sums; especially when I was at Jolkva, when the gentlemen of Poland, after the abdication of their king Augustus, halted (or limped) on both legs, then, to court them, I may truly say I stripped the sable lining from my clothes, and made them presents of everything else I had to give: and how impossible it would be to make out an exact account of that you yourself may judge; and as for myself, the thought of making such an account never so much as entered my head. But now for this and all the other many like disbursements made by me for monies, horses, carriages, provisions of all sorts, and expenses of general banquets of which your majesty knows, and of which I destroyed the accounts, considering all that I had to be yours, though neither now do I choose to make an account of these disbursements, I yet remit myself to your high fatherly grace, and most humbly beg you to show me your most gracious consideration in respect of the same.'

The tsar himself looked over the account: against many entries he made a note, '*Count it;*' but all the same there still remained a great deficit.

In A.D. 1719 Menshikoff again wrote to him: 'According to the account made out by the prince Basil Dolgorouky in the Ingrian chancery, there were entered against me some hundreds

of thousands of rubles without any sort of clear testimony, sums for which the president Onesimus Tschoukin ought (in the first instance) to have been made responsible, since he directed that chancery: and for the whole of that I answered (or had to answer). And they took from me 485,537 rubles: and after that there were taken from me, in money, hemp, and other goods, 615,608 rubles; and I, besides that, took on account to pay 67,005 rubles. And though I was satisfied with the gracious "resolution" of your majesty, your majesty having been pleased to allow in my favour that of 324,351 rubles of fine for excess or gain on forage contracted for the *half* should not be exacted from me, still, most gracious hossoudar and father! I am mortal: and, besides that, while I yet live, the thought that I am not yet free from all those affairs (prosecutions) wears me away: therefore I most humbly beg your majesty that I may be set free from all those chanceries in which there is any matter pending about my acts, so that nobody may be able in any way to touch me,' &c. But it was not till after the death of Peter that Menshikoff, after having succeeded in placing Catherine upon the throne, obtained from her an oukaz closing all proceedings still pending against him, and granting him much besides, though not *all* that he then asked for. At the same time with the inquest about Menshikoff there was another inquest going on about the prince Mosalskoy, whose peculations had been connived at by the admiral Apraxin, and another about the prince Yakoff Theod. Dolgorouky (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xvi. p. 250-273).

The account which has now been given of Menshikoff's position, and of his relations with the tsar, from the time of his dangerous illness in May A.D. 1714 to the end of Peter's reign, will have to be borne in mind when we come to consider the disinheritance and the tragical end of the tsarevich Alexis. But it is time for us to return to the year 1714, in connection with which there are still one or two things to be noticed.

On the 30th Sept. A.D. 1714 died in the German sloboda at Moscow Anna Iv. Keyserling, born Mons, leaving two illegitimate children, the elder a girl, 'perhaps by Peter,' the younger a little boy, 'probably by Keyserling,' who had married her on the 18th June A.D. 1711, and had died at Stolpe on his way to Berlin on the 11th Dec. following. The personal property left by him was claimed by his elder brother; but his widow, with the help of her

brother-in-law Balk and her brother William, after a protracted suit, obtained possession of it, 7th March A.D. 1714, six months before her death.

We see in Anna Mons—M. Semevsky observes—a selfish person, a German woman fond of pleasure, profligate with a cold heart, grasping even to meanness; with all this, superstitious, with very little education (as her autograph letters prove). Except the beauty which she had when young and healthy, there was nothing attractive or remarkable about her. Raised out of the mire of profligacy, she was not able to *appreciate*[55] the love of a *great sovereign*, who for her sake inflicted a cruel hardship upon his lawful wife. An obscure German girl, Anna Mons served as the occasion for some momentous occurrences: the tsaritsa Eudocia was on her account sent into banishment; the heir to the throne was parted from his mother, and in consequence harboured a secret antipathy for his father, as her persecutor. This antipathy grew upon him, and caused him to surround himself with partisans who shared his feelings. So there began a conflict, at first scarcely perceptible, merely passive on the side of the tsarevich, of no public importance in its actual course, but which might have assumed more serious proportions, if it had not been ended by the tragedy of A.D. 1718. On the other side, the love of Peter for Anna Mons makes it natural to regard with some attention her family, and especially her brother William, through whom eventually Peter's earlier immoral connection became the source of his punishment and disappointment in his later immoral connection with Catherine Basilievsky. For after punishing and disgracing Anna Mons for having only feigned to love him, he brought near to his person her brother William; made him the close attendant and factotum of that mistress by whom he had replaced Anna Mons; and at last, when his own health was broken, found in him a man to destroy such family happiness as he fancied himself to have made for himself, and to embitter the last days of his life.

At the end of A.D. 1714 Peter made a burlesque funeral for his dwarf, with dwarf mourners and bearers, and dwarf horses, and all the court following. And after the new year of A.D. 1715 His Holiness the Kniaz-Papa (Zotoff), having lost his wife, though quite an old man, married again; and his wedding was

[55] 'To appreciate'!

another display of buffoonery,[86] attended by all the court in fancy dresses, with sledges drawn by horses, asses, oxen, bears, and elks. Burlesque titles were given; to Zotoff himself that of the 'all-*un*holiest Kniaz-Papa;' to others such as the following: 'The elder brother of the devil;' 'The man who sold all but his soul;' 'who has studied a little, and consequently knows nothing;' 'who is president of perpetual foolery;' 'commandant of all the beer-barrels;' 'who spent a fortnight in looking for a *chichina* (a canary, or linnet), and could not find one;' 'who took refuge with Jack Malt;' and the like. These revels lasted some days. Thus for Peter not only the ecclesiastical hierarchy and its ceremonial, but also those two most sacred and solemn rites of Christianity, marriage and burial, were objects of public mockery and buffoonery.

### A.D. 1714.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

Kostomaroff writes that in October A.D. 1712, when Peter ordered the crown-princess to go from Elbing to Petersburg, she was horrified, and wrote to her parents (but he does not give the date, and what he quotes reads as if it were written later): 'My position is much more painful and dreadful than you can imagine. I am married to a man who loves me not, and now less than ever. The tsar is gracious to me: his wife underhand does me all the hurt she can, for she hates me as much as I fear her, that is, more than you can imagine.' All that was Russian inspired her with disgust and aversion. 'The Lutherans,' she wrote, 'are not much better in their eyes than the devil himself.' Her chief lady, Juliana Louisa von Ost-Friesland, excited her against all the Russians, and against her husband, who, after letting her give her parents 20,000 rubles of her income, flew from his word, and would not sign the receipt for that sum. She had a misunderstanding too with the tsarevna Natalia, whose servant Gideonoff turned some of her people out of a house they had hired. The tsarevich began to suggest to her to leave him, and to go back to Germany. 'If I were not with child,' she wrote to her mother (*i.e.* in the spring of A.D. 1714), 'I would be glad to

[86] In the inventory of the letters, &c., taken in A.D. 1718 from the house of the tsarevich there is mention of three letters from the tsarevich of Siberia, of which Nos. 1 and 2 are about the birth of the tsarevna Margaret (baptised 19th Sept. A.D. 1714), and No. 3 about this burlesque wedding of the Kniaz-Papa.

go, though it were to live on bread and water: I pray God to keep me, else I might from despair do something dreadful.' To her sister the empress she dissembled her misery. But after her death Peter and his son mutually accused one another 'of ill-treating her,' and 'of treating her like a servant.' So the son said to the emperor and the empress (*Drevnaia i Novaia Russia*, *Sbornik*, 1875, Art. 1).

In A.D. 1714 the tsarevich was constantly unwell, and the physicians advised him to go to Carlsbad. He wrote of this to his father, and received his permission. Pleyer, in a despatch of the 5th June, writing to Vienna, mentions his illness as if he were in a consumption; and again on the 6th July he mentions his absence, and says that he has gone to Carlsbad 'on pretence of looking after certain property of his wife.' Kikin thought that the tsarevich would do well to avail himself of this opportunity, and advised him to protract his absence abroad, or even to remain abroad altogether, in order to avoid collisions with his father. 'When you have finished your cure, write to your father that you must make another cure in the spring, and that in the mean time you will go to Holland, and then, after the spring cure, you may go to Italy, and so prolong your absence for two years, or for three.' The tsarevich on the 4th of June wrote to his father: 'Yours of the 1st of June, bidding me, if it is judged good for my health, go to Carlsbad, I have received: the doctors say that it is necessary, and I am starting to-day.' And to his confessor he wrote: 'My father has been pleased to send me for a cure to Carlsbad, and I am starting to-day: do not distress yourself: this will issue in good by the help of God,' &c. And the chancellor Golovkin on the same day, 4th June, wrote to the tsar: 'Your son has shown me your autograph letter to him, and has taken from me a pass as if for an officer going to Germany.' And on the 8th he wrote again, with reference to something that the tsar had said to the secretary Kourbatoff about precautions to be taken, that he had of himself represented to the tsarevich that there might be some danger on certain roads, and even at Carlsbad itself, and had asked him to let him write first to make arrangements: but he would not hear not only of writing, but not even of speaking to any one, that the foreign ministers might not know; and he went off the next day. The tsar, however, had misgivings, especially about the neighbourhood of

Dantzig, and he wrote to Golovkin to take measures. So Golovkin wrote to Vienna to Matveyeff, to ask that some trustworthy person might be sent *privately*, or on some other nominal charge, to Carlsbad with a few soldiers in case of need, and that an escort might be given to the tsarevich to the frontier on his return: also he wrote to his son Alexander Golovkin to Berlin, to ask there also for an escort. The tsarevich was to avoid Poland and Saxony, the tsar's relations with the king Augustus at this time not being of the best. On the 18th June the tsarevich wrote from Memel to his father: 'Yours of the 12th of this month from Revel I have just received here as I was starting, bidding me stay at Riga till I receive another letter from you to tell me to what places I had best go. But since I cannot well stay on here without great publicity being given to my journey (of which now little is known), and so there would be greater danger, I am going on by Goadjuthen to Sharova, or farther; and thence I will choose a safe route, and will travel, leaving Dantzig to the right, to Stargard and to Landsberg, or wherever may be best.' And July 1, from Pyritz: 'I salute you for your names-day, and report that I have come safely from Memel to the Brandenburg frontier, and on to this place: and I have seen nothing to suggest any idea of danger.'

After the tsarevich, with his father's permission, had gone to Carlsbad, the crown-princess his wife remained at Petersburg in the eighth month of her pregnancy; and the tsar, to provide against reports which might arise from certain quarters if his German and Lutheran daughter-in-law were to give birth to a prince while surrounded only by Germans, wrote from Revel some days before her confinement to let her know that he had directed the chancellor to place with her two or three Russian ladies, and a Russian midwife. The crown-princess, who misunderstood Peter's meaning and purpose altogether, and who besides had a becoming sense of her own rights, was greatly annoyed; and she wrote to him a letter, in which, after expressing her feelings, as if an insult were put upon her through some malicious intrigue, she concluded thus:

'Affection and tender respect for your majesty suggest to me the thought, *for your own credit*, to make the proposal that it should be done *as if I had myself asked* for the appointment, till my delivery, of two or three ladies of quality, so that the whole

affair may take a better aspect in the eyes of the inquisitive world: otherwise there will be many comments, more to your disadvantage than to mine. But as regards the additional midwife, whom the chancellor Golovkin and madame Bruce, the wife of the general, propose to me, I regard that disposition as a great unkindness on the part of your majesty: it is entirely inconsistent with that free choice of my own servants which was given me by the contract. For me it is all one whether there be another midwife present when the time comes; but I have my own, whom I have brought with me, in whom I have entire confidence, and she must do her duty. Being in complete dependence on your majesty, I cannot refuse to admit another person, but my eyes fill with tears and my heart revolts. I repose my hope on your majesty's goodness and equity.' In the same sense the next day she wrote also to the tsaritsa Catherine.

On the 8th a very different lady, the kniaz-hegoumina or mock abbess, and in a very different style, a style better suited to the *morale* of Peter, wrote to him thus: 'Most gracious hossoudar! With us at Petersburg, thank God, all is well. The hossoudarinas the tsarevnas and her highness the crown-princess, thank God, are in good health. By your oukaz I and Bruce's wife are living with her highness the crown-princess, and we never leave (her apartment) for a moment: and *she is gracious to us*. And I promise by God himself, yea, yea, not for many millions (of money) will I be *taken in*, and I am glad to serve you with all my heart as well as I can. Only *all these great koumplimenti* (*court manners* and ceremoniousness) and cringings of the rump (*curtseyings*) and *German* cookery have so confused me that I can *scarce see straight*. This is the third letter that I write to your majesty, without receiving any answer, at which I grieve not a little; and I think I won't write any more; I suppose you don't wish me. I, the *kniaz-hegoumina* of St. Petersburg, *praying God for you*, make my obeisance.'

On the 12th July the chancellor wrote to Peter that the crown-princess had that morning at half-past seven A.M. been delivered of a daughter, the three Russian ladies, his own wife, madame Bruce, and the kniaz-hegoumina (Rjevsky), and the midwife, the wife of Yan Koch, being present. He wrote: 'And that matter was ended after a decent fashion: and of your letter, hossoudar, no one about me knows anything, but it has been

given out here that it was so done *at their request.*' And he wrote again the same day: 'The new-born child by the wish of her highness has been named Natalia: her highness the crown-princess has informed us that your son the tsarevich, when leaving, told her that he wished your sister the hossoudarina the tsarevna Natalia to be the godmother; and now she wishes to know your pleasure when the child is to be baptised.' On the 20th of July both the tsar and the tsaritsa Catherine wrote separate letters from Revel to the crown-princess, congratulating her on the birth of her daughter (they had written also, and the chancellor Golovkin wrote, to the tsarevich, to Carlsbad); and on the 26th the crown-princess wrote to the tsar thanking him 'for his very obliging letter,' and hoping that since she had failed this time to bear a prince, she might 'the next time be more fortunate,' &c.

According to the entries in an account-book kept in the tsarevich's own hand from June 29 to December 4, we can trace his movements thus: June 29, Stargard; 30, Pyritz; July 1, Neuhause, Angermunde, and Neustadt; 2, Berlin; 3, Hansdorf, Ekersdorf, Treplin, and Frankfurt[57] on the Oder, where he stayed a full week, and where he paid thirty-five dollars eighteen grosh for board and lodging; 12, Miksdorf and Libereze; 14, Kotbais 15, Spremberg; 17, Shlukenau; 18, Rumburg and Georgswalde 19, Bershtet and Leybe; 23, Pauluchti and Melnik and Lebeznitsa; 24, Prague, where again he stayed a week. On the 1st Aug. he wrote to his father from Carlsbad (which, however, is not then named in the account-book): 'I came here last night, and when the dogdays are over—they end on the 12th—I am to begin my cure.' 2, by the account-book, he was at Cherovitz, Khorzovitz, and Khoinitz; 3, Nevirshausen; 5, Schlaggenwald (cursed accommodation) and Ellbogen; 7, Falkenau; 8, Eger; 11, back to Falkenau; 12, Carlsbad.

The count N., who had been sent for his greater security to Carlsbad, caused the tsarevich great annoyance, and reports of his being there, derived from private letters, were soon rife at Vienna; and the envoy there, Matveyeff, sent his wife on pretence of her health from Vienna to Carlsbad, that she might make from him communications which he thought it best not to write.

[57] Golovkin writes to Peter, 18th July, that he supposes the tsarevich went by Frankfurt in order to avoid Dresden and the king Augustus.

While he was using the waters the tsarevich read with attention the Polish Jesuit Scarga's abridged translation of the Annals of Baronius, and he made extracts filling twenty pages of the *Collection of Documents*, &c., edited by Pogodin, of such passages as seemed to bear on things passing in his own time. The following are specimens:

*Extracts from Baronius.*

A.D. 388. The Wednesday's fast existed originally at Rome also, as well as in other parts.

St. Ambrose says: 'It is not proper for the emperor *to suppress freedom of speech*, nor for a priest *not to utter what he thinks*.

A.D. 390. Novinian was a heretic *like Luther*.

A.D. 447. Of the letter of Pope Leo to a synod of Toledo of the procession of the Holy Ghost with the *Filioque*. This is false; and if it had been so decreed in that council, still it would all the same be false, because the clause, 'et in Spiritum Sanctum,' &c., was added in the Second Ecumenical Council *before this*,' without any such addition.

A.D. 455. The Cæsar Valentinian was killed for *violating the laws of the Church, and for adultery*.

A.D. 458. The Cæsar Majorian in the West issued an edict that *fathers* must not *force* their *daughters* to embrace *the monastic state:* and that such as have been put into monasteries by their fathers *without their own will* are not to be tonsured before they are forty years of age.

A.D. 514. In France they wore *a long* dress; and Charlemagne *forbade short dresses*, praising the long dresses and blaming the other contrary fashion.

A.D. 527. Bishops were present in secular trials, together with the judges.

A.D. 533. Justinian is said to have written to the Pope that he is *the head of all*. This is not very accurate; and though it were true that he so wrote, *his letter* would be *no authority for us*.

Simony is old in Rome.

A.D. 535. A law of Justinian that houses of ill fame are not to be allowed: and *an excellent maxim*, that it is the duty of every governor *to look after purity of morals*, and in proportion only as he does this to expect victory from God.

A.D. 587. Chilperic, king of France, is killed *for having taken away from the Church its property*. See his words.

A.D. 692. He reviles the Sixth Council (the Council in Trullo, called by the Greeks the Sixth, or the Quinisext) for allowing priests to have wives, unjustly; for so it was in the time of the Apostles.

A.D. 806. The emperor Nicephorus forbade the patriarchs to write to the Pope. And that was *not ill done* of Nicephorus.

A.D. 809. As for this, that Theodore the Studite wrote to the Pope calling him 'father of fathers,' one may give that title to every patriarch. But even though Theodore had acknowledged the Pope as *head*, which was not the case, that was not so done by *all* the Church.

Pope Leo III. refused, when applied to by the synod of Aachen, to insert into the creed the *Filioque*: and on this account he set up two silver tablets in St. Peter's with the creed unaltered, in Greek and in Latin, 'amore et cantelâ orthodoxæ religionis.'

A.D. 823. He writes that Theodore the Studite represented to the emperor Michael Trauni or Barbe that *without the allowance of Rome an œcumenical council cannot be held*; and if there was not to be a council, he should send letters about the faith to Rome. I suspect that all this is false, because all the councils were held in the East, and not in the West; though the bishop of Rome also was as one of the patriarchs.

A.D. 843. In France the kings *took away villages belonging to the Church*, and distributed them to their own servants: and they who received and held them *suffered great punishments* from the saints, who appeared to them in their sleep, and left visible marks of chastisement on them.

A.D. 862. He writes against Photius, that he separated the Eastern Church from the Orthodox Church, which is not true. But if any one had written that *his* (Baronius' or Scarga's) Church separated itself from Orthodoxy, that is the truth.

A.D. 867. Scarga writes that Photius sought a ground for separation from the Roman Church in the doctrine of the Procession from the Son, which is indeed a ground, and no slight one. But that Photius was irregularly raised to the chair *was not his fault*, but the fault of those who raised him to it.

Pope John VIII. was a woman, which Scarga himself (though not distinctly) shows. But as for what he has written, that for his pusillanimity they called him a woman, because he was weak

in all that he did, if that were so, what becomes of the *impeccability* (or inerrancy) of the Popes?

A.D. 882. Scarga writes that when, to satisfy the people, Pope John *violated the canons*, he *did not prosper*, though he did that in a time of pressing necessity. But now, without any necessity, for some trifling gain, the Popes break not only the canons of the fathers, but even the laws of God.

A.D. 897. Pope Stephen VII. took vengeance on Pope Formosus after his death. And see the rest of what is written at this year; what they themselves write against the Popes. Scarga himself writes that the succeeding Popes also for a hundred years were bad, and that on account of this all went ill. This is a sign *of their apostasy*.

A.D. 931. John XI., son of the courtesan Marozia, and stepson of Guido.

A.D. 933. Marozia, mother of the Pope John, marries Hugh, brother of her husband Guido. I suppose the Pope, her son, may have married them?

A.D. 938. Martyrdom of St. Viacheslaf (Wenceslaus) prince of Bohemia.

A.D. 949. Denmark received the faith from the Saxons.

A.D. 955. Pope John XII. made Pope at the age of seventeen.

A.D. 958. Olga princess of Russia received baptism.

A.D. 960. Constantine VIII. *forbade to intermarry with aliens in faith*. Read all that is written under this year.

A.D. 963. John XII. celebrated, without communicating, in a stable, and ordained a deacon. For this the emperor assembled a council, and they deposed him in his absence, and consecrated another, Leo, in his stead.

A.D. 965. The Poles embraced the faith.

A.D. 999. Sylvester II. was a sorcerer, though Scarga defends him: but he writes that he knew *astronomy*, which *comes nearly to the same thing*.

On the 25th Aug. the tsarevich wrote to his father: 'Your letter of 16th July I received two days ago, and for it and for your congratulations on the birth of my daughter I most humbly thank you, and together with your daughter-in-law I congratulate you, hossoudar, in return. As for myself, I am continuing my cure: yesterday they cupped me.' Directed: 'To the Rear-Admiral.'

Sept. 1, he writes to Catherine: 'Gracious hossoudarina-matushka! Your letter, hossoudarina, with the news of the glorious victory given us over the enemy, I have received with great joy, and I congratulate you on it. God grant that from this seed other like fruits, and still more admirable, may be gathered! Your most humble servant and son, Alexis.' On the 2d Sept. he writes to his father, of the same: 'Your letter of the 29th July I received here two days ago, informing me that the Most High, after many land victories, has now rewarded your labours by a victory on the sea also (a thing hitherto unheard of among us); and on this with very great joy I congratulate you, hossoudar. God grant that the glory you have shed upon Russia by your land victories may be even doubled by those which you are to gain by sea.' He wrote congratulations on the same victory to Menshikoff, adding: 'Also I wish to receive a letter from your splendour; because since I left Petersburg I have not received any letter from you, and I have written to you several times.'

Catherine wrote this summer to the tsarevich four letters, announcing the birth (on the 12th July) of the tsarevich's daughter Natalia and that of her own daughter Margaret (before the end of Aug.); about a guard of soldiers to be given to him at Carlsbad; and of the capture of a Swedish rear-admiral, &c. The chancellor count Golovkin also wrote to him: 1. Of the baptism of his daughter Natalia. 2. Of the tsar's return to Petersburg with the Swedish prizes and captives; of the birth of the tsar's daughter Margaret; and of a disagreeable intimation received from the emperor, that the conduct of the tsarevich at Carlsbad was indiscreet: and the chancellor suggested that he should make some explanation or apology, in order to set himself right at the court of Vienna. 3. Dated 17th Sept.: 'I have received your two letters from Carlsbad of the 19th and 20th August. I see from the first that the count's having been sent from the emperor has been disagreeable to you, and I rather suspect that it is he himself who "keeps a table, and shows himself publicly." I could not, such being the will of your father, do otherwise than write to the Imperial and the Prussian courts, but I did desire Matveyeff to obtain that the emperor should order the commissioner whom he sent to be at Carlsbad *privately*, and that if he saw any danger he should have some soldiers to secure you, but not as a guard of honour, nor publicly. Your letter about the route for your return

I submitted to the hossoudar: but he said nothing. I do not know of any better route for you than through Prussia: there will be an escort to Memel, and to that place people can be sent from Riga: there is no other way except through Poland, and you know what kind of people the Poles are: that way would be more dangerous.' 4. Sept 20, of the baptism of the tsarevna Margaret on the 19th: 'The sponsors were, as proxy for the emperor, prince Menshikoff, with your aunt the tsarevna Natalia; and as proxy for the king of England, myself, together with our hossoudarina your crown-princess.' There were also letters written to him by Matveyeff, the tsar's resident at Vienna, in one of which, No. 13, he warns him from the empress of Germany to be cautious, as Stanislas Leshchinsky is said to meditate breaking through from Zweibrucken into Pomerania.

The tsarevich, when leaving Carlsbad on the 25th Sept., paid for ice 2 dollars, for medicines 12, and to his doctor 50 dollars. Then his itinerary is as follows: Sept 2, to Habersberga, Bogodorna, Eger, and Waldsassen; 26, Tirschenreut and Weiden;[88] 27, Neustadt; 28, Sultzbach; 29, Hahabach; 30, Hartmanshof; Oct. 1, Riksdorf and Nuremberg (here they stayed five days, bought tobacco and books, saw the imperial palace, the art-gallery, &c.: their bill was 17 chervontsi and a gulden); 6, Erlangen, Vorchheim, and Lausdorf; 7, Bamberg (stay five days, bill 12 ducats and 2 guldens; and he gives 3 guldens 'to the preceptor of the children of our host, who went about with us'); 13, Nemelsdorf and Rattensdorf; 14, Gleussen and Coburg; 15, Hildburghausen;[89] 16, Schleusingen; 17, Ilmenau; 19, Arnstadt and Erfurth (bought some books, and an *Account of the Entry of the King of Sweden*, saw the cathedral, &c.); 23, Buttelstadt; 24, Naustadt; 25, Naumberg; 26, Merseberg (bought an Austrian Kalendar); 27, Halle; 28, Dessau; 29, Zerbst (at Koswig saw the castle); 30, Treuenbritzen; 31, Saarmund: Nov. 1, to Berlin[90] (buys there engineer's instruments for 18 ducats, sees the art-gallery and the library, &c., and stays a week; 8, Bernau

[88] Weiden ought to come after Neustadt, and Sultzbach after Hahabach.

[89] Dating from 'Katerinendorf,' Oct. 15, he writes to Catherine: 'Most gracious hossoudarina-matushka! Since leaving Carlsbad hitherto I have had a prosperous journey, and I go on hence to-morrow. Your most humble son and servant, Alexis.'

[90] From Berlin he writes to his father: 'Nov. 2. I congratulate you, hossoudar, on having obtained by your meritorious exertions the rank of vice-admiral:

and Neustadt; 9, Angermunde and Schwedt; 10, Nauhause and Pyritz;[91] 11, Stargard; 12, Naugard; 13, Körlin; 14, Köslin; 16, Shlawe; 17, Stolpe and Loupov; 18, Voutskova; 19, Dammerze and Glansk (*i.e.* Dantzig); 20, Korolevetz (passage of the Vistula); 22, Elbing (passage of the Nogath, and of a small river at Elbing); 23, Korchma and Braunsberg (stay till the 27th, and pay for three days 39 Polish guldens and three grosh); 28, Konigsberg;[92] 30, Everlakoff is mentioned, and a bargain is made for taking them to Memel; Dec. 1 (bill at Königsberg 18 dollars), to Lapteva; 2 (met in a village by Simeon Gregorievich), to Lotenwalde; 4, Negle and Memel.

The entries in the account-book of money given in alms are numerous: on one occasion, 7th Aug. at Ellbogen, he gives at once 8 gulden and 3 grosh, a large sum; and 20th Aug. he gives to some *Uniat* nuns a dollar. At each place he goes to see what is noticeable, and he buys books freely, especially books connected with religion and history. He buys some pins for matushka (Catherine) for which he pays 8 dollars and 20 silver groshen, and a watch as a present for an archimandrite named Benjamin, 8th Nov., at Berlin. There are entries for pipes, tobacco-pouches, and tobacco: he buys wigs too, and hair-powder, and is shaved by a barber once a week. He has with him Viazemsky, and his diak Everlakoff, and his kammerdiener Ivan Athanasieff minor, and the Greek hieromonach Liberius, whom he had sent to Moscow two years before.

Among the books bought by the tsarevich in Germany there were the following: At Frankfurt: Outline of the Roman Faith, The Ten Persecutions, Sermons of Father George, and a Map of Saxony. At Prague: Short Lives of the Saints, a small Martyrology in German and Bohemian, Thomas à Kempis in Bohemian, Lives of the Bohemian Saints, Sermons of a Cardinal, a Bible, Lives of the Saints by Ribodenier, Of the Wonders of God in 3 vols., Marco Deviano, Bernard on True Justice, a Short Kalendar of the Saints, Drekselius on Eternity, and Meditations for every Day, The Other World, Lives of the Saints, in

also on the birth of your daughter my sister Margaret. As for myself, I have to report that I have had a prosperous journey hither.'

[91] From Pyritz he writes to his father: 'Nov. 12. I have arrived here safely, and go on to-day.'

[92] There is a letter from Königsberg to his father: 'Dec. 1. I have come hither safely, and am leaving this moment.'

folio, Works of Ribodenier, and a book entitled Heavenly Manna. At Carlsbad: Stodour, Esop, some light books for amusement, one of them entitled Rarum, Rarius, Rarissimum, a book of Philology, Wormland, in 5 vols., Gospels of the Sundays and Festivals, and a Kalendar. At Nuremberg: Against Luther, The Chronographer, Bohemian History. At Bamberg: some small books, The Catechism, Of Self-knowledge, How to Acquire Learning Speedily, How to Live free from Disease, Instructions of F. Jerom Fordenbach, The Engineer, Church History, The Mirror, The Rule of St. Benedict, The Wonderful Tree, Fabelkopf, Theologia. At Arnstadt or at Erfurth: Life in Europe, Meditations of Mde. Lavallerie, Roads of Europe, Entry of the King of Sweden, Catholic Concordance. At Halle: Reisebeschreibung, small Gospel. At Dantzig: Commentary on the Gospels and Epistles, Explanation of Ecclesiastical Dignities.

In an inventory of books (chiefly ecclesiastical and religious) and papers taken 22d May A.D. 1718 from the Selo Rojdestvenno villa of the tsarevich, there occur the following: Spiritual Medicine for the Wounds of Sins, Shield of Faith, Hamártolos, Of Agriculture, *Of the Metropolitan St. Philip*, and *Of the Deposition of the Patriarch Nicon*, Moral Commentary of the Dialogues of St. Gregory on Job, sent and *presented by the metropolitan Joasaph of Kieff*, Of the Lying Writing of the Uniat Apostate the ex-Deacon Peter, *Of Providence, for what causes kingdoms are destroyed and raised* (this is one of the works of the Servian Youry Krijanich mentioned above at p. 418, and in the Appendices x. and xi.), Of the Imperial Laws (*i.e.* of the Graeco-Roman Emperors), and *Of the Preservation entire of the Houses of God and of the Immovable Property of the Church*.

The tsarevich returned from Carlsbad to Petersburg at the end of Dec. A.D. 1714; and before long his wife was again in the family-way; but she was deeply hurt and offended when she came to know that her husband had a mistress.

Alexander Kikin asked him after his return: 'Did any one ever come to see you from the French court?' and when the tsarevich said, 'No,' Kikin observed: 'It was a mistake that you saw nobody from the French court, and that you did not go off thither: that king is magnanimous: he has even kings under his protection; he would have made no great matter of receiving you.'

### A.D. 1715.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

In Feb. A.D. 1715 Peter went to Cronstadt. In April his fleet captured several Swedish vessels. On the 27th May the tsarevna Margarita Petrovna died, aged about eleven months. On the night between the 26th and 27th of June (as if *for the anniversary of Poltava*) a 64-gun ship, the Narva, lying at Kronslot, was struck by lightning and blew up, only 15 of her men out of 300 being saved.

On the 1st July Pleyer, writing to Vienna, mentioned that 'on the festival of SS. Peter and Paul the *favourite* Alexander Kikin, through the intercession of the tsaritsa, has been reinstated in all his employments, and his house and all the money which he had been fined has been given back to him.'

On the 6th July the fleet put to sea, with the admiral Apraxin and the vice-admiral Peter on board; and they went to Revel, Rogerwik, and Hapsal, where on the 20th the fleet of galleys also arrived, with four regiments on board. These were landed, and Sheremetieff, Repnin, and Bauer, with the troops under them, were ordered to march into Pomerania. The galleys went on to Liban, where they were to winter. On the 23d the English and Dutch squadrons came to Revel, and on the 27th the Russian admiral gave a grand dinner for the anniversary of Gangouda. On the 2d of August the tsar and the tsaritsa dined with admiral Norris; and on the 4th, together with the English and Dutch admirals, they dined on board the ship of *rear-admiral* Menshikoff. From the 12th the allied squadrons manœuvred till the 16th, when they parted, and the Russian squadron returned to Revel; and by the 22d the ships were all either laid up in the harbour at Revel or sent back to Kronslot. On the evening of the 30th the tsar was again at Petersburg; and during the rest of the year he remained there, preparing to go abroad.

On the 9th Oct. the tsar went to Shlüsselburg for the anniversary of its capture, and there he heard of the birth of a son (named Peter) to the tsarevich Alexis (12th Oct.), and on the 13th he returned. On the 22d the crown-princess died, and on the 27th she was buried in the sobor of SS. Peter and Paul.

On the 28th the tsar also had a son—'a little recruit,' as he wrote in one letter; 'a little sailor,' in another—borne to him by Catherine, and he also was named Peter.

In this same year treaties were made with the kings of Denmark (6th Sept., near Stralsund), of England (28th Oct., at Greifswald), and of Prussia (30th Oct., at Petersburg). Also in October news was received of great opposition being made to the Saxons in Poland, and of a confederacy being formed against them.

On the 19th Dec., when Stralsund could no longer hold out, Charles XII. got away in a boat, and crossed to Sweden; and the next day Stralsund surrendered. Peter had ordered Sheremetieff to lead a Russian corps into Pomerania; but the other allies thought that they could now finish their war without him; and Augustus and the Poles, not without reason, were much irritated against him. Augustus had increased his Saxon force in Poland; and when in November A.D. 1715 some of the Poles had leagued against him, Peter forbade him to reduce them by force, on pretence of maintaining the rights of the Pospolite-riech. Peter continued to insist with all the allies on the necessity of invading Sweden in the coming year 1716.

From 1st Nov. to 17th Dec. the tsar attended the meetings of the senate and the colleges for civil and other matters. And in this year 1715, while living at Petersburg, he began to compose the *Military Statute*.

At the end of the year, 31st Dec., the tsaritsa Martha Matveyevna (sister of the admiral Apraxin) died, and was buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul in the Fortress.

### A.D. 1715.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

For details of the life of the tsarevich in this year 1715, during which he was living at Petersburg or in its neighbourhood, our materials are scanty: but there are letters, the bearing of which on his moral history is important.

On the 7th March Peter Anthimoff, writing from Moscow to his father-in-law, then absent, implies that the tsarevich was dissatisfied with him: 'When I parted from you last at Moscow,' he writes, 'to go to Porietskoe, I despaired about your health; and when you wrote so well of yourself, I thought it was only to spare us anxiety: but now that I have here learned the truth, I am most thankful. My coming here was quite sudden, on account of certain needs of my mother and of my own; and now I am going back, and your daughter with me, to Porietskoe. I fear that my having come here may displease the tsarevich; and I beg

your grace to excuse me to him as well as you can. When I left, I had made up all the accounts to the end of A.D. 1714, and I had arranged that the payments for the first four months of A.D. 1715 should be made after my return, in April or May: and in matters of business I am not conscious of any negligence: only I hope my absenting myself may not be taken as if I did what I pleased: but, indeed, they were real necessities which forced me to it; and I came with my own horses.

'Pray give the inclosed to Ivan Athanasievich, and ask him to let me hear in reply: and I have written myself to His Highness,' &c.

The tsarevich's suspicion of negligence, and his consequent displeasure against Peter Anthimoff, were before long increased, when a number of the peasants of his Porietskoe estate presented complaints against the intendant. These complaints are mentioned in the *Inventory* referred to above, as are also 'nine letters of the confessor, interceding for his son-in-law, and a letter of the tsarevich to his confessor about the negligence of the same son-in-law.'

On the 8th Sept. Peter Anthimoff, who had been called to Petersburg to answer for himself, writes to his father-in-law: 'The tsarevich himself said to me that he had never been so angry with anybody in all his life as he is now with me. Yet at the inquest no serious fault was discovered against me, but only much lying and a plot of the mujiks: and when he heard my cause he was not alone; he had with him the tsarevich of Siberia and Michael Voinoff, and their judgment was clear against the mujiks: only it is not yet finished; and I am living here in great distress, since I am deprived of my former access (to the tsarevich) and maintenance, and I know not what I am to do. I asked that my wife might be allowed to return to Moscow (after the examination, having watched for a free moment), and he said: "When you have cleared yourself, I will send you back too." I had earnestly begged to be freed from that charge, and he, before that my request, had said to the mujiks that I should not be with them any more. So now I know not what to think. Pray send my inclosed letter to Krasno Selo, to Basil Simonoff, and they will send it on to Porietskoe, to Nastasia Yakovlevna' (his wife). And Sept. 26 he writes again: 'I wrote to your grace not long ago by Constantine Mekieff, and in our affair

there is nothing new. Pray send on my letters sent by Melaieff to Porietskoe to my wife.' And Oct. 3: 'Of myself I know not what to write; I am living here in great trouble, in daily expectation of something bad: . . . and about my wife I know not what to do; how she is to get on there, or how I can otherwise provide for her. So I, sinful man, have offended my God.' On the 31st he writes: 'This month, on the 12th, God gave to our hossoudar the tsarevich a son, the grand prince Peter Alexievich; also on the 29th to our monarch the tsar's majesty a son, the hossoudar the tsarevich Peter Petrovich; and on these happy events for all Russia we wish your grace joy. Also I have been informed by His Highness of the marriage of your daughter Anna Yakovlevna to Mr. Volkoff, and for that I wish you and them both joy, &c. In my own affair there is nothing doing at present; they are waiting till Mansouroff shall be come, and for the other petitioners: and I live here expecting only great adversity and attack of enemies, God so permitting, doubtless, for my own great sins; and herein His holy will be done. I beg your grace, my father, not to importune His Highness with letters about me, as I begged you also before, because this only irritates him. Let him do as he will: as God puts it into his heart to do about me, so he will do. Also be pleased not to think anything amiss against Theodore Bor. Everlakoff.[93] Pray speak, if possible, with Basil Simonoff (of Krasno Selo), and ask him why he has never yet paid here the money he borrowed from the tsarevich. I wonder greatly at his conduct; he has kept it now nearly a whole year, whereas he borrowed it only for one month; and hereby he is bringing mischief upon us. Also I inform you that by the will of God the crown-princess died on the 22d of this month.' Nov. 12 he acknowledges a letter dated on the 7th Oct., and writes: 'There is nothing new, because Mansouroff has not yet come. Pray speak to Basil of Krasno Selo, and ask him why he has not yet sent the money. I wonder what he is about: does he want to get himself into trouble?' Dec. 10 Nikiphor Viazemsky writes to the confessor: 'As for your son-in-law, God is my witness that I have done for him all I can. His Highness always replies: "I have promised to do justice, and

[93] In the inventory referred to above there are entered (p. 175), 'Three letters of Everlakoff of A.D. 1715: of the protopope Yakoff Ignatievich having no longer anger against him; of saluting His Highness on the births of a son and of a brother; and of the death of the crown-princess.'

I will do it." They are waiting now for the priest and the podiak to come. For God's sake don't plague him any more: trust to his justice: he does not wish to do your son-in-law any sort of harm, that is quite certain.'

Peter Anthimoff's wife went to stay, till her husband's affair should be over, with some friends or relations of her father at Nijny-Novgorod, whence there are two letters (13th and 19th Dec.) written to the protopope, and signed 'Basil Drujinin.' In an undated letter Everlakoff writes to the confessor: 'I cannot reply at length to your letter, as His Highness is occupied (and so keeps me too occupied) all these days with many accounts. I should be very glad to help your son-in-law, but I am quite unable: I am myself oppressed by attacks similar to his; and in truth my health is suffering from this, all through malicious attacks: I would be more explicit, but I think you know *from whom*[1] *is our misery*.'

What degree of blame may really have attached to Peter Anthimoff, or how his affair with the peasants ended, we cannot say; but it appears from the *Inventory* mentioned above that before the end of A.D. 1715 the estate of Porietskoe was sold by the tsarevich to Andrew Theod. Narishkin, that one of his compania who had the disagreeable nickname of *Satan*. For one of the papers in the *Inventory* (p. 178) is 'the original deed of purchase of Andrew Narishkin for the Alatorskaia Porietskaia volost.' But soon after the execution of this deed—possibly even before he could actually take possession of the estate purchased—Andrew Narishkin came to some very shocking end, the particulars of which are not known.

In one of those letters which the confessor wrote interceding for his son-in-law—probably in the latest of them—he mentioned also this death of Andrew Narishkin, adding some words which the tsarevich, who was angry before, took to hint that the death of Andrew Narishkin ought to be a warning to himself; or even as if the confessor had *threatened* him with a still more terrible end; that is, if he did not break off from his sins.

When men are to be punished in this world in any extraordinary and terrible way, there are usually warnings sent first.

[1] Is this an allusion to the tsarevich's connection with Euphrosyne, which, together with its consequences, may have made him more dissatisfied with himself, and more easily excitable against others than he was before?

So it was with the tsar Alexis Michaelovich. How many warnings had been accumulated upon him! But, as Nicon said, 'he would not understand; no, he would not understand!' Peter too received warnings. To say nothing of his severe and frequent illnesses, in the battle of Poltava in A.D. 1709 a bullet, which would else have pierced his body, was flattened against a metal cruciform reliquary worn on his breast. And in A.D. 1711, when he had been lifted up by success, he was surrounded with his army, and after in thought despairing, and in thought already adding to his own despair the extinction of his dynasty, and writing that nothing but *an extraordinary interposition of God* could save him, he was saved through a weak woman, whom the fortune of war had made his slave. In like manner his unhappy son, at the very time that he was living in open adultery, and drawing upon himself more and more the deep and cruel anger of his father, received a warning,[95] before his unexampled and most shocking punishment fell upon him. It was much as in the case of his grandfather the tsar Alexis, when Nicon, reciting against others certain psalms, had prophesied unintentionally against the tsar, and it was charged as a crime against him, that he had cursed the tsar. So too now the protopope Yakoff Ignatieff had not *meant* to threaten the tsarevich: neither he nor any man could then imagine what horrors were impending over that head: but the conscience of the tsarevich told him that the wretched end of his companion was indeed a warning to himself; and the words, whatever they were, with which the confessor accompanied the mention of it, though written without a thought of him, struck home, as if pointed at him. And so indeed they were: both the thing itself, happening as it did just then, and the reflections with which the mention of it was accompanied, *were for him*. God himself, through the confessor, warned and threatened him. But he, instead of understanding and humbling himself, and breaking off from his sins, turned angrily upon the man—the best friend, as he used to write, that he had in the world—who had unconsciously and unintentionally delivered to him a message from God. He wrote in consequence a letter so angry, violent, and disrespectful, that it is no wonder

[95] We have had mention of another warning much earlier, in the sudden death of one of the tsarevich's suite, in consequence of his being drunk on Easter Sunday, Apr. 9, A.D. 1707. See above, at p. 1079.

if the confessor, after replying by that letter which we are about to give, ceased to write any more till the tsarevich showed a wish to make it up with him.

'Your highness,' he wrote, 'has been pleased to write to my nothingness about that mention, which I *casually* made, of my simplicity and *unguardedness*, of the death of Andrew Theod. Narishkin, as if I had dared to *threaten* your grace with a like horrible death. But of this God is my witness, from whom no thought of man is hid, that the idea of applying this to your person never entered into my head. If I offended against thee by such an intention, may I myself die a death not a hundred but a thousand times more horrible than that of Andrew Narishkin.

'How should I be such an enemy to myself as to *lose thy favour*, and to draw upon myself thy wrath?

'But thy nobility chooses to apply to thyself that which was written by me not of thee; and of thy great anger thou loadest me with vituperation, and stonest and woundest me with words as with stones, forgetting thy promise made before God and his holy angels and archangels, when at thy first coming to me, to be my spiritual son, there lying before us in thy bedchamber at Preobrajensk on a small table the holy gospel, I asked thee before it thus:

'Wilt thou endeavour to obey the commandments of God and to keep the traditions of the holy fathers, and respect me as thy spiritual father, and regard me as an angel of God, and as an apostle, and as the judge of thine actions? and wilt thou hearken to me in all things? and dost thou believe that I, though a sinner and unworthy, have such sacerdotal power given me of God that I can bind and loose, as Christ gave power to the Apostle Peter and to the other Apostles, saying: "Whomsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whomsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven"? And wilt thou in all things obey and submit thyself to the sacerdotal power of our humility?[96]

[96] 'Is there not here,' asks M. Pogodin, 'something akin to the pretensions of Pope Gregory VII., and of the patriarch Nicon?' And M. Polevoi would regard this, no doubt, as a characteristic exhibition of that 'theocracy' or 'theocratical spirit' which Peter, to use his own words, 'persecuted' and put down. No doubt there is here a tone and spirit quite different from that of Lefort and his disciple Peter, and to that of Voltaire and his correspondent and

'And to all these my questions thy nobility did then before the holy gospel answer thus: "The commandments of God and all the traditions of his holy Apostles and his saints I gladly promise to obey and to keep; and thee, my spiritual father, I will reverence; and I will regard thee as an angel of God, and as an apostle of Christ, and as the judge of my actions; and I acknowledge myself bound to hearken to and to obey in all things thy sacerdotal power."

'But now, my lord, thou hast annulled all that thy promise, and hast accounted it as mere play and mockery: thou regardest me not as an angel of God, nor as an apostle of Christ, nor as a judge of thy actions; but thou thyself judgest me, callest me "a partial liar, an unjust consenter to other men's sins," and predictest that I "shall fall down from the gilt railing near the Spassky sobor of the palace into the place below, and shall break my neck like Eli the priest," forgetting the words of the Apostle St. Jude, who writes thus: "Yet Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil about the body of Moses, dared not bring against him a railing accusation, but said: The Lord rebuke thee"! Be pleased to consider: Who was it that dared not judge? the archangel. Whom *dared* he not judge? the *devil*. And even if I were really such a sinner, still it is not proper for thy nobility so to revile and abuse me, and reproach and judge me, and so to make bare my spiritual shame; but thou oughtest rather to bear gently and with longsuffering the offence committed by my indiscretion and simplicity. We, condescending to you, take upon our own souls the burdens of your souls—burdens for the world to come—and we lay upon ourselves before God your sins: where it is commanded us to bind with fetters, we bind you only with soft threads of instructions. Though it

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admirer Catherine II. But the claim of such authority as is claimed here by a subordinate priest in a Church which had synodically admitted the supremacy of the tsar, and which was then actually ruled by his vicar or exarch (Stephen Yavorsky), was no longer maintainable. It was as if Pitirim, or some ordinary priest acting habitually under Pitirim, had, between A.D. 1660 and 1664, claimed to represent that apostolic authority which had been 'persecuted' in the primate Nicon. Such claims, still lingering in Paul and Hilarion in A.D. 1667, or now in the protopope Yakoff Ignatieff, are connected rather with a vague feeling or superstition, than with an enlightened and reasonable faith. The eulogy lavished upon the tsar Alexis, who had done all the mischief, of itself shows that the confessor was not *exactly* of the school of Nicon.

may be the will of God and his just judgment that we are for this to be condemned even to eternal torments—which God forbid for the prayers of his immaculate Mother—yet your grace will not endure the small temporary grievance of our offence in your sight, but you stone and wound me with vituperative words. Indeed in former times and years also, when your nobility was here at Moscow, you *often reviled me*, and *abused me in all sorts of ways*, and in a certain house you *pulled me by the beard*;[97] which, for the fear of the living God, and for the incarnation of the Son of God, who shed for us his holy blood, and for the honour of the Holy Ghost, through whom there was given to me the order of priesthood, and the power to bind and loose, your grace ought not so to do, nor to revile and judge; as St. John Climac says: "For any one to judge the sins of another is an impudent assumption of the province of God, and a destruction of his own soul. If in the case of the earthly and temporal proceedings of an earthly and temporal judge who has authority to judge from the earthly temporal emperor, any one of those subject to his jurisdiction dares to judge, to revile, and to wound him with words, and to lift himself up above him, he for this receives extreme temporal punishments and tortures, how much more shall he who dares to judge and revile, and to wound as with stones, and to lift himself up above the judge who has power from the King of heaven to bind and loose upon earth, and who has ministerial access to the immaculate Body and Blood of Christ, mysteries into which the angels desire to look? Will not he who dares to do this be tormented with eternal and intolerable torments? for it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God: because the honour of the priesthood is referred to God himself. And therefore it is said in the gospel: The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all therefore that they say unto you do; but do not after their works, for they say and do not; that is, look not after their works." But your goodness looks after me, and reviles me, and judges me. Be pleased, my gracious lord, to consider whether there is not in thy present letter to me a reproach even against God himself, even against the God of Jacob. Will not our defender, the God of Jacob, seeing my tears, some day interfere in my behalf? Though I be sinful and vile, still I am the minister of His all-pure Body and

[97] Probably when he was drunk.

Blood. St. Paul says: "*Submit* yourselves to your teachers, and *obey* them; for they watch for your souls, as having to give an account; that they may do it with joy and not with grief; for that would be unprofitable for you." But your highness has not only made us to grieve heavily, but has also brought much weeping into our poor house; and not only is there no obedience from your nobility towards us, but neither do you regard our precatory letters, but you account them as nothing, about which we shall have to be judged together before the King of kings in the day of his second coming, when there will be no respect of persons, when earthly power shall be powerless: then even the tsar will stand as one of the poor; and every one will receive either glory or shame for his works. Farther, your highness has been pleased to write reproachfully to me that I am influenced more by partiality than by justice, and stand up for my son-in-law who is guilty (with more about the complaint of the Poriet-skoe mujiks against him), and that you will punish doubly our son-in-law with all severity. This, I suppose, means that you, being more angry with us, will so hurt and wound us with much pain. There have been others also who *have been damaged in their bodies* and *who spit blood in consequence of your gracious punishment and blows*, and whose blood cries from the earth as that of Abel's to God. As you are to those under your hand, so you will find your Lord towards you. It becomes not your highness to boast yourself in malice; you ought rather honourably to emulate and imitate your grandfather of blessed memory, the religious tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, who shone like the sun in piety, and was as a pillar of religion; whose grace was diffused on all sides as the sea in care for all the people of his subjects. And what honour he gave to the sacred order, and what gracious kindness he showed them, and in what favour he retained the guides of his soul, words are inadequate to express; but the lips of all the people to this day incessantly proclaim how these things were; and crown him with praises, and as a great trumpet in tones of thunder glorify his memory to the sky, making the air to ring with the sound. And for this his extreme mercy and lovingkindness to his subjects he, I think, has obtained very great grace and mercy from the King of kings, and abundant remission of his sins before God; because he not only reverenced the sacred order, but

feared God himself, and with fear *abode in his commandments*,' p. 121-132.[98]

It is clear that this letter, though undated, must have been written before Feb. 1 of A.D. 1716, since there is a letter of that date written from Petersburg to the confessor by Viazemsky, which shows that the tsarevich was then no longer angry: 'During the stay here,' he writes, 'of your son-in-law, I must tell you in all sincerity of my conscience, I did not understand their matters exactly: and they did not trust me, because I was more zealous than any others for justice, when the peasants came here with their petition.' Also he thanks the confessor for this, that his new son-in-law Volkoff has come to him 'quite as to a friend: and his highness,' he writes, 'has received him very well, and Gabriel Ivanovich (Golovkin) has called for him more than once.'

That the tsarevich wrote a friendly letter to the confessor for the Easter festival of A.D. 1716 (when Easter Sunday was Apr. 1) appears from a letter of the confessor to him with the response, 'Of a truth Christ has risen!' (*Po istinno Christos voskrese!*) prefixed. Then he continues: 'My most gracious friend and joy! and again I salute you on this present festival. May your health and that of your *children* be preserved by the goodness of Christ, who rose on the third day from the dead, in all prosperity for many years.

'Your letter sent through Mr. Solovtsoff to my nothingness, about Cosmas Sergieff coming to Petersburg to settle his affair with Kojin, I have received, and I thank you much for it, and I will not cease to thank you: only I will venture trustfully to beg your supremely high grace to me: be gracious to us, *as the gracious God;* lay it not to our charge as disrespect or wilful obstinacy, but indeed, indeed, it is impossible for Cosmas to go to Petersburg, because he is a man of the very poorest . . . who can scarcely get his daily bread . . . and both his petition and my intercession for him[99] was, that you should send an order to Poriet-

[98] All this enthusiastic rhetoric in favour of the tsar Alexis may prepare us for the tragedy which is to follow in A.D. 1719, when, after being repeatedly and cruelly tortured, this protopope—as representing the Church of the tsar Alexis, and of Pitirim, Paul, and Hilarion, and of Joachim and Adrian, *not that of Nicon*—was put to death soon after the tsarevich Alexis, on whom his hopes and the hopes of the clergy represented by him had been fixed. They were both equally destroyed by—the Destroyer.

[99] Sent probably in A.D. 1715; to which year this letter also is referred as 'probably belonging' by the Russian editor; but the word '*children*' in the

skoe that he should go thither, and there settle his matter with Kojin before Ivan Froloff Souchov, or some other good man, whom they, Cosmas and Kojin, should agree to choose as arbitrator[1] . . . There might be need of testimony to be had only at Porietskoe, and though so poor, he, Cosmas, *could*, after the water communications are open, go to Porietskoe. Or your highness might order the governor of Moscow to make them settle with one another at Moscow, in the ratousha (since at Moscow there are people from Porietskoe); else at Porietskoe itself, where Kojin lives in his own house: this he, the poor man Cosmas, now petitions for; and I, who am nothing, beg the same for him. Only be so kind, my most gracious lord, *if I have the same grace before you now as I used to have in time past*, order Kojin to be considerate and good towards Cosmas, and thinking of the hour of death and of the day of judgment, to reckon with Cosmas with all equity. And pray bid Cosmas take with him from Moscow some one man of the prikaz-people who may suit, because he, though he does see, is little better than blind; he cannot read nor write; and without some such man he is not fit to go to Porietskoe, to make a settlement there: and he suffers much from a nephritic disease, so that he can scarcely walk: at the present season he could not go at all, unless he were to die on the way.'

On the 22d Apr. Viazemsky writes again: 'Pray write to us: there are others of your penitents besides myself who wish much to hear from you; and all think that it is not for nothing that you do not write. The tsarevich has written to your grace three times; but there has not been a single letter from you to us to this present date. Pray let us have a letter.'[2]

July 23, A.D. 1716, the confessor wrote again as follows: 'Noble hossoudar, tsarevich and grand prince Alexis Petrovich! I wish you in the keeping of the Holy Trinity and by the patronage of the Mother of God health and prosperity for many

plural, and *without mention of the crown-princess*, is against this. The tsarevich, after ceasing to be angry, had meant seemingly to do what the confessor wished for this poor man, but had written without due attention to the circumstances. There is an undated letter to the confessor, written, perhaps, by his daughter in A.D. 1715, from Porietskoe, begging him to do what he can for the *bearer*, who very likely was this Cosmas.

[1] With a good deal more, from which what follows is abridged or extracted.

[2] So that the preceding letter had not yet been received, when this was written.

years. Your letter, my hossoudar, of the 8th July reached me on the 10th; and I was very glad for thy grace, and very thankful, and I was much comforted, and I desire the like again. According to my duty, I beg your highness to be cautious not to retain anger; because the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God: a wrathful man receiveth not the grace of God, but destroys all his other virtues. But even though those under your hand deserve punishment, even if they make themselves as devils, even in that case let them find mercy: for by mercy much more than by severity they will be softened and corrected. And if you do thus, at the second coming of Christ you will yourself find mercy; for he says: "If you forgive men their sins, your Father also which is in heaven will forgive you your sins." Cruel severities are inflicted by wrathful men, not by wise men; they who know not how to rule with meekness betake themselves to excessive severity: if there is no light, all is darkness; and if there is not *humility*, all our virtues are vain. Also be on your guard against remembering evil. The retention of anger is to them that retain it death: it is a fulfilling of fury, a reservoir of sins, a hatred of justice, a destruction of virtues, a rust of the soul, a worm of the mind, a confusion of prayer, a cutting off of prayer, an alienation from charity, a thorn in the soul, a bitter feeling cherished till it becomes bitterly sweet, a continual sin, a sleepless transgression, a perennial malice. But let him that can quench his anger, and suppress also the memory of evil: for nothing pleases God so much as for a man to be unmindful of evil. Farther, be on your guard against highmindedness: highmindedness has deceived many, and utterly destroyed them. Pass your years in meekness, that you may be acceptable to men and beloved by God. Wishing to your highness all that is good, I, your unprofitable beadsman the priest Yakoff, as if I were present before you, 'make my repeated obeisance' (other letters, numbered 8, 9, and 10, were sent on the 10th of August), p. 303. But let us return to A.D. 1715.

In the spring or summer of A.D. 1715 the tsarevich formed an adulterous connection with a Finnish girl named Euphrosyne, who, like the tsaritsa Catherine, was a captive taken in war, and who had come together with her brother into the possession of the tsarevich's major-domo Viazemsky, much as Catherine had come into the possession of Peter's favourite and factotum Men-

shikoff. The tsarevich was so infatuated, that he lived openly with this mistress, while his wife was not only living, but inhabiting his house at Petersburg, and expecting to bear him a second child: naturally she was much hurt and offended when it came to her knowledge.

Peter too, no doubt, was none the better pleased with his son for so faithfully reproducing his own vices and crimes: the parallel was as striking as it could be made; but 'he would not understand:' instead of being brought himself to remorse and penitence, he was only more deeply and savagely displeased against his wretched son.

Neither would the tsarevich understand. If he could have behaved with more discretion and decency, his wife with her little court—German and Lutheran though it was—was a screen and defence to him, enabling him to get through the time. Peter had probably not himself foreseen what a check and embarrassment a well-mannered, high-born, sensible, and well-principled daughter-in-law, connected with the reigning families of Western Europe, would be to his tyrannical and brutal will: and though some have suggested that as soon as the crown-princess bore a son, her husband the tsarevich would be in a worse position and in greater danger of being disinherited than before, this can scarcely be admitted: only it may be true that the comparatively independent position of the crown-princess at Petersburg developed to the utmost that jealousy of Peter against his son, against which it at the same time served the son for a protection. The tsarevich had multiplied other sins, and had received warnings: at last he sinned also against his wife, against the only break which now stood between him and destruction: and in spite of new and appalling warnings and reproofs he persisted in his sin. Then his wife was taken from him: perhaps if he had been with her and taking care of her, instead of being away with his mistress, when she fell and hurt herself in her last pregnancy, she might have lived: but she died: by her death he was left alone, defenceless, in the presence of his exasperated and cruel father: by her death the ground clave, as it were, asunder beneath his feet, and the abyss which he had been digging for himself yawned before him.

On the morning of Wednesday, 12th Oct., the crown-princess was safely delivered of a prince (named Peter), but on the fourth

day afterwards she became dangerously ill, and on the evening of Thursday, the 20th, Peter, who had been himself confined to his room by an attack since the 16th, sent to the house Menshikoff with all his own physicians; and they, having held a consultation, agreed that the case was hopeless. On the 21st at 7 o'clock A.M. she sent for baron Levenvold, and said to him: 'My end is near: God be thanked, I am prepared for it; only I wish first to speak with you.' And then she charged him to deliver to the tsar a letter, and verbally also to thank him in her name for all his kindness, and to communicate to him her last wishes, which he and her friend and relation the princess of Ost-Friesland were, with the tsar's permission, to execute. The most important point was this, that the princess of Ost-Friesland was to continue with the two children, and be to them in the place of a mother (and to this Peter afterwards assented). She spoke at length very sensibly and *discreetly*, saying, that she was very glad to have given a prince to the tsar's family; that she would have been glad to bring up her children herself, but since it pleased God that it should be otherwise, she submitted to his will, and consoled herself by the promise given by her friend. She knew, she said, that the tsar would have visited her if he were not prevented by his own illness, which she regretted, and she desired them in writing to her family to mention the kindness and attention which the tsar had shown her, and against ill-natured reports to say for her that she had always been content with the affection shown her by their majesties; that not only had all that was stipulated in the marriage treaty been executed, but many other things had been done for her over and above, for which she gave them her thanks.[a] And she bade them engage her mother and her sister the empress, of their love for her, to do their utmost to restore friendship between the sovereign of Russia and the Roman emperor. 'I look to their good relations,' she said, 'as a source of great advantage to my children.' In conclusion she said: 'Now I have nothing on my mind: and I can leave this vain world, and turn all my thoughts to God.'

[a] All this was charitably and discreetly said; but Solovieff has abundant reason for writing, as if making an admission: 'We will by no means affirm that the crown-princess was very content and cheerful in Russia, or that her relations with her husband, her father-in-law, and the stepmother of her husband were the best that could be,' &c. (vol. xvii. p. 165).

The letter to the tsar, dictated by her, was as follows:

'The most humble and last entreaties of the undersigned to His Majesty the tsar.

1. 'H.M. the tsar will order my funeral as he shall think proper. I could wish nevertheless that my body should be buried in a place where it may remain undisturbed until the second coming of our Saviour.

2. 'Both my dear children I recommend to the *care and affection* of H.M. the tsar, my gracious father-in-law, that they may be educated according to their birth and station.

3. 'I leave my jewels and other valuables in gold and silver to my children, and a reasonable part of my clothes and linen to my cousin the princess Juliana of East Friesland.

4. 'I beseech H.M. the tsar graciously to permit those persons who accompanied me hither to return, and to defray the expenses of their journey.

5. 'On account of the dearness of this place, and because my servants were foreigners, I have contracted some debts, which I entreat H.M. the tsar to discharge, that I may be remembered with honour, and that no unworthy reports may be circulated after my death. The sums which the crown will save by my decease may be employed in discharging these debts, since it is God's will that I depart from this world so prematurely and unexpectedly.

6. 'My unforeseen and untimely death is also the cause of my being unable to recompense my domestics who had the care of regulating my expenses; and as I am perfectly satisfied that my secretaries Claver and John Clement, who had charge of my disbursements, have served me with fidelity and honour, I humbly entreat that their accounts which have receipts may be passed, and that other expenditures may be admitted on their oath. I repose such confidence in H.M. the tsar, that I trust he will not reject this my last request, more particularly when I reflect on the repeated instances which I have experienced of his paternal tenderness and affection.

'I have this also to add, that I am only concerned to leave this world at a time when H.M. the tsar is unwell; a circumstance which has prevented me from thanking him in person for the frequent proofs I have received of his kindness and regard. May the Almighty be his aid and protection: and may he add

to his life those years which are taken from mine, which I likewise faithfully and with my whole heart pray for her majesty the tsaritsa. And after returning my acknowledgments due to them for the repeated instances of their love and goodness, I expire, the most humble and most obedient daughter of both their majesties, Carlotta Christina Sophia. At Petersburg, Oct. 21 O.S., Nov. 1 N.S., A.D. 1715' (Given by Coxe from Muller and Busching, xv. p. 237).

'Nothing,' observes Coxe, 'conveys a stronger proof of the high esteem in which she was held by the tsar than this, that although she had not embraced the Greek persuasion, her remains were interred on the 8th Nov. in [the *porch* of] a Russian church, viz. in that of SS. Peter and Paul in the Fortress of St. Petersburg, with all the funeral honours due to her rank' (Coxe, *Travels in Poland and Russia*, vol. ii. p. 529).

At 1 P.M. of that day Peter, in spite of his illness, came to see her. She was then still herself, and *commended to him her children*, and her servants. At midnight, according to the Journal of Peter the Great, or at 2 A.M. on Saturday the 22d, she died. 'The tsarevich' (so Pleyer reported to the court of Vienna) 'was with her to the last; he three times fainted away with grief, and is still inconsolable.' 'At such times,' remarks Solovieff, 'conscience shows itself: the crown-princess was "*a good person*;" if she "had been angry with him," and had sent him away from her, that had not been without good reason: the tsarevich had sins against her on his soul; and he also in his way was a "good sort of person." He was much distressed; and it was not only for the loss of his wife. He said of himself afterwards that his position became worse as soon as he had children.[3] We have seen that already, when on his way from Carlsbad, he had said that they would tonsure him, even without any particular displeasure of his father: and now that there was a grandson, this made it possible[4] to set aside from the succession the incapable son.'

[3] He *may* have said so, for he clearly did not understand the advantage which he might have made out of his marriage; but if he did say so, he blundered.

[4] Not so easy: while the crown-princess lived Peter could scarcely tonsure him, and as for knouting him to death then—he was '*not alone*:' the outrage to the wife would have offended all Europe. Even as it was, when the tsarevich had been left alone, and had enraged the tyrant to the last degree by his attempt to escape, the world, bad as it was, was shocked.

On Sunday the 23d the young prince Peter Alexievich was baptised, the *tsar* and his sister Natalia being the *sponsors*; and there was a surgical examination of the body of the crown-princess, at which Peter, with his habitual interest in anatomy, thought proper to be present. The funeral was on Thursday the 27th. Those who were to take part in it met at the chapelle ardente in the house at 2 o'clock P.M., and the procession started thence at 4 P.M. After the body there followed first the tsar *with the tsarevich*, then the tsarevna Natalia Alexievna, the princess of Ost-Friesland, and the tsaritsa Prascovia Theodorovna, with all the court. A frigate was in readiness to transport them across the Neva, and the body was deposited in a grave which had been prepared in the *porch* of the church of the Fortress, with only a short address from the Lutheran pastor who had been court-chaplain to the deceased, as the church was still unfinished and unroofed. The father and the son then walked and stood together publicly, as chief mourners: three years later there was to be there another public funeral, in which the tsar alone would be chief mourner, and in which he would lay the body of his son, imprisoned and tortured and killed in that same fortress by himself, by the side of the wife whom he had wronged.

On the day of the funeral, after returning from the church of the Fortress to the house of the tsarevich (where there was a cold collation with confectionery for all the guests, and *a commemoration* for the deceased), Peter put into the hands of the tsarevich a paper, dated as if from Shlüsselberg sixteen days before, on the 11th Oct., the day before the birth of the tsarevich's son.

'*Notice to my son.*

'Whereas it is well known to all how before the beginning of this war our nation had been straitened by the Swedes, who not only robbed us of the harbours belonging to our country, and so necessary for it, but also held a thick veil before our mental eyes to make us love to keep them closed, and cut off our communication with all the world: But afterwards, when this war began (of which work God alone was and is the conductor), O what great mischief did we not suffer from these constant enemies, owing to our unskilfulness in war! and with what bitterness and suffering did we get through this school, until by the help of the above-mentioned Conductor we gained a suitable degree of pro-

ficiency! and so it has been vouchsafed us to see that enemy before whom we used to tremble now trembling as much or even more before us: all which has been attained, with God's help, by my poor labours and the labours of the rest of the true sons of Russia who are moved by the same zeal.

'But when from the contemplation of this happiness given by God to our country I turn to think of the line of the succession, a pain nearly equal to that happiness gnaws my heart, when I see thee as my heir altogether unfit for the direction of state affairs. For it is not God who is to blame; for he has not left you destitute of intelligence, nor has he made you notably deficient in bodily strength: for though you have not a very robust frame, yet neither have you a very weak one. And the worst of all is, that of military matters you are not even willing so much as to hear a word; though it is by that road that we have emerged from darkness into light, and those who before were scarcely known in the world are now honoured. I do not say that you should be hasty to make war without a just reason, but I desire you to take an interest in this science, and by all possible means to keep it up and teach it; for this is one of two things necessary to government, viz. administration and defence. I will not adduce many examples, but only that of the Greeks, who have the same faith with ourselves. Was it not from this that they were ruined, that they gave up the practice of arms, and yielding exclusively to the love of peace, and wishing to live at ease, always gave way to the enemy? and that their love of ease subjected them at last to perpetual servitude under a tyrant? If you take it into your head that generals may do that duty under orders, this in truth is no good reason: for every one looks to the chief ruler, to imitate his tastes; as is manifest; for in the days of my brother's reign did not all show care most of all for dress and for horses? but now they care for arms. Though any man may have nothing to do personally either one way or the other, still whatever the ruler has a taste for, they all have the same; and whatever he dislikes, they all dislike the same. And if they so soon cast off light amusements, which are merely for pleasure and mirth, the moment they are out of fashion with the ruler, how much more will they give up this grave play of warlike skill? Besides this, having no inclination, you learn nothing; and so you know nothing of military matters. But if you are thus ignorant,

how can you give orders respecting them, or know how to reward the deserving and punish the negligent? But you will be forced, like a young bird, to look only at the mouth. Do you excuse yourself on the ground of weak health, as unable to bear the fatigue of military service? But neither is this a good reason. For it is not labours that I desire of you, but *will*, which no sickness or weakness can bar. Ask all those who remember my brother, to whom I have above alluded, who was beyond comparison more sickly than you are, and who could not ride himself a spirited horse; still, having a great taste for horses, he was constantly looking at them, and kept them before his eyes; and hence he had such a stud as there never had been before, nor is now. You see, it is not by great bodily exertions that all is done, but by will. Do you think that many sovereigns do not march out themselves to war, and yet things go on? It may be so, though they do not go out themselves, if they have the will and interest, like the late king of France, who was not himself very much in the wars; but what great interest he took, and what glorious feats he exhibited in war, so that his wars were called the theatre and school of the world; and not in war only, but in other works and manufactures, by which he made his kingdom glorious above others!

'Having set forth all this, I return to that with which I began, to consider about thee: for I am a man and must die: To whom then am I to leave that plantation which by God's help has been made, as aforesaid, and which has now in part grown up? To him who is like the slothful servant in the gospel, who hid his talent in the earth (that is, who threw away all that God had given him)! Farther, I will mention by what a bad and obstinate spirit you are possest. How often for this have I scolded you, and not only scolded but *also beaten you?* and think *how many years is it now that I scarcely speak to you?* But all this has been unavailing; nothing has any effect; all is in vain, all is thrown away; you are determined not to do anything, so long as you can live in the house and take your pleasure, though, on the other hand, all should be going wrong. However, the fool rejoices above all things in his own misery, not knowing what harm may result from it (St. Paul writes the truth: How shall he govern the Church of God who taketh not thought for his own house?) not only to yourself, but also to the whole empire.

'All which I considering with pain, and seeing that I cannot by any means turn you to what is good, have thought it well to write to you this my last *testament*, and to wait still a little, if so be you will sincerely reform. But if not, then know that I will certainly deprive you of the succession, as a mortified limb. And think not that you are my only son, and that I write this only to frighten you: but in truth, if God permit, I will do it. For if for my country and people I have not spared and do not spare my own life, then how shall I spare you, if you are unprofitable? Better let there be a stranger that is good than a son who is unprofitable!'

After reading this terrible letter of his father, the tsarevich applied to his secret friend and adviser Alexander Kikin with the question, 'What am I to do?' Kikin advised him to renounce the succession to the throne on the ground of bad health, and said: 'You will be in quiet when you have renounced everything, *if only they will do it so:* I know that you cannot endure (the service they would put upon you), you are too weak; but it was a pity you did not go off (when you were abroad); now you cannot get such an opportunity.' Viazemsky agreed, and said: 'God and the empire are both free, if only you could be in quiet.' Having made up his mind to act in this sense, the tsarevich went to Theodore Apraxin, and to the prince Basil Vlad. Dolgorouky, and asked them to try, when in conversation with his father, to persuade him to disinherit his eldest son, and let him go to live in his derevnia till he should die. These visits and this request show that Alexis feared for himself something worse; and Kikin had showed the same apprehension by his words: '*if only they will do it so.*' Apraxin replied: 'If your father speaks to me, I am ready so to advise him.' The prince Basil said the same; but he added: 'You may write letters, a thousand if you please, but still when the time comes—there is the old proverb: "The snail crawls—how long will it be?" This is not a deed, involving a breach of faith if not kept, such as we before now have been used to give to one another.' Thus confirmed in his intention by the prince Dolgorouky, the tsarevich sent to his father three days later the following letter:

'Gracious hossoudar-batushka! The letter which was given to me by you on the 27th of this month of October A.D. 1715, after the funeral of my wife, I have read through. I have no

other answer to make to it but this: If you are only pleased for my unfitness to deprive me of the succession to the Russian crown, be it so, according to your will: and I myself most humbly beg this of you, hossoudar, since I see myself to be unfit and unprofitable for that work, for I have completely lost my memory (without which it is impossible to do anything), and all my faculties mental and bodily (owing to various diseases and infirmities) are weakened, and I have become unfit for the government of such a great nation, for which there needs a man unlike such a putrid wretch as I am. On that account, as regards the Russian succession (God grant you health for many years to come!) after you (though I had no *brother*, but now, thank God, I have a *brother*,[1] to whom may God give health), I do not pretend to it, nor will I hereafter pretend to it, of which I call God to witness; and for a certain testimony I write this with my own hand. *My children I commit to your will*; but for myself I ask only a maintenance till my death. Submitting all this to your discretion and gracious will, I am your most humble servant and son, Alexis.'

After the delivery of this letter, there came to the tsarevich the prince Basil Dolgorouky, and *in the tsar's name* desired him to show him his father's letter. After he had read it, the prince Basil said: 'I spoke with your father about you; I expect that he will deprive you of the succession, and he seems to be content with your letter. I got you off from the block. Now you may congratulate yourself that you will have no trouble with service.' Peter, as Dolgorouky said, was *content* with his son's letter; and at the same time he also said that he had *saved Alexis from the block*. In truth Peter was very much displeased by his son's letter. He had sought by his own letter to come to a definite explanation with his son, and instead of such an answer as he expected, he received a laconic answer renouncing the succession. It became necessary to execute his threat, to deprive him of the succession; a matter in the highest degree disagreeable and difficult. Peter was extremely provoked, and, as is evident from the words of Dolgorouky, in his anger uttered violent

[1] Anticipating Peter's wish and intention to disinherit not only his eldest son, but his innocent grandson, the child whom his daughter-in-law, sister to the empress of Germany, had commended to him on her deathbed, and to which he had stood godfather. The tsarevich may have seen this intention in the *tone* of his father's letter to him.

threats against his son. 'I got you off (in that conversation) with your father from the block,' he said. For a long time Peter made his son no reply.

The same day, seemingly, that the tsarevich replied as above to his father's letter, that is, on Sunday the 30th Oct. O.S. (10th Nov. N.S.), the Austrian resident Pleyer had a conversation with the tsar, of which he wrote on Friday the 4th Nov. O.S. (15th N.S.) to Vienna the following account: Coxe, from whom this is taken, describes the letter as written 'to the prime minister:'

'In my last I informed your excellency that I had had an opportunity of penetrating the sentiments of the tsar, and I shall now acquaint you with the particulars, which will surprise you.

'Being at dinner last Sunday at the vice-chancellor Shaphiroff's, in company with the tsar, H.M. conversed with me on different topics; when the discourse turning upon the late king of France, H.M. said: "Certainly France was never governed by a greater man than Louis XIV.: nevertheless," he added, "when I consider the little care he took to perpetuate the glory of his kingdom after his demise, I have no longer the same esteem for his memory which I have hitherto had for his great and heroic actions. Louis XIV. at his advanced age could not reasonably have hoped to live much longer; if, therefore, he had not discovered in the infant (Louis XV.) his successor any evident marks of a future incapacity to reign, why did he intrust him to the care of a man who will not fail to adopt any means, however desperate, that may tend to secure the succession of the throne to himself? Why did he not exclude the duke from any share in the regency? Or, if he knew the duke to be a man of a superior genius, as he undoubtedly is, and his great-grandson, either on account of his tender age or of some corporal infirmity, to be incapable of governing, why did he not declare a man of such abilities as the duke of Orleans his successor? By these means his grand system would have stood unshaken even by his death; whereas we have now every reason to suppose that France will decline." I made answer that, according to the fundamental laws of that kingdom, the first prince of the blood is necessarily regent during the king's minority. Louis XIV. could not exclude the duke of Orleans from the regency without breaking the law of succession, which no king of France could venture to infringe, &c. "Therefore," replied the tsar, "a prince who by

sacrificing his health, and even frequently exposing his life, had at length rendered *his country respectable* and *formidable*, would, according to your hypothesis, be constrained to suffer the fruits of his labours to be destroyed by the hands of a *madman*, provided he was his nearest relation. I own I am not of your opinion. It is by no means, as it appears to me, sufficient that a monarch should exert himself to *aggrandise* his state, and to render it flourishing during his life, but he ought also by wise precautions to perpetuate *its glory* after his demise; which can in no other way be effected than by appointing an heir who shall be capable not only of maintaining his acquisitions and preserving his establishments, but also of executing the rest of his designs, were he even to select him from the crowd of his subjects. "You," he added, "would tax a prince with cruelty who, in order to *save* his *state*, which ought to be dearer to him than the blood in his veins, should attempt to alter the succession of his blood; and I, on the contrary, conceive it to be the greatest of all cruelties to sacrifice the *safety* of the state to the mere right of an established succession. Let us suppose that the successor has not the qualities requisite for a sovereign, *a convent* and not a throne *is a proper asylum for weak princes*. David, for example, had many sons; but as he found not in the eldest those qualities which a king of Israel ought to have possessed, he chose the youngest for his successor: God himself approved the choice, instead of blaming him for not paying any regard to the pretensions of primogeniture, which was nevertheless highly respected by the Jews. If the gangrene"—making me touch at the same time the end of his thumb—"attacks my finger, am I not obliged, notwithstanding that it is a part of my body, to cut it off, *or should I not be guilty of suicide?*"[5]

'In short, I now comprehend the cause of the law lately introduced by the tsar, which adjudges all real estates of a family to one of the male children, but leaves to the father the absolute power of appointing his heir, without considering the right of primogeniture: and I am now convinced that the tsar has in his own mind decreed the exclusion of his eldest son; and that we shall one day see Alexis, with his head tonsured, thrust into a monastery, and obliged to pass the rest of his life

[5] And so this self-taught interpreter of the acts of king David was actually guilty of suicide.

in praying and chanting hymns. Nov. 15, N.S.' (*i.e.* Friday, 4th Nov. O.S.). Coxe, *Travels in Poland and Russia*, London, 1792, 8vo, vol. ii. ch. xi. p. 503.

A month later the tsar, after banqueting with the admiral Apraxin on Apraxin's names-day, fell seriously ill. He was in such danger that for some days all the ministers and senators passed the night in his apartment. On the 2d Dec. he was communicated in the holy mysteries, after which he began to mend, but till Christmas-day he did not go out of his room. The tsarevich visited him only once. 'Thy father is *not* seriously ill,' was whispered to him by Kikin: 'he has confessed, and has been communicated, on purpose to make the people think that he is very ill, but it is all a sham. But that he communicates, he makes it a rule to do so for his state policy.'

When he had recovered from his illness Peter, on the 19th Jan. A.D. 1716, wrote to his son thus:

'*A last admonition yet:* Since, on account of my sickness, I have not been able earlier to give a decision, I reply now. Your letter in answer to my first letter I have read through. In it you speak only of the succession, and you leave it to my will to do that which is always of itself in my own power. But why have you made no answer to that which was the substance of my letter? for in it I wrote much more about wilful unfitness and indisposition to work than about bodily infirmity, which is the only thing that you mention. Also this, that I on that account have been for so many years displeased with you, is here quite unattended to, and left unmentioned, though I wrote of it with severity. Therefore I understand that you think not much of a father's reproof; and this has moved me now to write this last warning; for if you fear me not now, how can I expect you to execute my will and injunctions after my death? And why do you offer me an oath, which it is impossible to trust to, considering the above-mentioned obduracy of your heart? Besides, there is the word of David: "Every man is a liar." Besides that, even though you sincerely purpose to keep it, those long beards will be able to turn and compel you; men who, on account of their eating the bread of idleness, are now not in an advantageous position; to whom you even already are greatly inclined. Also what return do you make to your father for having begotten you? Do you help me in all these my so great and insupport-

able griefs and labours, now that you have attained full age? Nay! not in the least, as is known to all: but rather you hate my works, which I work for the people of my nation, without sparing my own health; and of a certainty after my death you will be a destroyer of them. Therefore to remain such as you wish to be, neither fish nor flesh, is impossible; but either change your manners, and sincerely endeavour to make yourself worthy of the succession, or become a monk: for without this my mind cannot be set at rest, especially now that I have come to be in bad health. So to this, as soon as you have received this letter, give me a resolution at once, either in writing or personally by word of mouth. If you do not, *I will deal with you as with a criminal.* Peter.'

The tsarevich remembered those words of Kikin, which he had repeated more than once: 'You see, the klobouk will not be nailed on to your head;' and now too Kikin said: 'For the present that will be well; but what shall be hereafter, who knows?' Viazemsky said: 'If there is no other way open, then go into a monastery; but go first to your confessor, and say to him that you are *forced* to enter a monastery, so that he may know this. He can speak too to the metropolitan of Riazan, that they may not think of you that you have been tonsured for any crime.' Viazemsky's advice was acted upon, so far as regarded the confessor, but to Stephen Yavorsky no communication was made. The next day, 20th Jan., Peter received from his son the following answer:

'Most gracious hossoudar-batushka! Your letter dated on the 19th of this month I received the same day, in the morning; and in answer to it, I cannot, on account of my sickness, write more than this, that I desire to take the monastic order, and I ask for this your gracious permission. Your servant and unprofitable son, Alexis.'

The tsarevich, expecting now to have to go into a monastery at once, made certain preparations for this. Being unwell himself at this time, he gave his mistress, Euphrosyne, two letters, one directed to his old Moscow confessor, Yakoff Ignatieff, the other to his treasurer, *Ivan* Kikin, and said to her: 'When I *die* deliver these letters; they will give you money.' In the letters it was written that 'the tsarevich was going into a monastery by compulsion, and that the protopope and Kikin were to give

to the bearer a certain sum from the money of the tsarevich which was in their keeping.' Apparently the tsarevich also made inquiry for the deed or bond by which Euphrosyne and her brother had been the property of Nikiphor Viazemsky, to make sure of her emancipation. For among the papers taken, 28th Feb. A.D. 1720, 'from the house of the tsarevich, from his podiak Nikiphor Viazemsky,' there is a letter written from Moscow, in March A.D. 1716, by Serge Viazemsky, in reply to an inquiry which had been made of him for the tsarevich by Basil Gleboff. He replied: 'There are no purchase-deeds relating to Ivan and Euphrosyne Theodoroff among my brother's title-deeds and securities in my keeping at Moscow. My brother must be asked to look them out and find them.' And among the papers taken from Ivan Athan. major, kammer-diener to the tsarevich, there is a certificate of the manumission given in A.D. 1715 by Nikiphor Viazemsky for his bondman Ivan Theodoroff.

The tsar also had been for some time looking forward and making preparations for an absence abroad; of which Voltaire, after observing that the resolution of the tsarevich to go into a monastery 'did not appear natural,' writes thus: 'And it seems strange that the tsar should have been willing to go for a considerable time abroad, leaving behind him in his dominions a son so malcontent and so obstinate; but at the same time the fact that he did go abroad proves of itself that he saw no reason to fear any *plot* on the part of his son' (vol. ii. p. 96).

A week after receiving his son's letter he left Petersburg for Copenhagen, from whence later he went to Amsterdam and to Paris; but two days before starting he went to see his son at his villa, and found him ill (or pretending to be so) in bed. To his father's question, 'What is your resolution?' the tsarevich swore before God that he had no wish but to be tonsured. Peter said: 'That for a young man is no light matter; think it over again leisurely, and then write to me what you wish to do. It would be better to decide to take *the right course* than to join the monks. I will wait still half a year.' The words, 'Think it over again leisurely,' raised the spirits of the tsarevich. 'I put it all off indefinitely,' he said of himself afterwards.

On the 17th Jan. A.D. 1716, though unwell, the tsar started to go abroad, accompanied by Catherine.

A.D. 1716.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

At the beginning of A.D. 1716 Peter made his adjutant, Willem Mons, the brother[6] of his former mistress Anna Mons, kammer-yunker to the tsaritsa Catherine, 'for good fortune *or for bad*,' as he wrote to his sister Matrena Balk. But she, congratulating him heartily on that promotion, replied: 'God keep you from all *bad* fortune,' &c.

His duties as kammer-yunker were not exactly defined; but there gradually passed into his hands much that before had been divided among different people. The intendants and bailiffs of the tsaritsa's estates and the hegoumens of religious houses under her patronage soon began to send in to him their accounts and reports, and to apply to him to submit for them memorials about this or that arrangement. All matters of building and of sale or purchase on the tsaritsa's estates, the admission into her service of various persons, the administration of justice, criminal and civil, not only over them, but also the settlement of differences between nuns and their superioresses in convents under the direct patronage of the tsaritsa; the fixing of salaries, allowances for maintenance, rewards, and subventions; the dismissal of her court officers and servants—all soon began to depend on Mons. He had to make the arrangements for festivals and for excursions, in which Catherine so much delighted, to collect for her early information respecting different novelties, to run his eye over a multitude of petitions from people of all ranks, to correspond with her merchants and traders abroad, to communicate with her tailors and milliners about orders for dresses, to keep her money-accounts, to take care of her jewels, &c. All her orders were given and written either by Mons himself or under his eye. And meanwhile he was in constant personal attendance upon her; he accompanied her in travelling; saw to everything that was necessary on the road for her and for her suite; he looked after her equipages and her packages; he was over her stables and coachhouses; he was always near her at banquets, at assemblies, and masquerades. He too—a handsome young man of eight-and-twenty, always bright and

[6] He was born in A.D. 1688; he had first entered the service as a volunteer at Gorki, in July A.D. 1708; and general Bauer, noticing his good looks, soon made him his aide-de-camp.

lively—had the duty of amusing Catherine during her frequent and prolonged separations from her 'old man' and 'batushka.' All this was his sphere of duty; and with all this his services could not be either wearisome, or ungrateful, or unnoticed. With a certain unavoidable amount of trouble, he had now at his disposal considerable means (though his *salary*, when he was first made kammer-yunker, was but small). In lieu of his former poverty there was not only a sufficiency, but luxury. His self-love and vanity too were abundantly gratified by the multitude of persons of both sexes, of different professions and ranks, who, having need of him, showed him consideration, and sought his good offices in their relations with the tsaritsa. Lastly, her most unbounded favour and trust must have been flattering to him in the highest degree.

This notice of his position, such as it soon afterwards became, is connected by M. Semevsky, in his publication on the Mons family, with the first appointment of Willem Mons to be kammer-yunker, soon after which he accompanied the tsaritsa when she went abroad.

During that prolonged absence from Russia, while she was sometimes in company with Peter, sometimes alone, Catherine had with her Anisia Cyr. Tolstoy, Aristovna, Christianovna, the wife of colonel Carpenhauzen, the fraulein Maria Dan. Hamilton (by origin from the German sloboda), the kammer-frau Yohanna Petrova, who was much beloved by the tsaritsa, the kammer-yunker lieutenant Balk (nephew to Willem Mons), the doctors Polykola and Lestock, and some other persons. Among all these the first part was played by Willem Mons; and we already find the celebrated Alexis Petr. Bestoujeff-Riumine humbly thanking Mons' 'nobility' for his compliments, and no less humbly begging his mediation for the furtherance of his own matters. This is the more curious, because nearly at the same time Bestoujeff-Riumine wrote (what Semevsky calls) a treasonable letter to the tsarevich Alexis after his flight, offering him his services. So at that moment the future governor of Russia was trying to establish for himself an interest at once with Catherine and with the object of her dislike, the tsarevich Alexis.

Feb. 1, A.D. 1716, the tsar was at Riga; where he engaged himself to Prussia to send 10,000 men to coöperate in the siege of Vismar. From Riga he went to Libau, to inspect the galleys

and the regiments which were wintering there; and there on the 17th Feb. he was joined by the tsaritsa Catherine with his niece Ekaterina Ivanovna. He sent thence to ask the king of Denmark to meet him at Stralsund, or elsewhere on his way to Pyrmont. Leaving Libau on the 14th, they reached Dantzig on the 18th Feb., and stayed there till the 18th April.

On the 8th March there came to them the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in fulfilment of an agreement made on the 22d Jan. preceding. On the 18th March Repnin was sent to coöperate in the siege of Vismar, which, however, was taken (7th April) while he was still on the way, and the Russians were not admitted to share in garrisoning it. On the 23d the king of Poland came to Dantzig. On the 30th Peter finished the composition of his Military Statute, and sent it to Petersburg to be printed. The 1st April was Easter-day; and on the 8th the marriage of the duke of Mecklenburg and the tsarevna Catherine Ivanovna was solemnised.[7] At the same time there came envoys from the Polish *confederates*, and at their desire the tsar *mediated* between them and the king Augustus. On the 30th, the galleys having come from Libau with three regiments on board, the tsar, as vice-admiral, joined them, and entertained the king and all his ministers on board his own galley: and after that they were sent on to Rostock, and Sheremetieff was ordered to march by land, and to join Repnin in Mecklenburg.

Leaving the tsaritsa to go with the army, the tsar hastened on ahead of it to Stettin, where he arrived on the 5th of May. On the 6th the king of Prussia came thither, and on the 7th their majesties and the tsarevna and all the Russian ministers dined with him. On the 8th, parting with the king, the tsar went on to Schwerin, to Neu-Brandenburg, Malchin, and Güstrov, where they found Repnin with his division. On the 12th the tsar was met before entering Schwerin by the duke of Mecklenburg. On the 15th he went to Vismar, and returned the same day to Schwerin, and sent a despatch to hasten Sheremetieff. On the 16th he left for Pyrmont, to drink the waters there. He went by Boitsenburg on the Elbe, and down by water to Hamburg, on the 17th May; and on the 18th to Altona, to the palace of the princess of Friesland: and the king of Denmark came thither;

[7] The bride was plain and fat; her husband soon took a dislike to her; and she returned with her daughter Anna Leopoldovna to live at Petersburg.

and on the 19th, 20th, and 23d they had interviews, and (as Charles XII. had not only refused to treat with the Danes for peace, but was actually invading Norway) they made a convention for a joint invasion of Sweden. Then the tsar went to Pyrmont, sleeping on the 23d at Harburg in a castle of the elector of Hanover, and on the 25th at the palace of Herrenhaus outside the city of Hanover; and on the 26th he went on to Springe, Hameln, and Pyrmont, and there he remained till the 14th of June.

On the 19th June he was again at Schwerin, and sent thence the commander Sivers to Revel, to bring the squadron to Copenhagen, where the Russian captain Bredal had now arrived with five ships from England; and there were five other Russian ships there before. On the 23d the tsar went to Rostock, and was joined there by the tsaritsa: on the 27th they kept the anniversary of Poltava, and they all (Sheremetieff, Weyde, &c.) dined in the house of the duke of Mecklenburg, and again they dined there on the 29th.

On the 3d July, leaving the tsaritsa at Vardemünde, Peter put to sea for Copenhagen; and on the 6th, with all his galleys and the three regiments on board them, he arrived there. The tsaritsa, who came by land, by way of Lubeck, arrived on the 12th, and was met with great ceremony; viz. by Peter one mile out, and by the king and his ministers and staff half a mile out; and in the evening the king and all his ministers and staff came to the tsar, who was lodged in the house of a merchant named Edinger. On the 17th there arrived the Russian squadron from Revel, seven ships of the line and six frigates. The English admiral too was there with his squadron.

But in the mean time Charles XII., who, without fighting a battle, merely from the hardships of the campaign, had lost 4000 men, having evacuated Norway, the Danes and the Hanoverians reverted to their former attitude of jealousy, and were no longer disposed to coöperate efficiently with Peter; and when he urged the Danes not to waste time, they only made excuses.

On the 22d July the tsar went from Elsinore to reconnoitre Landscrona and the Swedish coast: he saw that it was in a good state of defence, and learned that Charles had still 40,000 men in arms. On the 27th, for the anniversary of Gangouda (or Angout), he gave a banquet to the English, Dutch, and Russian

officers; and on the same day the Danish admiral Gabel, for whom they had pretended to be waiting, came from Norway: but Peter's renewed importunities were met, as before, by evasions.

On the 5th of August, by invitation of his allies, the tsar hoisted his flag on board the Ingermanland as commander-in-chief of the allied squadrons, numbering 83 ships, viz. 21 Russian, 18 Danish, 19 English, and 25 Dutch: 'and that,' he wrote, 'was the proudest day of my life.' On the 7th he put the tsaritsa ashore at Stevins-Klint, to return to Copenhagen. On the 9th some ships were sent to reconnoitre Karlscrona, when nine Swedish ships came out and chased them. On the 14th the tsar went off to Stralsund, where he arrived on the 18th, to expedite the preparation of the Danish transports, and the transportation of Sheremetieff with his troops to Copenhagen. From the 23d to the 27th he was again at Copenhagen.

At this time (26th Aug.) there was sent from the tsar a cabinet courier, Saphonoff, to Petersburg with a letter to the tsarevich Alexis, desiring him to come to Copenhagen to his majesty '*for military service.*'

At the end of the month they reconnoitred Malmo and Shoni, and were informed that the Swedish force there was 20,000 strong; and on the 1st Sept. Peter held a council of war, and it was decided that, as Repnin's division had not yet been brought over, nor any diversion made from Oland, and it was now getting late, the descent must be put off. On the 4th Repnin with the last transports arrived; but there were still three cavalry regiments left behind, which the Danes pretended they had no transports to bring. On the 5th there was held another council, but its decision was the same as before. On the 10th the king came; and on the 15th he wrote that he also thought that the descent upon Sweden must be put off till the next year. On the 25th they kept the anniversary of Liesno. On the 30th, for the king's names-day, they were all at the palace, and there was a masquerade. All this time the Danes were arguing in favour of a descent, and hinting that the Russians had leanings towards Sweden, and even that they had thoughts of attacking Copenhagen: and an order was sent from *Bernsdorf* (a Mecklenburgher by origin) from the *Hanoverian* chancery to admiral Norris, that 'if the Russians did not cross into Sweden, he was *to attack the Russian ships*:' and the king of England threatened

the Danes, that if the descent was not made now, he would in the following spring be not with but against them. The language held by the Hanoverian envoy Bernsdorf and by the Danes (who had themselves purposely wasted time) greatly irritated Peter, and he even uttered menaces of hostility; but all dissembled; and they parted from one another, seemingly good friends and allies as before, Peter having stayed on at Copenhagen till the 16th October. On the 2d Oct. the Russian galleys went to Rostock; on the 12th the Russian forces were transported to Rostock, the squadron returning to Revel. There had been at Copenhagen, under Sheremetieff, Weyde, Repnin, Boutourlin, and Bauer, eighteen regiments of foot and three of horse (three others being left behind in Mecklenburg). On the 16th Oct. the tsar and the tsaritsa took leave of the king, and went to Mecklenburg, and thence to Holland.

Leaving then Copenhagen on the 16th Oct., Peter went through Roeskilde and the Great Belt to Friedrieshorn (21st-27th Oct.), and to Lubeck (30th Oct.-3d Nov.), and thence to Schwerin, where the duchess of Mecklenburg came out to meet them, and they stayed from the 5th to the 10th. Peter had now been informed of the disappearance of his son the tsarevich Alexis; but this news caused no change in his plans.

Menshikoff meanwhile was seeking to regain the tsar's favour not only by his energy in business, but also by writing him long letters about the little boy Peter Petrovich, his 'most dear *khozain*' (*i.e.* master of the house, like the Latin *herus*), as he called him. So 29th Oct. A.D. 1716 he wrote: 'Since this present day is a day of glorious joy and indescribable gladness for all our country, on which God was pleased to give you the inestimable treasure of your most dear son, I, with all my faithful heart, congratulate you on that glorious and unspeakably joyful birth, heartily wishing that it may please God to give you to see very many such joyful anniversaries, and to see his highness in such dignity as you are now in yourself. And we purpose for ourselves too this day, &c., to make merry as on the day itself of this birth. The hossoudar the tsarevich among other things is now much amused with the exercises of his soldiers, on which account the soldiers of the bombardier company (*rota*) on guard constantly go through their exercise before him in the great hall; and in truth, although he does this of his

*duty* as sergeant, he takes great pleasure in it. His three words are *papa*, *mama*, *soldat*. God grant that you yourself may soon see him. I hope you will find nothing in him but what may give you joy' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xvi. p. 265).

Leaving the tsaritsa at Schwerin, Peter went to meet the king of Prussia at Havelsburg, and wrote to Apraxin that he had 'spent there some days (13-17th Nov.) not profitably.' Thence he went by the Elbe to Boitsenburg, where Sheremetieff then was; and on the 19th Nov. he was off Hamburg; and passing by Hamburg, on the 20th he reached Altona, and there he stayed till the 26th. Then he went on, by Stad and Bremen, and on the 30th late reached Deventer, the first town of Friesland and Holland. On the 2d Dec. he was met at Amsfort by his envoy prince Kourakin and the resident Christian Brandt; and thence passing by Utrecht and Niemeguen, he reached, with only a few attendants (6th Dec.), Amsterdam, whither the next day there came his ministers and his staff, viz. the chancellor count Golovkin, and vice-chancellor baron Shaphiroff, the privy-councillor P. A. Tolstoy, the lieutenants-general Basil Dolgorouky and Ivan Boutourlin, the envoy-extraordinary prince Kourakin, and the hofmarshal Shepeleff and other servants of his majesty's household.

After his arrival he remained at Amsterdam, going about to see all that interested him till Christmas; but on the 27th Dec. he fell ill of a fever. The tsaritsa at that time had left Schwerin, and going by Boitsenburg, Luneburg, Hamburg, Naustadt, Minden, Erfurth, Milfeldt, and Lippstadt, she reached Wesel on the 30th Dec.; but at Wesel she was obliged to stop, and was confined there of a son, named Paul, who, however, lived only a few hours.

### A.D. 1716.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

Soon after the tsar and Catherine had left Petersburg, on the 3d Feb. A.D. 1716, the tsarevich Alexis was at the tsar's palace for the names-day of his illegitimate sister Anna: and the senator and boyar Mousin-Poushkin, meeting him there, whispered in his ear: 'You feel more at your ease now?' The tsarevich said: 'I do.' And that boyar, continuing, said to him: 'Will there be such a thing as feeling *more at ease down yonder*

(*i.e.* in hell)? It is time for you to send away that girl whom you keep: you see God is schooling you.' This was another warning to the tsarevich, as if it had been said: 'Your father is like a fiend tormenting you here on earth, and you feel lighter for a time now that he has left. Will there be any such temporary intermission of torment in hell? God is schooling you: break off your sins, that you may not be tormented *without intermission* in hell.' So this boyar, who had a taste for divinity, but was no saint, being Peter's lay-commissioner for the management of the Church, prophesied to the tsarevich better than those ecclesiastics of his and his mother's friends, who with him and on his account were to be soon punished by God, and to be tortured, broken on the wheel, or beheaded. But the tsarevich 'did not understand what the boyar meant by those words.'

Somewhat later in this same spring Alexander Kikin, as he was about to leave Petersburg in attendance upon the tsarevna Maria Alexievna,[a] for Carlsbad, whispered to the tsarevich: 'I will look out some place or other for you.' The idea of taking refuge somewhere abroad had already been discussed between them more than once before that.

At some time in the spring or summer of this year the tsarevich visited Moscow. For the kliuchar of the Annunciation there, when examined in A.D. 1720, stated that after the disappearance of the tsarevich the confessor Yakoff Ignatieff had said to him these words: 'The hossoudar the tsarevich *said to me* in conversation: "My father has ordered me either to marry or to become a monk; but I do not wish to become a monk, neither do I wish to marry: my father thinks to marry me again to some foreign wife;[b] and I know not what to do; whether to take to a life of poverty and hide myself among the poor for a time, or to go off into some monastery and live among the

[a] They were at Danfzig on the 7th April.

[b] Dec. 20, A.D. 1716, Conon Zotoff wrote from Paris to the tsar: 'Last Sunday the admiral D'Etrées said that they heard from Russia that your majesty had called to you the tsarevich, to marry him to a foreign princess, and asked Bonmazarie if he knew of any princess in Germany. He said "No," and asked if it would please the French court if the tsar should wish to marry the tsarevich to a French princess—to a daughter of the duke of Orleans. The marshal was delighted to hear "so good a suggestion, and was sure they would refuse the tsar nothing;" and when the duke was told of it he said: "I should be glad to see it done to-day."' Zotoff added: 'Here they expect your majesty as the Messiah.'

clerks, or to go away into some other state where they receive all who come and do not give them up."'

There are letters of the tsarevich to his father from Petersburg: one, directed 'to the vice-admiral' and dated on the 30th May, salutes him for his birthday, and adds: 'The hossoudar my brother and the hossoudarinas my sisters are well.' Others of June 29, July 30, and Aug. 17 and 27 are like it. In the last he adds (as news interesting to his father): 'There have arrived some vessels with merchandise, of which some have come up, but the rest are still at Cronstadt.' There are mentioned in the *Inventory* already referred to three short letters of this summer from Catherine to the tsarevich, informing him of the health of their majesties.

On the 18th June died the aunt of the tsarevich, the tsarevna Natalia, who had been charged with the care of him when he was parted from his mother. Some said that she had made or widened the breach between Peter and his wife; and when the tsarevich had gone secretly to Souzdal, she gave information of this to Peter. It may be conceived that the Lopouchins would dislike her. When she died, one of those about the tsarevich said to him: 'Do you know that all the mischief befalling you was from her? I heard that said by Abram (Lopouchin).' But from other quarters there were statements unlike this. The Dutch resident Debie wrote to his government: 'Persons of distinction and worthy of credit have told me that the late grand kniajnia Natalia, when dying, said to the tsarevich Alexis: "As long as I was living I restrained my brother from bad intentions against you; but now I am dying, and it is time for you to think beforehand for yourself: the best thing for you will be to take the first opportunity of placing yourself under the protection of the emperor."'

And Kikin had long been suggesting this same idea of taking refuge somewhere abroad. But how could this be done? There had been an opportunity when he went in A.D. 1711 to Carlsbad, but it was let slip; and now how was he to get out of Russia?

His father himself afforded him the opportunity. On the 26th Aug. he sent to his son from Copenhagen the courier Saphonoff with the following autograph letter:

'My son! Your two letters of the 29th June and the 30th

July I received, in which you only wrote word of your health. Therefore by this letter I now remind you:

'When I parted with you, and asked you about your resolution concerning a certain matter, you always repeated only this, that you could not be fit for the succession in consequence of your weakness, and that you preferred to go into a monastery. But I then said to you that you should still think carefully about it, and then write to me what resolution you had taken: and I have been expecting this from you now seven months; but up to this time you write nothing about it. Therefore now (since you have had time enough for consideration), upon the receipt of this letter, make at once your resolution either in favour of the first alternative or of the other. And if you resolve in favour of the first, then delay no longer than one week, and come here, for you may yet come in time for our operations. But if you choose the other alternative, then write into what monastery you are going, and at what time and day (that I may have my mind at rest, and may know what I can expect from you). And send back this same messenger with notice of your final settlement: if it is in the first way, send him at the same time at which you are yourself leaving Petersburg: but if in the other, at the time that you are executing it (*i.e.* when you are tonsured). On this I again insist, that the matter be now definitively settled, for I see that you are only wasting time in your usual way to no good purpose.'

This letter was delivered by Saphonoff at the end of September to the tsarevich at his villa. He immediately went to Petersburg, to prince Menshikoff; and Menshikoff wrote on the 26th to the tsar thus: 'He told me of his resolution that he had taken, that he meant in obedience to your oukaz to go to the campaign, and though he did not say *when*, he said that he would go without waiting to the end of the time allowed him: "As soon as I have been to take leave of my brother and my sisters, I will start at once." And thereupon he took leave of me; so I infer that he will start to-morrow, or at latest the day after to-morrow. . . . But of your oukaz sent to him by Saphonoff he said to me only that it ordered him to go to you to the campaign, but of *the rest*[10] of the contents of that oukaz he said nothing.' At that interview

[10] So Menshikoff was informed by Peter of all that he was doing and projecting about his son.

Menshikoff, as came out afterwards, asked the tsarevich: 'But where will you leave Euphrosyne?' 'I will take her with me,' he replied, 'as far as Riga, and then send her back to Petersburg.' 'You had better take her with you altogether,' observed Menshikoff.[11] Having returned home, he ordered his kammerdiener Ivan Athanasieff major to get things ready for travelling, as when they went before to Germany, and he himself began to weep: 'How can I leave Euphrosyne, and where is she to be? You won't repeat what I am going to say?' he asked Athanasieff. And when he had promised that he would not, he began: 'I will take Euphrosyne with me as far as Riga: I will not go to batushka; I will go to the emperor, or to Rome.' Athanasieff said to this: 'As you please, hossoudar; only I am not your counsellor.' 'Why so?' the tsarevich asked. 'Because,' said the other, 'if this succeeds, all is well; but if it does not succeed, then you will be angry with me.' 'At all events, hold your tongue about it, and say nothing to anybody!' said the tsarevich: 'you are the only person about me who knows of this, and Kikin: he went for me to Vienna to ascertain where it may be best for me to go: I am sorry that I shall not see him; perhaps I *may* see him on the way.' The tsarevich disclosed his intention also to one other of his people, Theodore Doubrovsky. 'Are you going to your father? go for God's sake,' Doubrovsky said to him. 'I will go—God knows whether it will be to him, or in some other direction,' replied Alexis. Doubrovsky said to this: 'Many of your brethren (*i.e.* princes) have at times saved themselves by flight: I expect your connections will not abandon you.' At this point Doubrovsky began to ask the tsarevich for money, for 500 rubles, to send to his mother to Souzdal; and Alexis gave him the money. Doubrovsky mentioned also the tsarevich's uncle Abram Lopouchin: 'I expect your father will put to the question your uncle Abram.' The tsarevich said to this: 'Why so? when he knows nothing about it. When you have certain information that I have gone off, then you may tell Abram, if you like, but at present say not a word to any one!' Before he left, the tsarevich went to the senate, to take leave of the senators; and while there, he whispered into the ear of the prince Yakoff Dolgorouky: 'Pray do not give me up;' and he

[11] Strange advice! as if Menshikoff wished the tsarevich to provoke his father afresh.

replied: 'I shall always be glad (to serve you), only say no more, there are others looking at us.'

The tsarevich left Petersburg on the 26th Sept. A.D. 1716, taking with him Euphrosyne, her brother Ivan Theodoroff, and his servants Yakoff Nosoff, Peter Soudakoff, and Peter Meyer. Prince Menshikoff gave him for his journey 1000 ducats, and the senate 2000 rubles. At Riga he borrowed from the ober-commissary Isaeff 5000 ducats, and 2000 in small money. From Koporie, 28th Sept., he wrote some directions to his diak Theodore Everlakoff (having also before starting given written *Instructions*, dated 25th Sept., for the management of his household affairs in his absence); and on the 8th Oct. he wrote from Riga to the prototpope Egor, of the church of the Fortress at St. Petersburg, asking him to '*continue* to pray' for him.

On the road from Riga, four miles from Libau, he met his aunt, the tsarevna Maria Alexievna, returning from Carlsbad. Both carriages stopped: the tsarevich went to his aunt, got into her carriage, and there sat and had a long conversation with her. 'Where are you going?' she asked. 'I am going to batushka,' he replied. 'That is well,' she said: 'one ought to please one's father; that is pleasing too to God. What gain would it have been if you had gone into a monastery?' 'I don't know now,' objected the tsarevich, 'whether I shall please my father or not: I am almost beside myself with distress; I should be glad to hide myself somewhere.' Then he shed tears. 'Whither can you go, so as to get away from your father?' said the tsarevna: 'they will find you out, wherever you are.' Then the conversation turned upon his mother. 'You have forgotten her,' the tsarevna said; 'you don't write, and you don't send her anything. Have you sent since you sent through me?' The tsarevich replied that he had given some money for her to Doubrovsky. But to her demand of a letter he replied: 'I am afraid to write.' 'But what?' she objected; 'even though you had to suffer for it, *so* it does not matter: you see, it would be for your *mother* (and for *her* you ought to be ready to suffer), not for any one else.' 'What good is there in that,' he said, 'that I should suffer, without her being thereby at all benefited?' From Eudocia the conversation passed to Catherine; and when the tsarevich had spoken with satisfaction of her friendliness towards him, the tsarevna objected: 'Why do you

so flatter yourself about her? she is not a real mother; how can she wish you much good? Among us,' the tsarevna said, 'they blame your father for eating flesh-meat during the fasts; but that is a trifle: it is something far worse, that he put away your mother. Our (Muscovite) bishops are *idiots*: they make nothing of this; and they commemorate this tsaritsa (Catherine) *emphatically*: even Job of Novgorod, of his cowardice, does so. The foreigners (*i.e.* those who are from Little Russia, such as the late Demetrius of Rostoff and the metropolitan of Riazan) know better the divine scriptures: the prince Theodore Yourievich too (the Kniaz-Cesar Romodanofsky) did not at all like it, when she was proclaimed Tsaritsa. They are favourably disposed towards you. I love you, and am always glad when I hear of anything good for you. We cannot spare you; only you should try to please people.' Among other things she said: 'You must manage to see Kikin; he wants to see you.'

On reaching Libau the tsarevich did see Kikin, and asked him: 'Have you found any place for me?' 'I have,' Kikin replied; 'go to Vienna to the emperor; there they will not give you up. Veselovsky told me that they asked him at the court for what cause were they disinheriting you? And I said: You know yourself that they dislike him: and I think it is for that only, and not for any other reason. And I, knowing that Veselovsky means not to return to Russia,[12] took courage to ask him about you: If he should come here will they receive him? and he said, "I will speak to the vice-chancellor Schönborn, he is friendly with me." And after a space, he said that he had spoken to Schönborn, and Schönborn had asked the emperor in conversation, and the emperor said that he would receive him as his own son.' Kikin also said to him: 'Your father will not tonsure you now, even though you were to wish it. He has been advised by the prince Basil (Vlad. Dolgorouky, the Russian envoy at Berlin) to keep you constantly with himself, and take you everywhere, so that you may die of fatigue, as you cannot stand it. And your father said: "It will be well so (to do)." And the prince Basil observed to him, that if you were a monk, you would be in quiet, and might live long. And in consequence of these words I wonder that they have not taken you

[12] In fact he absconded from Vienna three or four years later.

long before now; and now they call you with this intention; and you have no other chance of saving yourself but by flight.'[13] He said also: 'If your father sends anybody to you to persuade you to return, return not on any account; if you do, he will behead you on the scaffold.'

The tsarevich determined to act on Kikin's advice. He passed through Dantzig, and wrote from thence to Nikiphor Viazemsky, his major-domo. But his kammer-diener, Ivan Athanasieff major, who received from him a letter (written at the suggestion of Kikin) bidding him come to him to Dantzig, and who left on the 30th Oct., with a pass from Menshikoff, in order to do so, returned after a time to Petersburg, and reported that he had been unable to find any traces of his master.

The courier Saphonoff, who had been sent on from Petersburg before him, met the tsar in Shleswig, on the road from Copenhagen to Lubeck, on the 21st Oct., and reported that the tsarevich was coming after him: but about two months passed, and nothing was heard of him. When the tsarevich went off suddenly from Petersburg, it was said there that he had gone to his father; but when a long time had now passed, and there had been no fresh tidings of him, those who were interested in him began to be greatly disturbed. His Moscow confessor, Yakoff Ignatieff, wrote to him letter after letter; four at least, of dates from 26th Oct. to 13th Nov., which have been printed: they are very nearly alike, and that one of them which is dated 26th Oct. may stand for all. In this he writes:

'My most gracious friend and joy! May your health and that of your children be preserved for many years. A second time I pray you, if it is not a secret, and if my nothingness is worthy of the information, be so kind as to let me know why you went off suddenly from Petersburg? and are you still in health and prosperity? and is there not some wrath against you? and on what purpose are you set? and are you cheerful and happy? that we also, worthless though we be, if we may hear that such is the case, may be comforted, and may rejoice, and that the grief which now oppresses our hearts may be dispelled. Praying ever to God and to the Mother of God that you may live in all spiritual welfare, and in bodily health and prosperity, for

[13] Kikin might be lying in all this, but it would produce the impression he desired upon the tsarevich.

many years, and ever wishing you all that is good, I, your worthless beadsman, together with *Pater* (his wife), make many times my obeisance.'

And from Petersburg, 2d Nov., Viazemsky wrote thus: 'Gracious hossoudar tsarevich! May your health, &c. On the 1st Oct. I sent (so-and-so, writing of certain matters of business). . . . After you had left, they found among the things of the late tsarevna (Natalia) your *will*, and I took it from Mr. Kosheleff, together with a list; and I have sent it to you by Ivan Athanasieff major (who left on the 30th October). . . . Pray let me know, my hossoudar, where you are: I promise, yea, yea, to serve you faithfully.

'Moreover, I have to inform you that Procopovich has come here, and is preaching sermons; and he has *orders* to *exercise jurisdiction in spiritual matters* in Pskoff, Narva, Dorpat, and Revel: we shall not get on very well with him. I, your most humble servant, Nikiphor Viazemsky, fall at your feet.'

Directed 'To the Hossoudar the Tsarevich of all Russia Alexis Petrovich, wherever he may be.'

Again, 8th Nov., Viazemsky dictated and wrote two identical letters from the two children Peter and Natalia: 'As we wish your health with all our hearts, we rejoice when we hear often of your health and prosperity: therefore we beg you most dutifully to cause us to receive information of your health. Of myself and my dear sister Natalia Alexievna I report that by the help of God we are in good health. We make to you, our gracious hossoudar-batushka, our most lowly obeisance. Your obedient son, Peter.' And the other letter is signed, 'Your obedient daughter, Natalia.'

Again, 16th Nov., Viazemsky writes: 'Your children, thank God, are well' (and after various matters of business). . . . 'I have written four letters . . . and I am really distressed at receiving no answer,' &c. And 30th Nov.: 'In your house your children are well, and all is satisfactory. The tsarevna Maria Alexievna came here on the night of the 21st (before the 22d); and they made rejoicings for the names-day (on the 23d, the names-day of Alexander Menshikoff), and again on the 24th (the names-day of Catherine), and then they made still more noise. To my former letters about domestic matters be pleased—as I have asked before—to let me have an answer. Also cause me to be informed

where you are, and how letters are to be addressed to you. Of a truth we are distressed at this, that I have received from you only one letter, viz. that written from Dantzig, and after that we have seen no other.'

On Saturday, 10th Nov. o.s., at Vienna, about 10 o'clock P.M. (according to a detailed account written in the year 1718 by the vice-chancellor count Schönborn, and intended for publication, but not actually published, and found in the Imperial Archives at Vienna by Oustrialoff), an officer, going out from the cabinet of the vice-chancellor to the post, met on the stair a foreigner (Yakoff Nosoff), who, in broken German-French, asked to be admitted immediately to the vice-chancellor; and when they told him that it was too late, he tried to push in by force. To the officer's question, 'What do you want?' he replied, that he was sent to the count himself, and was ordered absolutely to speak to him that same night. They reported this to the vice-chancellor, who had already gone to bed: he bade them tell the stranger to come the next morning at 7 o'clock A.M., and if he was the bearer of a letter, to give it to the officer, and to leave his name. The stranger insisted on seeing the count, threatening that if refused he would go to the palace, straight to the emperor, because his business was of such a kind that it must be reported that same night to his majesty.

Being at length admitted to the vice-chancellor, who had put on a dressing-gown, he said: 'Our hossoudar the tsarevich is standing here in the place below, and wishes to see your excellency.' The vice-chancellor asked him whether he really meant what he said? and how could the tsarevich have come there? He replied: 'The tsarevich, having heard that all foreigners who come to this court present themselves before the V.C., does the same; but he wishes to be in the strictest secrecy, so that nobody should see him. For this reason he came yesterday to the inn near here with the sign of the Klapperer (the Rattle), leaving his suite of three persons and some luggage in the Leopoldstadt. The vice-chancellor would immediately have dressed and gone to the crown-prince, but his messenger said that the tsarevich was already here under the porte-cochère below, and was only waiting for an invitation, on which he would immediately appear. The vice-chancellor sent an officer respectfully to invite the prince: he himself in the mean time hastened to put on his clothes; and

before he had finished doing that, the tsarevich had entered, attended by the officer and by his own servant.

His first word was a flattering expression of special confidence in the vice-chancellor, and of a wish to speak with him alone. As soon as those present had withdrawn, he spoke with violent agitation, as follows: 'I have come here to ask the emperor, my brother-in-law, to protect me, even to save my life. They are seeking to destroy me; they wish to deprive me, *and my poor children*, of the succession to the throne.' While he uttered these words, he looked around him as if in terror, and ran about the room. The vice-chancellor began to quiet and comfort him, assuring him that here he was in perfect safety; and he asked him what it was that he wished? The tsarevich replied: 'The emperor ought to save my life, and secure my rights to the succession, and *those of my children*. My father wishes to deprive me both of my life and of the crown. I am guilty of no crime against him. I have done nothing against my father. I confess that I am a weak creature; but so I was bred up to be by Menshikoff. My health they purposely ruined by making me drink (lit. by drunkenness). Now my father says that I am not fit either for war or for government; however, I have intellect enough to reign. God gives kingdoms, and assigns heirs to a throne; but they want to tonsure me and to shut me up in a monastery, in order to deprive me of my rights, *and of life*. I do not wish to go into a monastery. The emperor ought to save me.' As he said this, the tsarevich was beside himself with agitation; he fell into a chair, and cried, 'Conduct me to the emperor!' Then he asked for some beer; but as there was none, he took a glass of Moselle wine.

The vice-chancellor tried to tranquillise him, and said that here he was perfectly safe; but access to the emperor at all times was difficult, and then, on account of the lateness of the hour, it was quite impossible; and the tsarevich must first disclose all the truth, without any reticence or concealment, in order that so grave and so affecting a case as this of his might be laid before his majesty the emperor in the most authentic form: 'for here,' the vice-chancellor said, 'nothing like this has ever been heard by us; and it is difficult to credit such conduct on the part of a father, especially of a sovereign of such understanding as his majesty the tsar.'

The tsarevich said: 'I am not guilty of anything against my father: I have always been obedient to him: I never meddled with anything: I became weak-spirited from persecutions and deadly drunkenness. However, my father was good towards me: but *from the time that my wife had children*,[14] all became worse; especially when the new tsaritsa, whom he had proclaimed, showed herself, after she also had borne a son. She and Menshikoff continually excited my father against me; both of them are full of malice: they regard neither God nor conscience.' Then he repeated afresh that he had done nothing to his father, nor had offended in anything against him; he loved and honoured him as is enjoined by the ten commandments; but he could not consent to be tonsured, and to deprive his poor children of their right: but the tsaritsa and Menshikoff were seeking either to tonsure him or to destroy him.

When the tsarevich had become somewhat calmer, the vice-chancellor, in order to obtain a more thorough knowledge of the matter, questioned him about different particulars. The tsarevich related all the history of his life, confessing that he had never had any taste for war. Some years previously his father had committed to him the administration of the government (viz. in A.D. 1708), and all went on well; the tsar was then content with him. But *from the time that he had children*, and *that his wife died*, and the (present) tsaritsa also bore a son, they had conceived the design of *making him drink*[15] till they killed him; and he never went out of his own apartment. A year before that time his father had forced him to renounce (the succession to) the throne, *and to live as a private person*, or else to be tonsured as a monk; but recently a courier had brought him an order either to go to his father or to shut himself up in a monastery: to do the first was to destroy himself by severe labours and drunkenness; to do the second was to lose both body and soul. Meanwhile they told him that he must beware of his father's anger, and still more of the tsaritsa and Menshikoff,[16] who were seeking to

[14] Not because she had children, but because her presence and connection caused the tsarevich to stand out prominently as a power passively antagonistic to that of his father.

[15] *i.e.* at their banquets.

[16] Soloviеff writes, 'and that the partisans of the tsaritsa and Menshikoff are seeking,' &c.; and he adds, 'out of fear, because my father's health has been breaking.'

get rid of him. He made a pretence of going to his father, and by the advice of good friends went instead to the emperor his brother-in-law, a powerful and magnanimous sovereign, for whom his father had a great respect; it was he, the emperor, alone who could save him. The protection of France or of Sweden he had not sought, because both the one and the other of these two powers were at enmity with his father, whom he did not wish to exasperate. Also, shedding tears as he spoke, he deplored the lot of his children, whom he had left behind him in Russia; and again he desired to see the emperor, to ask him for his life.

'I know,' said the tsarevich, 'that it has been reported to the emperor that I behaved ill to my wife, the sister of the empress. God knows that it was not I, but my father and the tsaritsa, who so behaved to my wife, treating her like a servant, and forcing her to live in a way to which by her education she had not been accustomed. In consequence she was much hurt and offended. Besides that, I and my wife suffered all sorts of want.[17] They behaved especially ill to us from the time that the crown-princess began to have children.' Then he repeated his demand to see the emperor. 'He will not abandon my poor children, nor give up me their father. My father is surrounded by bad people: he is excessively cruel and bloodthirsty: he thinks that he, like God, has a right to the life of a man; he has shed much innocent blood; often he has himself laid his own hand on the unhappy sufferers: besides that, he is indescribably wrathful and vindictive; he spares no man: and if the emperor gives me up to my father, it is all one with killing me. If my father were even to spare me, my stepmother and Menshikoff would never rest till they had either killed me with drink or poisoned me.'

The tsarevich was in such agitation and fear that he insisted absolutely on going to the emperor and the empress. The vice-chancellor again restrained him by representing to him the lateness of the hour, and tried to make him see that in the present state of the matter, considering the high rank of the father and the son, and the strict incognito of the tsarevich, it was best that he should not speak with the emperor himself, but remain in impenetrable secrecy, and leave it to the court of Vienna to give him

[17] This seems to allude to their being stationed on service at Thorn without any provision being made for them, and to the difficulty with which the crown-princess obtained the money due to her.

assistance either openly or secretly; perhaps even some means might be found to reconcile him to his father. The tsarevich, rejecting all hope of reconciliation, with bitter tears asked that he might be received and protected openly at the emperor's court, repeating that the emperor was a great sovereign and his brother-in-law. At last he was persuaded that it was better to keep himself in secret, and wait for an answer from the emperor. After this, with the proper precautions, he returned to his quarters.

On receiving the vice-chancellor's report of what had occurred, the emperor approved his plan of keeping the coming of the tsarevich secret, and immediately ordered a meeting of the secret conference, to consider how it would be best to act in the present case, according to circumstances, not losing sight either of the dignity of the emperor, or of the claims of affinity and of Christian charity. In pursuance of the report of the conference, the vice-chancellor the same day, in the evening, notified to the tsarevich the imperial resolution, that though H.I.M. cannot understand why the tsar's majesty *persecutes* his own son, who is obedient to his father and sovereign, as appears from the words of the tsarevich, all the same, of his imperial sympathy for his wounded feelings and his dangers, he consents, of his magnanimity, and in consideration of his affinity, and of Christian charity, to give him protection, and to exert his influence in mediation with his father. For this he considers it to be the best plan that the tsarevich should keep himself concealed, and not seek, before the matter be definitively arranged, any opportunity of speaking with their imperial majesties; the more so, because the pregnancy of the empress does not allow her to see him.

After a long consideration, the tsarevich agreed to comply with the will of the emperor, entreating him only for one thing, viz. not to give him up to his father, because in that case his destruction would be inevitable. To be reconciled to his father he was quite ready; but to go to him he would not consent for any thing in the world. In that case he would perish, both body and soul. He always had before his eyes the ten commandments, and had never shown disrespect to his father. If he had not more mental capacity than he had, that was from the will of God, and from Menshikoff, who had given him a bad education. Menshikoff always kept him close, gave him no inducements to learn, and from his early youth surrounded him entirely by people of

a bad sort or blockheads. He requested farther that he might not be sent into Bohemia or Hungary, where his speech and religion might betray him, and where it would be easy to seize him.

Nov. 12 o.s., by the emperor's command, for the greater secrecy, the tsarevich was with the utmost privacy transported from Vienna to the small neighbouring town of Weyerburg, whence on the 13th Nov. he wrote a note of thanks to the vice-chancellor and indirectly to the emperor, and acknowledged the receipt of 100 ducats; and there he remained till 26 Nov. o.s., by which time they had prepared an apartment in the castle of Ehrenburg in the Tyrol for his reception.

At the same time he earnestly requested that they would send him secretly and leave with him a Greek priest, to comfort him in his distresses, and for the salvation of his soul. The wish to have with him a priest he had expressed on the first day after his arrival. Later, on the approach of the great festival (of Christmas), he had made a special request for this. In general he observed strictly the fasts and all the rites of his religion, in spite of the representations made to him, that by this he might excite suspicion.

On the 24th Nov. o.s., H.I.M. sent to the tsarevich one of his ministers with instructions: (1) To make out the whole course of the affair, &c.; (2) to ascertain the intention of the tsarevich, and his relation to his father; (3) to learn about his children; (4) to make arrangements for his going to the place appointed for him. Besides that, orders were given to signify to him that to find a Greek priest at present was impossible, especially one who would be content to live with the tsarevich shut up as his circumstances require: otherwise his hiding-place would be discovered; whereas the chief condition of his safety lay in this, that the tsar should not know about him till an opportunity was found for reconciling them.

The tsarevich received this explanation with unusual pleasure, and agreed to all the conditions of the conclusion proposed to him; likewise respecting the priest; provided only that in case of extreme need for himself or any one of those with him, they would not refuse to send him a confessor.

i. On the first point, respecting his renunciation of the throne, and being tonsured to be a monk, he repeated all that has been stated above, and related nearly the same that is stated

in the tsar's manifesto (of the 25th June A.D. 1718), with only this difference, that the tsar and his ministers tried by all means to make the public believe that the tsarevich had *voluntarily* renounced the throne; but he, on the contrary, said positively that he never really *consented* to do this either for himself or *for his children*, and it was only by force and fear that they induced him to subscribe an abdication: he feared to be tonsured by force, to be beaten to death, to be compelled to drink to danger of death, or to be poisoned. He spoke much of the tsar's cruelty and bloodthirstiness. But the anger and hatred of his father towards himself he ascribed to his stepmother, who was *cruel*, bred up with the lowest feelings, and at the same time insatiably ambitious and fond of power; also to Menshikoff, whom he specially accused of having caused his own bad education, his incapacity for work, and all the unhappy consequences which had followed from it. Menshikoff had not disposed him to learn anything, had always alienated him from his father, had treated him like a prisoner or a dog, and had even scolded him in presence of other people with foul words. So it continued to be till A.D. 1709, or *to the marriage* of the tsarevich.

From that time things went on a little better, especially in the absence of Menshikoff, while he was laying waste Poland. During all *that*[b] *time* the tsar named him, the tsarevich, president of the privy council and of the government, sent him on military duties to Thorn, into Pomerania, and so far as he knew was quite satisfied with him. But when the tsarevich and his stepmother (early in A.D. 1713) had returned to St. Petersburg, and the crown-princess, on account of the ill-treatment she met with, had gone off, they began to set his father against him, striving by all means to deprive him of consideration and grace. Then the tsar declared that his son was fit for nothing. He ought rather to have said that they committed to him nothing, and that consequently he could not do anything useful, though all that they did commit to him he executed obediently and well. After the return of the crown-princess and her delivery of a child all went on worse, by the management of Menshikoff, who feared that the crown after a time would pass to the line of the tsarevich.

[b] Certainly not *at that* time, but in 1707-1708 or from the last months of 1707; the rank and office given was not indeed revoked in 1709 and 1710, but he was then abroad.

On the day of the funeral of the crown-princess the tsar manifested his malevolence, and wrote to the tsarevich a severe letter; and *on the day after* the tsaritsa had borne him a son he announced to him that he must become a monk and renounce the succession. The tsarevich, compelled by force and fear, consented; but *for his children he never renounced*, and in his heart he committed all to God. In truth God had not given to his brother either health or promise of talents, and so showed that the lords of the world are in his hand.

ii. On the second point he called God to witness that he had never done anything against his father, or his government, contrary to the duty of a son and a subject; he had never thought of exciting the people, though this would not have been difficult for him to do, because the people *loved him*, the tsarevich, *and hated his father* on account of his unworthy tsaritsa, on account of his bad favourites, on account of his abolition of the old good customs, and the introduction of all that was bad: also for this, that his father, not sparing either their blood or their money, was the tyrant and enemy of his own people. On this account there is really danger that his subjects may destroy him, and that God may punish him. Besides this, he related many particulars about the tsar's army; about the ministers and the boyars: adding that many of them, and especially Menshikoff and the body-physician, are the very meanest of flatterers, and bad people, who lead the tsar to do hundreds of bad acts; for a proof of which one may take his fancy about the title of Emperor. The coveting of this title has caused only affronts, and has brought no substantial advantage. And herewith he asked, 'In what position is this question?' They explained to him that by the treaty of Westphalia, and by the public testimony of nearly all Europe, the true and actual dignity of the Russian sovereign has been acknowledged.

Accepting this explanation, he continued to relate about his own case, saying that he committed all to God, who alone reigns over the universe, and by his holy will determines to whom shall belong the thrones of this world. The heart of his father is (*naturally*) *good and just*, if they were to leave him to himself; but he easily flames up with anger, and becomes hardhearted and cruel. However, he wishes no sort of evil to his father; he loves and honours him; only to return to him he *does not wish*,

and he prays the emperor not to give him up, but to save his wretched life; also to spare the innocent blood of his poor children. At this he wept bitterly, and was agitated.

iii. On the third point, about his children, who were left without any disposition made concerning them, he declared that he trusted to God, to the good heart of his father, and to Madame Rohin; also he commended them to the emperor and the empress. And as for himself, he committed himself entirely to the will of H.I.M.; he was ready to go wherever H.M. should bid him, and to live as a prisoner wherever he appointed. Withal he thanked him for the grace and the prudent care shown him; also for the money with which he had been supplied; and for a watchguard, with a chain and seal, which the empress had sent him in token of remembrance.

After the minister had returned, and had made the above report to the emperor, it was determined to conceal the tsarevich for a time, till there should offer an opportunity of reconciling him with his father.

After some days there was sent to him the secretary Keil, to let him know that the emperor renewed his gracious promise of protection and defence, and in pursuance of his wish had appointed for his refuge the hill-fortress of Ehrenberg in the Tyrol. He expressed great satisfaction, said that he was ready to go that minute wherever the emperor pleased, and that the gracious promise of the emperor would be a comfort to him everywhere. Also he requested Keil not to say a word to his people about his distresses, nor of the confinement proposed for him, because all was entirely unknown to them: they had been given to understand indirectly that he had been sent to these parts for the conclusion of a secret treaty between his father and the emperor, and that to avoid suspicion of enemies he intended to remove from Vienna to some distance, only for a while; and he would order his people on pain of his anger to conduct themselves on the road as cautiously as possible, and not to speak in their own language before strangers; else if they came to know the actual state of the case, it would be impossible to come to any agreement with them, and they could not be trusted for anything.

Thus on the 7th Dec. N.S. the tsarevich was sent from Weyerburg to Krems, with peasants' (not post) horses; from Krems he went with a hired courier to Atbach, and thence to Mölk:

from Mölk, with post-horses, by the straight road through Saltzburg (11th Dec. N.S.), to Millbach, which is half an hour distant from the fortress of Ehrenberg. Here he passed the night, under pretence of being unwell: but the secretary Keil had gone on before him to the commandant of the fortress, general Rost, to inform him that there would soon come there a state prisoner: and on the 15th Dec. N.S. he arrived safely with his people at the fortress. They immediately shut the gates of the fortress till farther orders. On the way *his people* abandoned themselves to drunkenness and gluttony, and behaved themselves in a very disorderly manner.

To the commandant of Ehrenberg, general Rost, the emperor sent written instructions. His prisoner was to hold no communication with any people; nor was anything to be known about him. The fortress of Ehrenberg had been chosen as a remote place among the hills, with only a small garrison, &c.

The instructions, under seven heads, were such as suited the purpose of entire secrecy, and the character of a state prisoner, who in other respects was to be treated with kindness: (1) there were to be prepared two rooms for the chief prisoner, and two near them for his servants; (2 and 3) as to food, &c., their own wishes and preferences were to be attended to, and from 250 to 300 gulden were allowed monthly for their maintenance; no one whatever, even of the garrison-soldiers' wives, was to go out of the castle while the prisoners were there; (4) nor was any communication with them allowed; nor were the sentinels to speak of them to anybody; (5) a physician, if needed, was not to see them alone, and he was to be bound to secrecy; (6) the commandant might converse with the prisoner, if desired, might furnish him with books, accept any invitation, play at cards with him, &c., and let him walk for change of air in the rooms of the castle and in the court, but not outside of it; (7) he was to have writing materials, but whatever he wrote was to be sent through the commandant, with the seal unbroken, to prince Eugene, and reports were to be made to him from time to time, but none to the elector of the palatinate, nor to the military administration.

On the third day after his arrival, when the secretary Keil was returning, the tsarevich sent by him two letters, one to the emperor and the other to the vice-chancellor. The latter is

printed by Oustrialoff; and in order to show how the tsarevich *wrote* (as well as spoke) German, it is reproduced here:

'Monsieur, mon tres cher et confidant ami! Ew. Exell. sage ich nochmalen unendlichen dank für alle gutthaten und mühe welche sie sich meinetwegen gegeben, auch dass sie mir geholfen dass ihre Kays. Maj. mich in ihren schutz genommen und so viele gar grossen gnaden gethan haben, und mir noch thuen wollen. Unsere reyss ist, Gott seye ewigen dank, gantz wohl und ohne einzigen anstoss von statten gegangen, es hat der Sekret. auch alles gethan, was möglich ist gewesen, und mir in allem sehr wohl und nützlich gedient. Wie auch wie es mit dem herrn Graffen abgeredet wesen, auf der reyss nachgekommen, ich bin dahier auch sehr wohl zufrieden, wie aber alles beschaffen seyn, wird der Sekret. alles mündlich übergeben. Der herr Graf verbleibe allezeit mein guter freund, zu welchem ich mein gantz vertrauen habe, und erhalte mich bey ihrer Kay. Maj. in beständigen gnaden, seyn dagegen aber versichert, dass so lange ich lebe solche gutthaten nicht vergessen werde, und wann mir Gott einsmahlen helfen wird, will ich es so wohl gegen Ew. Exell. als sein hauss nach alle möglichkeit zu verschulden befliesen seyn, Womit allezeit verbleibe des herrn Grafen's gantz gutwilliger und obliegirter freund so lange ich lebe, *Alexiuss.* Schloss Ehrenberg, 18 Decembris 1716.'

On the 4th Dec. Catherine wrote from Schwerin to Menshikoff: 'Of the tsarevich Alexis we have no news whatever, to let us know where he is; and for this we are not a little troubled.' And again, on the 10th: 'With no small wonder I am obliged to inform your splendour that we have still no news whatever of the tsarevich,' &c. But Peter had already guessed the truth. On the 9th Dec. he sent an order, 'to be kept very secret,' to general Weyde, who commanded the Russian force in Mecklenburg, to make inquiries; and he called to himself to Amsterdam his resident at Vienna, Veselovsky, and gave him, on the 20th Dec., the following autograph order: 'This our order is given to the resident Veselovsky, so soon as he discovers where our son is, to follow him wherever he goes, and immediately to write to us by a special courier, but to keep himself very secret, so that he may know nothing about him.' At the same time he gave Veselovsky an autograph letter for the emperor, as follows:

'Most serene and most mighty Cesar! I am forced with

heartfelt grief to make a communication to your I.M., in friendly and brotherly confidence, respecting a certain matter which has unexpectedly befallen me, viz. respecting my son Alexis; that he—as I think your majesty from your very near connection must be aware—to our extreme dissatisfaction, has always shown himself intractable in the face of our fatherly instruction; also while he had for his wife your near connection, he *lived in a disorderly way*.[19] Some time ago, having received from us an order to come to us, that so he might be withdrawn from his unprofitable way of living, and from the company of people who did him harm, he, without taking with him any one of his servants appointed for him by us, but taking some young people of his own choice, went off from that route (by which he should have come to us), and has hidden himself it is not known where, so that to this time we have not been able to learn where he is. And since we suppose that he was led to form such a perverse design by the counsel of some other people, we are *paternally distressed for him*, lest by this his disorderly conduct he bring upon himself irrevocable destruction, and especially lest he fall by any chance into the hands of our enemies.

'We have for these reasons given a commission to our resident at the court of your majesty, Veselovsky, to seek him out, and to bring him to us.

'Therefore we request your majesty that if he is found in your dominions, secretly or openly, you will order him to be sent to us in charge of this our resident, adding some officers of your own for their safe conduct, that we may be able to correct him paternally *for his good;* and by thus doing you will lay us under an eternal obligation of service and friendship.'

General Weyde sent to Germany, to discover the tsarevich, two officers with passes, as if to purchase three saddle-horses; one to go to Breslau and thence to Germany, the other through Berlin. In January A.D. 1717 one of these reported that N.N. had been some weeks before at Dantzig, and at Konigsberg, but whither he had gone was not known: the other from Vienna reported that N.N. had passed at Vienna only one night, and what had become of him could not be made out, because he had

[19] In this he followed the example of his father, except that he did not lock his wife up, nor give her titles to a mistress, nor publicly marry a mistress in his wife's lifetime.

not left with post-horses. Veselovsky thought it probable that he had gone to Rome. A third, from Breslau, reported that there had been somebody there in a certain house, who called himself a merchant from the Russian army, nine weeks ago: he had with him two sons and a daughter; and without stopping went on by the road for Vienna: it ought to be *he*.

### A.D. 1717.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

In A.D. 1717 the tsar was ill with his fever till the 2d Feb. On the 3d Jan. he learned that Catherine had been confined at Wesel on the 2d of a son, named Paul, 'another little recruit,' as Peter wrote; but the next day there came news that the child was dead,[29] and that the tsaritsa was extremely weak and ill. It was not till the 3d Feb. that she joined Peter at Amsterdam.

On the 26th Feb. their majesties went in their yacht to Saardam, and dined there with the merchant Kalb. Kalb was a Mennonite, and he took Peter, at his desire, to see their church. Peter then said he should like to hear one of their sermons. Kalb got into the pulpit, thought awhile, and then said: 'Think well, speak well, and act well, according to the word of the Lord. This is all our preaching.' 'I could wish,' observed the tsar, 'that all sermons were equally short, and equally intelligible.' But Peter, in Russia, listened with pleasure to longer sermons than that, if they were in favour of his own civilisation and absolutism.

On the 27th Feb. they went to Utrecht; and on the 28th to a suburban villa of the resident Brandt, named by its owner Petersburg. On the 2d March they returned to Amsterdam, whence on the 6th H.M. sent to Vienna the captain of the guards Roumiantsoff, and three other officers, *to obtain more exact information* about the tsarevich.

On the 7th they went by the canals to the Hague, and lodged there with the envoy Kourakin. On the 16th H.M. sat for his portrait to a painter named Mohr. On the 17th he was at Leyden, and on the 18th returned to the Hague. On the 19th

[29] So Catherine both at the beginning and at the end of her child-bearing bore two sons named Peter and Paul, the rest of her children being all daughters; and of all the eleven children borne by her in fourteen years, all but the daughters Anna and Elizabeth, born in A.D. 1708 and 1709 respectively, died quite young. (See above, p. 1060, and p. 1204.)

they went to Rotterdam, till the 24th, when, leaving the tsaritsa to return to the Hague, the tsar went to Brabant and to France.

He went first to Dort; on the 25th to Zeeland, to Breda; and, after being delayed by a storm, on the 27th he came to Catendyck; on the 28th he was off Flushing, whence on the 29th he went by land to Middleburg, and returned for the night to his yacht. On the 30th he went out from the canal to the sea. On the 31st he came to the Scheldt and to Antwerp, where he was met by two princes of the empire (one of Holstein) and by the notables spiritual and secular; and he visited the convent of the Jesuits, who lodged him in the apartment of their superior.

On the 1st April he went to the Bourse, and to another convent of the Jesuits, where the church is rich in marbles and paintings, and returned to his own quarters, where he entertained the two princes and the burgomaster at dinner. On the 2d he again inspected the Jesuit churches, with their pictures, and went up the belfry (of the cathedral), which is of very fine old architecture, and of great height, viz. 82 Russian sagenes; and after again dining in public, and visiting an engineer to see some new inventions, he went on in his yacht, and entered a canal at the sluices of Kleinvibruck, and thence he was towed by horses, and arrived on the 6th at Brussels. On the 7th he went by land to Holst and Ghent, where Charlemagne is said to have been born. Thence he went on by canal in his yacht, and on the 8th to Bruges and Ostend. On the 9th he returned the same way as far as Neyport, and on the 10th went to Fiorn and to the French frontier at a sluice called Diuzekebruck.

There they took carriages, and in two hours reached Dunkirk, where in the time of Louis XIV. there used to be a good fortress and harbour, but since the last peace they have been dismantled. There H.M. stayed till the 14th (the Russian Palm Sunday), when he went on to Gravelines and to Calais. On the 18th he saw a French giant, a peasant named Nicholas, whom he took into his service; and he stayed at Calais till the 23d, keeping his Easter there. On the 23d he dined at Marquise and slept at Boulogne. On the 24th he slept at Abbeville, and saw the cloth manufactories there, the best in France. On the 26th, at the village of Alvieve, he was met by the Marshal de Tessy with royal carriages and an escort, and at ten o'clock P.M. he came to Paris, to the old palace called the Louvre, and

after remaining there a short time, he went to other quarters, to a house called l'hotel Lesdiguières, with his ministers and his staff, viz. Tolstoy, Kourakin, Dolgorouky, Boutourlin, and the adjutant-general Yagoujinsky.

On the 27th he was visited by the regent, and on the 29th, at six o'clock P.M., by the young king Louis XV. H.M. the tsar met and received him at the foot of the stairs as he alighted from his carriage: and on the stair the marshal Duke de Villeroy, his governor, made a speech in his name. H.M. conversed with the king through the prince Kourakin, and the king through his governor; and after a quarter of an hour they rose, and H.M. reconducted the king to his carriage. On the 30th H.M. was visited by the municipality of Paris, twelve persons, in cherry-coloured velvet mantles; and the same day at five P.M. he returned the king's visit at the Tuileries, where he was received with great state.

On the 1st May H.M. visited the Gobelins, the Theatre of Anatomy, and the Observatory; on the 2d the glass manufactory; on the 3d the king's great picture-gallery, and another gallery containing models of fortifications, the Louvre, the statuary works, and the royal gardens of the Tuileries; on the 4th the Apothek Garden (Jardin des Plantes) and the Anatomical Museum; on the 5th the Hôpital des Invalides; on the 6th Meudon, two hours out from Paris; on the 7th H.M. dined with the French vice-admiral D'Etrées; on the 8th he saw the waxworks of the Anatomical Museum; on the 11th he visited the Duchesse de Berri; on the 12th he visited the regent at St. Cloud, and dined there, and walked in the garden; on the 13th he was at Versailles; on the 14th he was in the gardens of Versailles all day to see the fountains play, and at the Trianon and the Menagerie; on the 15th he was at Marly, and dined there, and the fountains played, and he returned to Versailles; on the 16th (27th N.S.) he went to Paris for a great religious ceremony of the Latin Pentecost; on the 17th he saw the king's cabinet in the Tuileries; on the 18th he sat at home for his portrait to a French artist; on the 20th he went to Fontainbleau, and stayed there with the admiral Count de Toulouse till the 21st; on the 22d he was at Paris; on the 23d went to Trianon; on the 27th he went from Trianon to Marly, and stayed till the 31st, then back to Trianon; 1st June at Versailles, saw the

king's stables, and went to Paris, stopping first at the nunnery where is the queen of England, then at the Mint where the Duc d'Antin presented to him a gold medal of himself; on the 2d he visited the Duc d'Antin.

On the 3d he visited the Academy, where the doctors of the Sorbonne made a representation to him about a union of faith, arguing that this was easy to effect. H.M. replied that this was a grave matter, and not to be effected quickly; farther, that he was versed more in military matters; but if they absolutely wished it, they might write on the subject to the Russian bishops; for this was a grave matter, and required an assembly of the clergy; and he promised them that by his power given from God he would command the Russian bishops to make an answer. And in pursuance of that promise, those doctors, *after the happy return* of H.M. to Petersburg, wrote[21] on that subject to *the Russian bishops;* and H.M. ordered *them* to make an answer. (Copies of which paper and of the answer are appended[22]).

On the 6th H.M. bought elementary books for teaching mathematics; on the 7th he received a visit from the regent, and made his own visit to take leave of the king; on the 8th he received the king's visit.

On the 9th the tsar left Paris, and went to the house of the Marquis de Louvries at Louvries; on the 10th to Nanteuil and to Soissons; on the 11th to Jonchery and Rethel; on the 12th to Mezières and Charleville (held by the Duchesse de Condé under the emperor's protection), and by the Meuse to Laifour; on the 13th to Revin (where he was met by the pastors and the Jesuits), and to Charlemont and Dinant (slept on board); on the 14th to Namur (and again slept on board); on the 15th to Liège, and to the cannon-foundry; on the 16th he returned to Liège, and was entertained there in the castle of the elector of Cologne; on the 17th he went by land to Spa in carriages belonging to the elector; and on the 21st he began to use the waters.

The papal nuncio Bentivoglio, writing from Paris on the 14th June N.S. (3d O.S.), mentions the fact that the doctors of the Sorbonne had (that same day) presented to the tsar a memorial in

[21] Their memoir, signed by nineteen priests, members of the Sorbonne, was dated 15th June and 9th July N.S. (4th and 28th June O.S.).

[22] *i.e.* in the Journal of Peter the Great, from which all this is extracted and abridged.

favour of uniting the Russian Church to *the Holy See*, and that Peter seemed to receive it favourably. Also, after describing his personal appearance and manners, his intelligent curiosity, his special interest in navigation, &c., the writer observes: 'But as regards his manners, he shows still somewhat of the disorderliness of the nation, being much given to pleasures, and to excess in drink: also he has not much idea of generosity (liberality in spending money), and so makes here a less favourable impression, &c. . . . He is perfectly well informed about the affair of the (Papal) Constitution; so the Marquis de Tessy told me; and in speaking of it with him he told him that in his own country also there were some *hot-headed* people, who had wished to start some new propositions in religious matters, but that he had issued an oukaz that no one was to say anything either good or bad on those subjects, under pain of being impaled, and that he had in fact impaled three or four who had dared to contradict him, and so the agitation had ceased.'

The description given in the same despatch of Peter's personal appearance in A.D. 1717 is as follows: 'He is tall, taller than I am, and thinner: his look is proud and soldierlike: his face small in proportion to his body, complexion swarthy, and pallid. He is subject to a kind of spasms which cause him to be continually moving his head, and from time to time making grimaces with his mouth: his hair is nearly black; he wears a moustache which covers the whole of his upper lip, not long and thick like the ressari and the cappelletti, but short and turned upwards: he wears an abbé's wig, which is black, short, and ill-dressed: his clothing could not be plainer than it is, nor more neglected. Such is his personal appearance' (Tourgenieff, *Monumenta Historica*, &c. p. 328).

In July O.S., while Peter was at Spa, the captain Roumiantsoff, having returned from his mission, reported that the tsarevich was then living under the protection of the emperor in the castle of St. Elmo at Naples: and in consequence of this information there were sent thither (with a letter dated the 10th July) the privy-councillor Tolstoy and the same captain Roumiantsoff to obtain the return of his highness.

While the tsar was at Spa, prince Kourakin and general Boutourlin, and the rest of those ministers, &c., whom he had left in Holland, came to him.

The correspondence, M. Semevsky writes, of Peter with Catherine, from A.D. 1717 to A.D. 1723, shows the same relations as before, viz. tender care and thoughtfulness on his side for her, and on both sides expressions of affection, small presents, and jokes. But from January in A.D. 1717 the tsar complained more and more of his failing health, of his *habitual weakness*, and of the gravel: he felt himself becoming an old man. But to please a woman much younger[23] than himself was difficult. And so, with this consciousness, which could not be other than disagreeable, he began to joke more and more frequently about his own appearance and his years. As before, he was invariably uncomfortable, and complained, when separated from her. Thus, in A.D. 1717, he wrote to Catherine from Spa: 'When you bid me make haste and come to you because you are very dull, I believe you; only I trust to the bearer to let you know how it is with me without you. When I have finished drinking the waters, I shall start that same day. God grant that I may see you again happily; that I wish with my whole heart.'

The cooing on the part of the 'heart's friend' was accompanied by presents, and seasoned with the usual jokes. Among the presents there were oranges and lemons, *krepit* (wine), and *plemiannik* (vodka, *i.e.* brandy, or other spirits), with an injunction to drink but little, on account of the bad health of her dear batushka. 'And this is the truth,' Peter replied, 'that in all I do not drink more than five (glasses) a day, and of krepish only one or two: only this is not *always* so; partly because this wine is strong, and partly because it is scarce. I end by repeating that it is very disagreeable that—we do not see one another. God grant that we may meet soon. At the end of this letter we drink one glass to your health.' 'And we,' Catherine replies, 'do not desert Ivashko Khmielnitsky' (Jack Malt), *i.e.* we drink beer to your health. Earlier, in April, when he was in France, she had written to him from Amsterdam, joking him on his complaints of being dull without her, thus: 'However,' she wrote, 'I suspect that your grace is *not quite* so dull as we are; for you can always there in France make it to be a Monday of St.

[23] Semevsky writes 'younger by nearly half his age:' but in Jan. A.D. 1717 Peter was in age between 44 and 45, and Catherine was 32; in the autumn of A.D. 1724, when the notorious partiality of Catherine for Willem Mons and his sister Matrena Balk had at length excited Peter's anger and *jealousy*, Peter was 52 and Catherine 39 years old.

Thomas; but for us here it is difficult to do anything of that kind, because you know yourself what obstinate people they are here.' It is to be noticed that such jokes as this on the side of Catherine, as well as manifestations of pretended jealousy, and the like, began to be very frequently repeated from A.D. 1717. 'Though you have with you, I suspect, a new *laundress*,' she writes in this year, 'the old one does not forget you.' 'My friend,' Peter replies, 'you, I fancy, wrote what you wrote (about the new laundress) by mistake to *me*, because that *is* the case with *Shaphiroff*, but not with *me*: you know yourself that I am not that sort of person; and, besides that, I am old.' Again, in another letter he writes: 'But since, while people are drinking the waters, the doctors forbid them to indulge in amusements of that kind, I have sent away *my mistress* to you.' 'But I rather think,' Catherine answers to this, 'that you sent her away (that mistress of yours) because she was sick, as she is still (and for medical treatment she has gone to the Hague); and I should be very sorry—God forbid that it should be so!—to see the gallant of that mistress return in such bad health as she was in when she came here.'

On the 14th July, his cure being finished, he left Spa and went to Limburg, to the saltpetre works, and to Aix-la-Chapelle, once the imperial capital. On the 15th he visited the hot springs and baths, and saw the château of Charlemagne and the relics, and left, going one verst. On the 16th he saw the hot springs, and went to Maestricht. On the 17th there were 'amusements' on the Meuse. On the 19th he was at Stebenwert, Findlau, and Lostem. On the 20th he passed Degrav and Kenev, Ravenstein and St. Andrew's. On the 21st he went to Gorkum and Borkum, and beyond; on the 22d to Dort and to Amsterdam, where he rejoined Catherine. On the 24th, with the tsaritsa, in two yachts, he went to see the East India fleet, and to Horn. On the 25th he slept on board. On the 26th he went to the East India fleet of sixteen great ships. On the 27th he went on board the Elizabeth, which carries thirty-six guns, and then went to Horn; and on the 28th to Amsterdam.

Peter and Catherine remained at Amsterdam from the 28th July till the 22d of August; and during that time they were often on the Utrecht Canal, and at the villa of the resident Brandt, and at the garden of the prince of Orange at Loo.

A report, written by the baron Cavalchini from Amsterdam after the 20th Aug. o.s., on which day he had seen the tsar and his minister Kourakin, contains the following:

'The tsaritsa, as she is a second wife, and naturally inclined to seek every means of securing the succession to her own sons[24] to the exclusion of the other (who is now, as has been said above,[25] under arrest in the Tyrol), concurs in favouring *foreigners*, and their introduction into the empire, because she hopes to have their support for her sons (or children, 'figli'), and the more so, as the eldest son above-mentioned is of a sufficiently savage (selvaggio) and brutal nature, and *she does not fail to make this public whenever there is an opportunity*. And since this is a circumstance which may be in our favour, &c., I have thought it right not to omit mentioning it; and the more so, that there may be no omission of paying court, in a proper way, to this princess' (*From the Vatican Archives, printed by Tourgenieff*, p. 334).

On the 22d of August the tsar went in his yacht to the canal of Haarlem; on the 23rd, by Haarlem-meer and by canal, he went, towed by horses, to Torgau or Gaude; and on the 24th to Dort. On the 25th the tsar went alone to Berg-op-zom, and returned on the 26th, and visited the mint at Dort. On the 28th he went to Liubosten. On the 29th he was towed by horses to the neighbourhood of Bomel. On the 30th, leaving their suite and baggage at Bomel, they crossed the Meuse to Niemeguen. On the 31st they went by land to Cleves, which belongs to Prussia, and to Wesel of Brandenburg.

Sept. 1 to Schönberg, where they parted with Kourakin, the Narishkins, and the rest, and went to Haltern, where the tsaritsa stayed behind; on the 2d to Linen, Raum, and Lippestadt; on the 3d to Neukirche, Bilfeldt, Erfurtn, and Minden; on the 4th to Olendorf, Ems, Meel, and Behm; on the 5th to Lindenburg, Zell, Albert, and Emersley, and slept at a village two miles short of Magdeburg. On the 6th he was met at Magdeburg by the duke of Mecklenburg and the duchess, and by marshal

[24] *Son*, it should be, figliolo, rather than 'figlioli,' as it stands in the text printed by Tourgenieff.

[25] Above, it had been said, that 'though the tsar is despotic, he might hesitate to use his power (in receiving publicly a Papal envoy) since there are many powerful people who adhere to the party of his son, a man sufficiently determined, and kept *by order of his father* under arrest in the Tyrol.'

Dangalt for the king of Prussia (here he saw in the cathedral the marks of the blood of bishop Otho), and lodged with the duke. On the 7th he went to Ountsighaus and Trigezir and Trem, where count Alexander Golovkin, from Berlin, met him. On the 8th he went to Spandau and to Berlin: there he was twice visited by the king, who after dinner took him to Schönhausen, where they dined in public, and slept. On the 9th he saw the king and queen and their family. On the 10th the tsaritsa came to Schonhausen, and the queen visited her, and there was an assembly. On the 11th the tsar went about, having only Golovkin with him. On the 12th all were at the Kunstkammer. On the 13th there was a great dinner at Schönhausen. On the 14th the tsar went to Trienwold, crossed the Oder, and slept at Little Königsberg; on the 15th he went to Kalbetz, Neugrad, Pino, Sano, Leblin, Domir, and Dantzig, and waited for the tsaritsa two days. On the 21st they went to Stuthof, and by the Vistula in their own galley to near Braunsburg; on the 22d to Braunsburg: there they dined with the bishop, prince Pototsky, and went on to near Königsberg. On the 23d they were rowed to Konigsberg, and to Sham on the Kourshaf; on the 24th they went by the Kourshaf to Memel; on the 25th by land through Courland to Palanga and Prekouli, where the tsaritsa stayed behind; on the 26th to Klein, Ihman, Fromburg, Bliden, &c.; on the 27th H.M. went to Mitau, where he was met by his niece, Anna Ivanovna, and lodged with her. On the 28th he went to Riga; saw there the governor, prince Golitsin, and stayed till the 30th. On the 30th he left; and on the 1st Oct. was at Pernau, and went on to Talik; on the 2d Oct. to Miza-Setkoul, &c.; on the 3d he arrived at Revel, where he was met by admiral count Apraxin and the rest of the guards and the staff, and stayed till the 5th. On the 7th, early, he was at Narva, where the tsaritsa too soon arrived, having come direct from Riga by Dorpat; and they went on to the glass-works at Jabino. On the 8th they went to Svikina-miza and Zailitsi: on the 9th to the sea; and then by a galliot to Kronslot and the island of Kotlin, and they stayed the same evening in the house of the most illustrious prince (Menshikoff); on the 10th to Petersburg.

In July there had come envoys, Norris and Whitworth, from England to Amsterdam; and on the 4th Aug., while the tsar

was at Amsterdam, there was concluded a treaty between the tsar and the kings of France and Prussia for mutual amity, and to accept the mediation of the king of France for a pacification with Sweden. Also in August, when he was in Holland, at Loo, baron Goertz, the minister of Holstein, in a conference with Kourakin, said distinctly that the king of Sweden wished to make peace with the tsar, and if they would give him a pass, he would go and incline the king still more to treat. This was done; and he went by Revel and Finland to Sweden, the tsar professing also to desire a *general* pacification. In September, when the tsar was passing through the territory of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, general Rang, who had gone to the king of Sweden, informed H.M. that the king greatly desired to make peace with him; and instructions for that had been sent by him, Rang, to count Belling and the secretary Reiss at the Hague, and full powers to treat with the ministers of H.M.; and he asked, would H.M. empower Kourakin? Early in September, in the territory of Brandenburg, as he was going to Berlin, he received despatches from Apraxin; and on the 19th and 20th, while he was at Dantzig, a convention was made through Basil Dolgorouky with the citizens there, binding them to cease from all commerce with Sweden, to fit out three frigates to act against the Swedes, and to pay a large contribution. After his arrival at Petersburg a despatch was received from baron Goertz from Lunden, dated the 29th Nov., and addressed to the vice-chancellor baron Shaphiroff, to inform him that the king of Sweden wished plenipotentiaries to be sent to the island of Oland; and in consequence Bruce and Osterman were named.

The tsar, after returning from Amsterdam to Petersburg, from the 12th Oct. attended the meetings of the senate; and on the 15th Dec., after having made a list of *Presidents for all the Colleges*, he left for Moscow (the tsaritsa following him the next day), and arrived there on the 21st.

Peter now did not care to conceal his displeasure against Denmark and England, and allowed his ministers to treat openly with Goertz and Charles XII. for a separate peace, withdrawing his forces from Pomerania (in the spring of A.D. 1718), and leaving only four battalions (at the request of the duke) in Mecklenburg.

The tsar's *mediation* in Poland consisted in this, that the

king Augustus was to retire to Saxony, leaving only a commissary; there were to be no Saxon troops; the royal army, instead of 90,000, was to be limited in Poland to 70,000 men, and in Lithuania to 6000; and the Riech, without the king, was to settle all existing differences: that is, Poland was to be absolutely subject to the tsar. But such was their strong hatred for Augustus, that the Poles assented to all this unanimously! This was called '*The Dumb Diet.*' And the tsar promised hereupon immediately to withdraw his troops from Poland.

A.D. 1717.—*The Son, the Tsarevich.*

The investigations made by Veselovsky to trace the tsarevich were more successful than those of the officers sent by general Weyde. Despatched from Amsterdam with a commission in German to seek out, arrest, and bring back to their country certain gentlemen of rank of the Russian nation, Veselovsky came on the 1st of Jan. A.D. 1717 to Pyritz (the fifth post from Frankfurt on the Oder, on the Dantzig road), and there and at other places he learned that there had passed along that road a Russian officer with his wife and four servants. At Frankfurt (whence he wrote to the tsar, 3d Jan. A.D. 1717) he ascertained that a Russian, entered as lieutenant-colonel *Kokhanorsky*, travelling with his wife, and a lieutenant *Kremenetsky* (the brother of Euphrosyne, who sat opposite to them in the carriage), and one servant (who sat outside behind), had stopped at the Black Eagle, outside the town, and had dined there, on the 29th of October. The innkeeper said that the officer had a black French moustache, which had not long been allowed to grow; the wife was short of stature: after two hours, when they had dined, there came two other servants (who had followed them in a post-car); and after presenting themselves, they went away to another inn. After dining, the party went off by the Breslau road with extra-post horses.

From the fourth post beyond Frankfurt the tsarevich had diverged to Lignitz, and had remained there two days.

At Breslau the Russian lieutenant-general *Kokhansky* had arrived on the 2d Nov. with his wife and two servants, and had lodged at the Golden Goose: they stayed two days, asked the distances to Neiss and Glatz, and went on by those places direct for Prague and Vienna. On the 11th Veselovsky wrote

again from Neous, where the tsarevich had gone off from the direct Vienna road to Prague.

At Prague (17th Jan.) he found that the tsarevich had arrived there on the 8th Nov., and had been five days at the Goldener Berg. Here Veselovsky fell ill, and the doctor ordered him to rest for a fortnight; but his zeal for the tsar's service prevailed, and he went off the next day, and in a week reached Vienna (whence he wrote on the 24th January A.D. 1717).

At Vienna he discovered that the tsarevich had arrived there on the 14th Nov. He had given his name at the gate through the postilion as a *Polish* gentleman *Krementsky*, and had been one day and night at the Schwartzer Adler. While there he bought a coffee-coloured ready-made man's dress for his wife, and she put it on. Their things were all removed by a hired carman to some other place, and the gentleman himself, after paying the bill, went away on foot.

A waiter of the Schwartzer Adler told major Dewitz, whom Veselovsky, as he wrote on the 7th Feb., sent to that hotel, that the Polish officer had seemed to him to be a person of distinction, 'because he paid money with great generosity; and he was like the tsar of Muscovy, whom I saw'—said the waiter—'years ago here at Vienna; *as like as if he had been his son.*' In the evening Veselovsky went to the hotel himself on foot, and the waiter said to him also the same thing.

Some miles from Vienna Veselovsky had been told by a postmaster that the Russian officer had asked about the distance to *Rome*, and the expense of travelling thither. But on neither of the two roads leading from Vienna in that direction could he discover any traces.

'At length on the 20th Feb.'—so on the 21st he wrote to the tsar—'the referendary of the Secret Conference, Dolberg, told me in confidence that the emperor knew all about the disappearance of the tsarevich, and that Kokhansky was living in the imperial dominions *incognito*, only he had not as yet appeared before the emperor. I pressed him to tell me in what house he was, and he promised: he promised too to tell me as soon as ever he is received, whether openly or secretly, by the emperor.' Then there is a P.S.: 'The referendary (21st Feb.) has just been to me again, and he says that Kokhansky is certainly here, only they do not know in what house; and that if he does not

appear before the emperor, *it would be possible, with the help of four or five Russian officers, to carry him off* secretly to Mecklenburg, or elsewhere: but if he should have appeared before the emperor, then it would be impossible.'

And on the 10th March Veselovsky wrote again: 'His presence at Vienna was discovered thus: When the postilion had taken all the luggage, as the rule is, to the custom-house, one of the custom-house officers, seeing sable shoubs, asked of one of Kokhansky's servants whether it was not a Russian gentleman? and the man replied that his master was not a gentleman (a cavalier), but the crown-prince of Muscovy. In the evening I heard at an assembly that Kokhansky has gone out of the empire, through Inspruck, to Italy.'

Peter on the 6th March wrote from Amsterdam to Veselovsky: 'Your letter of 21st Feb. we have received, . . . and in accordance with the *advice* of *your friend* whom you name (Dolberg) we are sending to you four of our officers, under a pretext (of something else). Of these, Roumiantsoff has been made acquainted by us with all the secret, and with him alone you are to act and to consult unreservedly: he has orders to do whatever you bid him. And so do your best that that person may *in some way or other* be carried off to Mecklenburg to our army, and in that case you can yourself go with them for greater security. But if that person should have (in the mean time) appeared before the emperor, then deliver to the emperor my letter, and do withal according to the commission (of 20th Dec. A.D. 1716) given you.' But when Peter had learned from Veselovsky's despatch of the 10th March that Kokhansky had gone away out of the emperor's dominions, he wrote on the 21th March from Rotterdam with anger to Veselovsky because he had not acted at once—though that was impossible—with such means as he had already with him, on the hint given by Dolberg.

Jan. 15, the tsarevich wrote to count Schönborn an unsigned note: 'The commandant is an honourable obliging man, and does all he can; but this is a place where everything must be brought from a distance,[26] so all victuals are difficult to get: but with the commandant I am well satisfied. I beg you for God's sake to send me a priest, the sooner the better.' The

[26] Ehrenberg being a lone castle on the top of a hill, and the village-town of Reitena being half a German mile off.

count, having been absent, does not reply till the 16th Feb. He then writes: 'Now there is need of patience for some time yet, and more than before. . . . As news I inform the count that it is beginning to be talked about that the tsarevich has disappeared: some say that he has fled from the ferocity of his father, others that he has been robbed and murdered on the road, but nobody knows for certain where he is. What they write about him from Petersburg I inclose as a matter of curiosity. They advise the dear tsarevich for (their common) good to keep himself very closely concealed, because when his father returns from Amsterdam there will be a severe inquest made about this. If I learn anything more I will communicate it. Our good friend for whom the herr count wants a priest must be advised to have patience, and must be told that this is impossible; but whenever it is possible, I will gladly assist him in that matter. All his good friends salute the herr count, and I remain most heartily his faithful servant' (unsigned).

Inclosed with this, count Schönborn sent a copy or extract from a despatch of Pleyer, dated 11th Jan. A.D. 1717, from Petersburg. In this Pleyer wrote, among other things relating to the disappearance of the tsarevich, that 'when the tsarevna Maria Alexievna returned from the baths, she went to see the children of the tsarevich, and wept, and said: "Poor orphans! you have neither father nor mother: I am sorry for you." And this made a great noise, and there began to be inquiries made of the foreign ministers whether they knew nothing. Nothing is known of him beyond Canig[7] (Konigsberg); and they say that the tsar, when he was about to leave Petersburg, extorted from the crown-prince a written abdication, and no more allowed him to be called crown-prince, but would have the child, his own other son, so called. Some say that he was carried off from near Dantzig, and taken back into Russia to some distant convent; others that, having got notice of the tsar's orders, he made his escape to Hungary or to some other part of your majesty's dominions; and that the cause was that he *in this last summer* had secretly gone to Moscow *and to his mother*. On account of this sending away of the tsarevich (verschickung) the regiments of the guards, which consist chiefly of nobles, with all the rest of the army in Mecklenburg, made a conspiracy to kill the tsar, to put the

[7] Ostrialoff writes Dantzig.

tsaritsa (Catherine) on board a vessel, bring her here, and then take her with her young prince and her princesses to Moscow, and thence to (Souzdal and to) put them in the same convent into which the tsar's former consort had been thrust, and take her out, and commit the government to the rightful crown-prince; but this was by a captain of the grenadiers secretly discovered to the tsar. . . . Many think that so soon as the tsar comes here, the regiments of the guards will agree with the other noble people who are here, and with the grandees of the provinces and the clergy, to call him to account about the tsarevich, and make an insurrection, towards which all things here seem to tend. Great and small alike speak only of the dishonour and oppression inflicted on themselves and their children, who are all forced to become sailors and shipwrights,' &c.

For this communication and the count's letter the tsarevich, on the 12th March, the day after he had received it, wrote his warm thanks, adding: 'And I beg you to make my salutations to the good friends, and to beg him to keep me always in his friendship,' &c.

Meanwhile, on the 17th March, Veselovsky wrote to Peter: 'The referendary (Dolberg) has told me that he suspects that Kremenetsky is in the Tyrol, under the protection of the emperor (in the castle of Ehrenberg); this he guesses from something which he heard prince Eugene say to one of the emperor's ministers; and he has advised me to go myself to the prince and ask him about that, telling him that I have certain information here of its being so; and I shall be able to tell from his reply; but if he pretends not to know, I might go myself secretly by post to the Tyrol and ascertain. I will see the prince as soon as possible.'

And 20th March he writes: 'Yesterday there arrived the captain Roumiantsoff, with three other officers, with your oukaz; but for the commission contained in it it was already too late: Kokhansky had gone away from hence *ten* days before. . . . As soon as I have seen prince Eugene, Roumiantsoff will go alone to the fortress of Ehrenberg, to reconnoitre; and if Kokhansky goes out with only few persons, I with the three other officers will go and execute your oukaz,' &c.

And 24th March: 'Yesterday I was received by prince Eugene. . . . At first he replied that he did not know; and even if

the emperor had allowed him a refuge, this would be only for personal safety, and so not a (political) protection. And he bade me come again in two days, before which time he would ask the emperor. From these words it is clear that they have Kokhansky in their hands. . . . I at once sent off Roumiantsoff to the Tyrol. The referendary has told me that Kokhansky stayed in a house outside the city with count Zinzendorf, and was taken away with his horses.'

Apr. 4: 'I have been to prince Eugene: he said that the emperor had replied that he *had no information* about that, still less of the tsarevich being under his *protection*; unless he might be secretly in his dominions; of that he knew nothing. From this answer one sees that they wish to keep his abode secret. . . . Roumiantsoff has now been gone eleven days!'

Apr. 7: 'Your oukaz from Rotterdam of 21th March I have received with the greatest pain: you are pleased to be angry because what the referendary suggested, &c., was not done at once; and you sent me four officers; but afterwards you received from me another report, that that person had gone away from hence' (and he explains that it was *impossible* for him to do anything). 'As soon as I hear from Roumiantsoff I will act.'

Apr. 10: 'As soon as Roumiantsoff (who had returned on the 7th) had informed me that he had found a certain person in the Tyrol in the castle of Ehrenberg, . . . I obtained the next day[27] a private audience of the emperor, and delivered your autograph letter (of 20th Dec. preceding), and said besides that your majesty would feel strongly when you heard how I had been answered by his ministers, &c., when now I had ascertained for certain through a special courier, *who actually saw him and his people*, that the said certain person is in the castle of Ehrenberg, living at the emperor's charge. . . . The emperor replied . . . that hitherto no report of that had been made to him; and therefore he would inform himself first exactly, and then write an answer to your majesty's letter. I repeated that I had positive information of the fact, and there was no doubt about it. He said that he must have information from (official) reports first, and so he dismissed me. To-morrow I will seek an appointment with prince

[27] 'Obtained,' perhaps; but the delivery of the letter, and so the actual audience, is referred by count Schönborn to 22d-11th Apr. (see p. 588 of Oustrialoff, vol. vi.). [But Schönborn's date must be wrong.]

Eugene, to whom I will speak in strong terms, &c., and engage him to move the emperor to give up a certain person.' Roumiantsoff also wrote to the tsar on the same day his second report: 'Ehrenberg is 78 miles from Vienna, between the road leading to Italy and that leading to Switzerland. . . . Not only he but not even his servants are allowed to go out. None of the people who live there know his name except one general, the commandant, and their idea is that he is a Polish or Hungarian prince. He came thither as far back as January. There is no fortified town there, but simply a castle, kept by one commandant and twenty privates, and no other houses whatever: and so it was impossible for me to remain there; but, after passing quite close to the castle itself, I lived three days in a small place called Reitina, and there too it was not possible to stay on without exciting suspicion, because that general lives in the same small place: and I returned to Vienna on the 7th of this month; and thereupon Veselovsky had an audience of the emperor,' &c.

Apr. 15, Veselovsky writes: 'After my audience of the emperor I advised Roumiantsoff to go back immediately to the Tyrol, and live incognito not far from Ehrenberg, to keep watch, &c.; and if they removed him to follow him and write to me. Meanwhile I have seen the prince Eugene, &c.: he bade me go to Laxenburg to-morrow for the answer. I then went to the V.C. Schönborn and reproached him for having denied that a certain person was in the emperor's dominions, &c.: he replied that he had done this by command of the emperor: otherwise he had no knowledge, and was still in doubt, because the emperor himself yesterday spoke to him of your majesty's autograph letter and of his intention of answering it (but said nothing besides). The day after to-morrow I will go to Laxenburg and try to get a favourable answer through the prince.'

Apr. 19, he writes again: 'Yesterday I went to the prince Eugene, who told me that . . . the emperor in reply had said to him, smiling, that he would himself answer your majesty. . . . I went to the oberkammerherr, and asked through him for a special audience, but the emperor did not grant it. . . . I will try again. To-day the referendary came from Laxenburg and told me that the day after my audience[28] a kammer-courier had been sent to

[28] The referendary may have said, 'Yesterday, after *my* audience;' for really Keil was sent on that very day, 29-18th Apr.

the Tyrol . . . from the cabinet of the emperor himself secretly. He guesses that either they wish to move a certain person to return or to know his intentions. I have heard nothing yet from Roumiantsoff.'[29]

Apr. 21 (the Russian Easter): 'Yesterday I went to Laxenburg and (after some difficulty made at first by the oberkammerherr) obtained a private audience. I asked that a certain person should be given up. The emperor said: "We wish to serve the tsar's majesty in everything that is possible, and we will answer the letter sent to us in a few days, and will send you the answer." I represented that there had now been time enough since the letter was delivered, &c. The emperor, as he turned round, said that an answer should be sent soon, and bade me not disquiet myself. Then I saw the vice-chancellor, who gave me hopes that to-morrow or the day after I should receive the answer. After three or four days the emperor, on account of the empress, whose confinement is expected, will come in hither from Laxenburg.'

Sat. Apr. 27: 'Seeing that it did not come, I went to Laxenburg and applied through count Zinzendorf for the answer. The emperor bade him tell me that, owing to grave business of the war department, he had been unable to write, and he wishes to write at length to each point. But that same evening the referendary told me for certain that the reason for the emperor's not answering was the following: He had overheard a conversation of count Zinzendorf with the ober-hofmarshal prince Schwartzenberg, who said: "Why will H.I.M. enter into such a great quarrel with the tsar? as things are now that may do us no little harm." Zinzendorf to this replied: "I see that you are not rightly informed about this matter. The emperor has no slight reason to favour the crown-prince, because he is in the right as regards his father, and had good reason to make his escape from his father's dominions." [Then follows a story to this effect, that Peter, seeing that his son did not go into a con-

[29] The same day, 19th Apr. (the Russian Good-Friday), the tsar wrote from Calais to Roumiantsoff, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of the 31st March, and bidding him go by all means to the Tyrol or elsewhere, and if a certain person were removed follow him, and not lose sight of him: nothing else now, he supposed, of what he had ordered could be done 'if he is living under the protection of the emperor. *But if it be possible, then execute by all means all the orders as given.*' These last words were added in the tsar's own hand.

vent as he had promised, when he had been forced to renounce the succession soon after the birth of the child Peter Petrovich, called him to Denmark, where, under the pretence of teaching him, he meant to put him on board a ship-of-war, and order its captain to fight a Swedish ship, so that he might be killed, and seemingly he got notice of this from Copenhagen.[30]] "It is true that the emperor, having now received an autograph letter from the tsar, has sent a courier with a letter to him to persuade him to reconcile himself to his father; but he against that letter of his father has written (and sent) by the same courier a long justification of himself, and has begged the emperor for the love of God and the Christian law (of charity) to save him from tortures and death: but of peace with his father he would not so much as hear a word. And the emperor, having authentic written documents in his hands, has compassion upon him; however, in reply to that his letter, he has sent off to him yet another courier with another proposal, and he is now expecting his last resolution." And so, hossoudar, I ask you for an oukaz: what am I to do? am I to make representations with threats to the court here? and will it not please you to write a letter to the emperor in stronger terms?'

May 3: 'To-day I have received from Roumiantsoff two letters: he writes that he was detained some days in Reitena because the commandant, baron Rost, recognised him, and suspected him because he had been there before, and then under another name. Afterwards he (Roumiantsoff) learned that a certain person had just before, while he was there, been taken away by them to Italy, to Mantua, and he meant to follow (going round at a distance from Ehrenberg) and to track them. To me here, in spite of my continual applications, no decision has been given, so that I am not a little grieved at the contemptuous reception of your request and the little consideration shown you, but I do not venture without an order to insist with threats.'

May 14, he asks for orders what to do with the other three officers. . . . 'There has come hither,' he writes, 'the mother of the empress, the duchess Louisa. I visited her, and repeated through her to the emperor my request. Afterwards she said to me that . . . the emperor replied to her in these words: "The crown-prince is *not in our dominions*, and we know not where he

[30] At this Peter has drawn three lines with a red pencil in the margin.

is, but when we know we shall always do all we can for the safety of his person."'

June 2: . . . 'Roumiantsoff has returned from Italy with certain information that a certain person is at Naples, and Roumiantsoff is now going to you. I have made no representation to the court here, fearing lest they should remove him to some other place.' He also refers the tsar to Roumiantsoff's report, and sends by him the emperor's letter.

The emperor's letter was dated May 12 (1st o.s.) from Laxenburg. Besides civilities he wrote only: 'You are not mistaken in this, if you believe for certain that in all occasions I am constantly devoted and most heartily attached to you and to your tsarish house, and therefore I will, so far as in me lies, take all possible care that your dear son Alexis may not fall into the hands of enemies, but may be moved and with filial allowance admonished to hold to your affectionate paternal grace, and ever to walk in the right way which befits his birth and which will conduce to his happiness,' &c.

What had taken place in the mean time on the other side was this: On the 3d of Apr. o.s. count Schönborn wrote to the tsarevich a letter, without address or signature, thus: 'Soon there will be sent the secretary Keil, and he will tell you about all: from the information which Keil will bring you will see that it is necessary for greater security to go with few persons to a greater distance, and to live concealed under the protection of a good friend. For curiosity I add (an extract copied from) what they write from Moscow. Veselovsky strenuously affirms that the tsarevich is in the emperor's dominions, and that the tsar demands his son. He has been told that he is not here. However, all is well. I give assurance of constant friendship. Faithful servant.'

On the 14th[31] (Palm Sunday of the Greeks) the secretary Keil was sent to show to the tsarevich his father's letter, and to ask him what he intended to do? At the same time an order had been sent to the imperial ambassador at London as follows:

'In a most private audience you are to relate to king George I. by word of mouth how the tsarevich has come to Vienna; an occurrence altogether unexpected and disagreeable for the emperor, who would have wished it not to happen: but since to

[31] On Thursday, 29-18th Apr., p. 580.

prevent it was impossible, the emperor, in consideration of his affinity, of sympathy for the unhappy position of the prince, &c., has given the tsarevich protection. Meanwhile the resident Veselovsky in a special audience has presented a letter from his sovereign, and has declared that the tsarevich must be here. The emperor has replied that he will cause inquiry to be made, and will let the tsar know. The letter has been communicated to the tsarevich in order to know on what he decides; to return to his father, or to remain under the protection of the emperor. In the last case he must be taken farther off, to Naples, and he will be kept there with the greatest secrecy. As the answer of the tsarevich is almost certain—he will choose the *last* of the two alternatives—and in the mean time Veselovsky is continually pressing the emperor's ministers, first one and then another, for an answer, and gives out that the tsar will seek and redemand his son armatâ manu, and expecting everything from the character of the tsar, the emperor bids you ask the king of England whether he also would not be ready as elector and as a relative of the house of Brunswick to protect the prince? The count Wolkra is to conduct this negotiation with the greatest secrecy, only with the king himself, and by word of mouth.'

In explanation of this instruction count Schönborn wrote to count Wolkra, Apr. 17 o.s., A.D. 1717: 'You must not let the English court know that we are much afraid of the tsar; also you must be careful lest the English take advantage of our confidence for their own interest, and reveal the whole matter to the tsar to obtain his goodwill. Besides this, you must set before the king the miseranda conditio of the good tsarevich, clara et continua (indicia) paternæ tyrannidis, not without suspicion of poison and of other like Russian favours (galanterien).'

The secretary Keil—so writes count Schönborn—was ordered to show the tsarevich his father's letter in the original and the communication to the court of London in a copy, and to let him know that the emperor left the choice to his own will, either to return to Russia or to remain under the protection of H.M. In the latter case he considered it necessary to remove him to another place at a distance, viz. to Naples. At the same time Keil was to make him understand that he would have to leave at Ehrenberg or altogether dismiss his people, of whom his father made mention with displeasure in his letter, that so the tsar

might be deprived of all pretext for complaint, as if the emperor took under his protection *objectionable* people. This was verbally explained to refer more particularly to the mistress, who could not be taken about with him through Italy; nor could the emperor countenance such a disorderly way of living. Yet they yielded to him on this point; he did not get the priest whom he wanted to prepare him for Easter; but he persisted in retaining his mistress, and the mistress, as we shall see, cost him his life.

The tsarevich heard all that was said to him with the utmost attention; then he read through his father's letter: it struck him violently. Without saying to the secretary a word, he ran about the room, threw his arms about, shed tears, cried out, spoke to himself in his own language; and lastly falling on his knees, and bursting into tears, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he cried out: 'O! I beseech the emperor in the name of God and all the saints to save my life, and not to abandon me, wretched man that I am; otherwise I shall perish! I am ready to go wherever he bids me, and to live as he appoints; only let him not give me up to my unjustly enraged father.' Of his lamentations and intreaties there was no end.

The secretary at last succeeded in calming him by repeated assurances of the protection of the emperor, and in introducing the subject of the journey to Naples. The tsarevich said with joy that he was ready to start that minute, with only one or two servants. His wish could not be accomplished that same day, because the necessary preparations for the journey had not yet been completed, and there had been observed in the neighbourhood suspicious persons with passports from the tsar. The next day (Apr. 21 o.s., being Wednesday in the Russian Easter-week) at 3 o'clock A.M. all was ready, and without regarding the spies, the tsarevich, under the name of an imperial officer, started with the secretary Keil and one servant (Euphrosyne dressed as a page) by way of Inspruck, Mantua, Florence, and Rome (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. p. 87).

The journey was made without any misadventure. Keil wrote (Apr. 27) to count Schönborn from Mantua: 'As far as the city of Trent itself we fell in with suspicious people; however, all is going well. I do all I can to restrain *our company* from frequent and immoderate drunkenness, but *in vain*.' On the

10th of May he wrote again from Naples to announce that they had arrived there safely.

But they had not been cautious enough in the detention of 'suspicious people;' and there were people even at Reitena, as well as at the court at Vienna, who for some vile motive or other volunteered to assist the suspicious people. Some days before the removal of the tsarevich Roumiantsoff, as we have seen, had come a second time to Reitena to keep watch under the assumed name of *Golitsky*. General Rost took his passport (May 1), and ordered that he should be detained without stirring out of his quarters, because he had been there before as a Swedish officer with the name of Lobtsikoff. After six days they set him at liberty, but ordered him to go to Fezen (*i.e.* to Bavaria) and not to Inspruck. In the mean time he *heard* that they had taken away the tsarevich to Italy. From Fezen he made a circuit, so as to go round Inspruck, and followed them all the way to Naples.

Roumiantsoff wrote from Reitena to Veselovsky at the beginning of May N.S.: 'My hossoudar! I arrived safely at Reitten on the 1st of this month of May (*i.e.* Apr. 20 O.S.); only here I have had a misfortune: they took from me my passport, *i.e.* general Rost took it; and I am forbidden to go out till farther orders: they said to me that my passport was not good; when I had come before I had a pass in the name of Lobtsikoff, a Swedish officer. And I told them that the pass was in his name, but I had been before in the Swedish service. Also they asked why I thus came round there a second time. And I am given to understand that they have written to Inspruck, and asked whether they are to set me at liberty or not? And if they detain me, I beg you, my hossoudar, to get me set at liberty in such way as may be possible through *Vikvort*. When I arrived *he* was still here; only now (whether he is here still) I do not know. Two days ago there came here two officers from Vienna, and they are said to have passed on, but I do not know for certain. To-day I was visited by a captain, who conversed much about other matters, and afterwards asked: Had I heard anything at Vienna of a certain person? And I said, No. "Here it is rumoured," he said, "that he is not well with his father." If my comrades move (from Vienna) I beg them to take my portmanteau and clothes with them. Herewith I send you my address. Your servant, my hossoudar, *Golitsky*.' And May 6 (Apr. 25 O.S.) he wrote

again from Fezen: 'To-day they have set me free, only they ordered me to go to Fezen, and forbade me to go on straight to Inspruck. Just as I was leaving one of them, an officer of distinction, said to me secretly that "there came from *you* a polkovnik, and took away *his* things out of that fortress, and carried away both him and also two other persons with him through Inspruck to Italy, to a fortress Mantua, but the rest of his servants are left here; and this was done two days ago." I will go to-day, though it must be in a roundabout way, to Inspruck, and there I will inform myself: and if I make out anything for certain, I will follow them. Write no more till you hear from me. Also I beg you to report the contents of my letter to H.M., as I cannot write to him from hence, &c. Alexander Roumiantsoff. Fezen, May 6, 1717.'

The tsarevich reached Naples between 11 and 12 o'clock on the night of the 6th of May (17th N.S.), and was lodged at the Three Kings. The next morning at 8 A.M. the secretary Keil went to the viceroy count Daun, and the next day at 6 P.M. the tsarevich with his baggage was taken in a hired carriage to the sea, and thence by a covered passage to the palace, where he stayed two days while rooms were preparing for him in the castle of St. Elmo on the height overlooking the city and the bay. There he was to live, with his incurable habit of drunkenness, and with his mistress, in sight of that burning mountain which had renewed among the Gentiles and for Gentile Christendom the warnings of Sodom and Gomorrah.

These two days he employed chiefly in writing letters; two letters of thanks to the emperor and count Schönborn (dated May 20), and three for Russia, viz. one for the bishop of Rostoff Dositheus, one for the bishop of Kroutitz Leonid at Moscow, and one to the senators at Petersburg, all to the same effect, to let them and through them others also know that he was not dead, and to ask them not to believe any reports which might be spread as if he were dead, or as if he had given up his country, nor to abandon him (*i.e.* cease to think of him and to pray for him). These letters he entrusted to the secretary Keil when he left, and he reached Vienna with them on the 12th of June N.S. (the 1st O.S.; Roumiantsoff also arriving at the same time or a little before him). The tsarevich sent also to the emperor a verbal message repeating that he was guiltless of any fault

against his father, and was desirous of regaining his good graces; and begging the emperor not to believe any calumnies of enemies—especially that of his having lived on bad terms with his wife; he called God to witness that he had never had the least quarrel or disagreement with her, while all the world knew that his father had behaved to her in the same way as to himself the tsarevich, always contemptuously; in public companies he *never spoke to them;* and he *set above her the wives of his ministers.* She was so hurt, that it often made her ill, and as she said herself before her end, *such*[31] mortifications shortened her life. In conclusion, when Keil was on the point of taking his last leave, he entrusted to him his letters for Russia, telling him their purport, that the vice-chancellor Schönborn might forward them to Moscow (to Petersburg) to the imperial resident Pleyer, or some other trusty person. The imperial government, however, on consideration thought it best not to forward them, and they remained with the seals unbroken at Vienna, where two out of the three are still preserved. These are printed by Oustrialoff, and as the charge of treason on which the tsarevich was afterwards condemned to death was based partly on these letters, their wording is of importance. That to the senators is as follows:

'Most excellent gentlemen senators! Both you and, as I suppose, all the people are not without anxiety on account of my absence from Russia, and because the place of my abode has been hitherto unknown. I was compelled thus to absent myself from my most dear country by no other cause but only by the perpetual ill-treatment and irregularity to which as you know I was subjected without any crime of mine; and especially because at the beginning of the past year they had all but forced me to put on the dress of a monk without any offence of mine (as you all know). But the all-merciful Lord, by the prayers of our Lady (the consolatress of all the afflicted) and of all the saints, delivered me from this, and gave me an opportunity of escaping by absenting myself from my dear country (which but for this occurrence I should never have wished to leave); and now I am safe and well

[31] As if the mistress whom he was now forcing the emperor and empress to protect, together with himself, counted nothing towards 'such mortifications!' But really the crown-princess had a fall on the stairs nine weeks before her confinement, and she had suffered from the effects of it ever since.

in the keeping of a certain high person till such time as the Lord, who has preserved me, may ordain that I should return again to my country: in which case (*i.e.* on the death of his father) I pray you not to abandon me unremembered. But I shall always wish well both to you and to my country till my death. *Alexius. May* 8, 1717.' 'P.S. If there should be any reports spread about me (in order to destroy the memory of me among the people), as if I were no longer living, or any other evil report, pray do not believe it. By the protection of God and my benefactor I am alive and well. To that end I also send this letter to prevent there being any such opinion about me.'

The only differences in the letter to the bishop (Oustrialoff does not say to *which* of the two bishops it is addressed) are these: 'Most reverend vladiko! I suppose that both your holiness and all the people, &c. And I have come in foreign countries into the keeping of a certain great sovereign (who has promised not to abandon me, and in the hour of need to help me); and there I am well off and in health till such time as the Lord may bid me to appear again in Russia: in which case I beg you both in your holy prayers and on other occasions not to abandon me. But if there be any report about me (in order to destroy, &c.) that I am not living, or anything else, pray do not believe it, and keep the people from believing it: for, God preserving me, I am alive, and remain always the well-wisher of your holiness and of all the people. *Alexis.* May 8, 1717.

On the 9th of May o.s. the tsarevich was removed from the palace to the castle of St. Elmo, and there he lived above five months. There he received some letters from his friends, and wrote letters himself. Before returning to Russia he burned all his letters.

On the 7th May Alexis Peter Bestoujeff-Riumine, who was afterwards to be chancellor under the empress Elizabeth, wrote to the tsarevich from London a letter offering his services: 'My father, brother, and all the family of the Bestoujeffs have enjoyed the special grace of your highness: I always thought it a duty to offer you my grateful service, and from my youth I desired nothing so much as to serve you. But circumstances did not permit. They compelled me to enter into foreign service, and this is now the fourth year that I am kammer-yunker to his majesty

the king of England. As soon as I learned for certain that your highness is with H.I.M. your brother-in-law, and I from present circumstances observe that there have come to be *two parties*, and I also imagine that your highness under present circumstances will have none of your (former) servants, and I feel myself worthy and capable of serving you at this time, I have ventured to write to you, and to offer myself to you, my future tsar and hossoudar, for your service. I only wait for a gracious answer, and I will resign my service with the king, and come in person to your highness. I swear by Almighty God that my sole motive is the high regard that I have for your highness.'

This '*traitorous* letter'—writes Oustrialoff, as if it was treason not to share Peter's tastes and views for the future—remained unknown to Peter; and in the last years of his reign Bestoujeff was his resident at Copenhagen. The letter seems not to have been forwarded from Vienna, since it is still in the archives there.

Keil on the 2d of June o.s. reported all to the emperor at Laxenburg, and delivered the letter and the message of the tsarevich: and from that time the emperor to all applications of the tsar's agents answered evasively.

There is a letter of Schönborn to prince Eugene of the 12th of June (1st o.s.), as follows: 'Nos pélérins de Naples sont depuis hier de retour, m'ayant apporté la cy-jointe pour votre altesse, apres avoir bien et heureusement executés les ordres de S.M.I. et porté le tout a une entière sûreté. Si les grandes occupations, les quelles Dieu veuille benir, le permettoient, et si elle le veut, j'enverrai mon secretaire à lui faire entier rapport, qui est assurement en forme et matière aussi curieux et en plusieurs circonstances aussi drol et aussi *digne de visées*,[32] qu'une chose puisse être. Notre petit page entre autre est enfin *avoué* femelle, mais sans hymenée, apparemment aussi sans hymen, parce que declarée pour maitresse, et *necessaire à la santé*. Le Tyrol s'est trouvé parsemé de plusieurs gens de la nation en question et pourvus de passeports de fraiche date de leur maitre sous noms empruntés d'officiers Polonais,' &c.

The emperor's ministers must have been no little astonished

[32] So writes the jesting diplomat: but it was no laughing matter; it was a most horrible tragedy; and that which is here treated as a joke was to be the turning-point of the whole.

when the privy councillor Tolstoy came to Vienna with another autograph letter from the tsar to demand that his son should be given up from Naples.

At Spa, 1st July, Peter gave to Peter Andr. Tolstoy and Alexander Roumiantsoff an Instruction under seven heads:

1. To recapitulate in a private audience to the emperor all that had been ascertained through Roumiantsoff, and to complain of the evasive terms of the emperor's answer to the tsar's letter, and of his unfriendly conduct.

2. If the emperor dissembles, they are to declare that we see that he has some hostile intention against us, and against that we shall be forced to take our own measures. If they get no distinct answer, they are to report of this, without leaving Vienna.

3. If he says that he cannot give up the tsarevich against his will, and objects excuses and fears, then they are to represent that we cannot but feel offended at his seeking to make himself a judge between me and my son: with us, even among subjects, that is contrary to our customs: the son must in all things obey his father: but we, as an independent sovereign, are in nothing subject to the emperor, and he has no business to meddle with the matter, but he ought to send him back to us: and we, as a father and sovereign, according to the duty of a parent, *will receive him again graciously*, and *will pardon* this his criminal conduct, and will *teach him*, quitting his former unprofitable courses, to enter upon the path of *virtue*, and to *follow up our designs*: so he may regain our paternal heart. Hereby H.I.M. will be showing kindness to him also, and will deserve a reward *from God*, and from us gratitude. And even from our son himself he will rather for that gain eternal gratitude, than for this, that at present he is kept by him (in the castle of St. Elmo) *as some slave or criminal*,[33] under strict guard, under the name of some rebel.

4. If he speaks of any complaints of my son, as if there had been some compulsion used by us, you are to make answer, but especially to insist on that letter which I wrote to him from Copenhagen, and to ask if the emperor has seen it? and if he has not, ask him to take it, and consider it himself: from it he

[33] He snarls angrily at the sight of the iron bars which keep him from his victim.

will *clearly* see that there was *no* compulsion: if I had desired to act by compulsion, why should I have so written? I might have done what I pleased by force, without writing. But since we wished that he should follow our steps, and learn both military and political matters, while he had no inclination for that, but was only capable of keeping company with *bad* people, we for this cause strove by all means to bring him into the path of *virtue*. But he, setting himself against this, and perhaps being also instigated by somebody else to his own destruction, took up that his bad design. I think that the emperor and the empress know how he behaved to the empress's sister, his wife, and from that they can form an opinion about his conduct in other respects. Lastly, they are to endeavour by all means that the emperor should send him back with them to us, and to use for that end both fair speeches and threats, according to the state of the case. But if they absolutely refuse, then they are to seek, as a last resource, to be allowed to have access to our son; making known that they have a communication to make from us to him, both written and verbal, of such proposals as they think will be acceptable to him, so that he would himself desire it, and would ask H.I.M. to let him go to us.

5. If they cannot get access to the tsarevich, they are to protest in our name, and declare that we take this as an open breach, and . . . will seek to avenge ourselves. They are to seek from him also by memorials a distinct answer in writing, why he does this? However, they are not, without first communicating with us, and receiving an order to that effect from us, to leave Vienna.

6. If the emperor allows them to see our son, they are to go to the place where he is, and deliver to him our letter, and say orally according to their instructions: also they are to set forth what dishonour, wrong, and grief he has by this his proceeding brought upon us, and upon himself misery and deadly calamity: to say that he has done this gratuitously, without any sort of cause: that we had inflicted on him no ill-treatment; we had left *all* to his *own will*; and had never compelled him to anything, *except* that which was needful for his own advantage: let him consider what he has done, and how he would like passing all his life in such foreign exile and confinement? And therefore he would do well to listen to our fatherly admonition, and to return to us:

and we *will forgive him* that misconduct, and receive him back to our favour, and we *promise* to maintain him in a fatherly way, in all *freedom* and abundance, *without any anger* or *constraint*. If he is inclined to (accept) this, then they are to desire him to make known by a letter to the emperor this his disposition, and to ask to be let go to us, and also to make known that his intention to his keepers. Having obtained such a letter, they are to go to the emperor, and make application for his dismissal unremittingly, and endeavour to bring him with them to us.

7. But if he is quite fixed not to yield, then they are to let him know that *we* for such disobedience deliver him over to our paternal curse, *and to the curse of the Church*, and will publish to all our empire that his disobedience. Let him consider what will be his life after that? Let him not think that he will be in security: unless he wishes to be for ever in confinement under strict guard, and so to merit torment for his soul in the world to come, and for his body in this world. We will not cease to seek out all means to punish his disobedience: we will even by armed force compel the emperor to give him up. Let him consider what is to be the consequence of that? If all that does not move him, they are to ask him to declare his intentions, that they may report them to us. And of that they are to write to us, and to wait for our order.

Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff—as two bloodhounds—arrived at Vienna on the 26th July; and on the third day, together with Veselovsky, they were received by the emperor in a private audience. They presented an autograph letter, dated 10th July from Spa, in which Peter wrote in substance: 'Your letter of 12th May I duly received, in which you promise not to let my son fall into the hands of enemies, and to move him to follow our will and admonition.' For that I thank you. But I must add that I was greatly surprised that you wrote not a word of his being in your dominions, or why he was kept under strict guard secretly, and not on my request sent back to me, nor gave any explanation to our envoy Veselovsky, though we had certain information that our son, &c.; for we had in both those places (Ehrenberg and St. Elmo) our captain of the guards Roumiantsoff, who is an eye-witness of what was done. You may yourself judge how we as a father must feel to have our eldest son, after showing such disobedience to us, and going off without our per-

mission, detained by another under protection or imprisonment—we cannot tell exactly which—and we desire an explanation of that from your majesty.

'And for this cause we send to your majesty, to declare this, our privy councillor of the College of Foreign Affairs, Peter Tolstoy, whom we have ordered to make representation in full to your majesty in a private audience; and also to see our son, and to make known to him, by a letter and by word of mouth, our will and paternal admonition; and to ask you that the same our son may be forthwith sent off to us with him. And with him, the privy councillor, we send also, for better assurance, the aforenamed captain of the guards Roumiantsoff, who was an eye-witness of the way in which our son was carried away from the fortress in the Tyrol and conveyed to Naples.

'And we are confident that your I.M. cannot refuse us that our demand: for you have no reason nor right to do so; since by natural right, more especially (by the law and custom) of our empire, no one, even in the case of private men and subjects, can judge between a father and a son, to say nothing of a full and entirely independent sovereign. I trust that your I.M. will act by us as you in like case would wish us to act by you. Farther, we refer you to the oral representations of our privy councillor, to whom we beg you to give entire credence; and we hope that he, to our perfect satisfaction, may not only receive a resolution from your majesty, but also that our son may be sent back with him to us. In expectation of this, and of such your final resolution, that we may be able to take our measures, we remain your Imperial Majesty's good brother, Peter.'

Delivering the letter, Tolstoy spoke in the sense of his instructions, in courteous terms. The emperor also spoke courteously, and said that when he had read and considered the letter, he would give an answer to satisfy the tsar.

The next day, 30th July, Tolstoy visited the duchess of Wolfenbuttel, the mother of the empress and of the deceased crown-princess. She received him graciously, and spoke of the tsarevich as if she did not know where he was. Tolstoy said that nearly all Europe knew that he was kept under strict guard in the castle of St. Elmo, &c.; and he showed her a German translation of the tsar's letter written to his son to call him to Copenhagen. The duchess was much struck by it, and promised

to do her best to get the matter ended without a quarrel, adding that she was herself interested in this (in the interest of her grandchildren), and it would be a good work to reconcile the tsar with his son. Tolstoy said: 'The only reconciliation possible is this, that the emperor should send the tsarevich back with me to his father. H.M. *forgives* his son, and *receives* him as before *to his fatherly grace*, as *he has written* also *both* in a letter to the emperor and in a letter to the tsarevich. But if he continues disobedient, and will not go with me, H.M. lays upon him his curse.' 'God keep him from that!' the duchess exclaimed; 'the curse will fall also on my grandchildren.' After this she advised him to ask for a private audience of her daughter the empress, and to speak to her in the same sense, but to say nothing to any of the ministers except Zinzendorf.

Tolstoy saw Zinzendorf that same day, and he reported on the 31st July to Peter how he had mentioned to the duchess the tsar's promise to pardon his son, as '*clearly* contained also in both his letters;' and Tolstoy, 'according to his duty as a slave,' volunteered his opinion that Peter should on no account admit *any sort of mediation*[31] between himself and his son: 'God knows,' he wrote, 'what conditions the emperor might propose. Besides, between your majesty and your son what mediation can there be? It would be rather a compulsion than mediation,' &c.

On the 7th Aug. o.s. there was held by order of the emperor a secret conference of three of the ministers, counts Zinzendorf and Shtarenberg, and prince Trautzon, on the tsar's letter. They noticed, 1. Peter's demand of an interview for Tolstoy with his son; 2. His discovery of all that was secret, and his demand of extradition; and 3. The grave words at the end of his letter. And they observed in their report, among other things, 1. that the tsarevich was not treated as a prisoner, but guarded only for safety and at his own request, and otherwise treated as a prince. 'Your majesty,' they wrote, 'may communicate to the tsarevich the tsar's letter; and if on seeing it he does not consent to return, allow Tolstoy to go to Naples and see and speak with him. Thus some time will be gained, and you will see what comes of the tsar's campaign. 2. The tsar might occupy Silesia, or find malcontents ready to join him in Bohemia. 3. It is desirable

[31] Except such as might be obtained by cheating the would-be mediators by a solemn and repeated perjury.

not to lose a moment in taking measures for defence, if needed, and especially to conclude a treaty with England. The emperor approved this report; and the same day Zinzendorf called to him the three Russian envoys, and now without any reticence stated the facts as they had occurred. He said: 'To comply with the demand to send back the tsarevich with you is impossible: it would be necessary to send him against his will; but that would be derogatory to the emperor's power, and contrary to universally acknowledged rights: it would be a sign of *barbarism*. So the emperor means to send a courier to the tsarevich to learn his intentions, and he will move him by a letter from himself to return to his father, and whatever answer he receives, you shall be informed of it.' Tolstoy spoke at length, giving many reasons why the emperor should send back the tsarevich with him to his father; and, in conclusion, he said: 'If a courier is sent, that will only cause confusion: the tsarevich, *not knowing that he receives pardon* for his misconduct *if he returns*, will give no other answer but what he has given before.' Count Zinzendorf replied that on no account will the emperor give up the tsarevich against his will. Then Tolstoy said that he hoped the emperor would not send a courier: the tsarevich, when he heard of Russian plenipotentiaries being at Vienna, would ask the emperor to let him go away out of his dominions; and if he was allowed, the emperor would be showing a manifest sign of ill-will towards the sovereign of Russia. Count Zinzendorf objected that for the emperor to detain the tsarevich in his dominions against his will was impossible; however, he did not think that he had any wish to go away to any other state.

Seeing that there was a decided refusal to send back the tsarevich to his father, Tolstoy said that, without sending a courier, the emperor might allow him to go to Naples, because he had a letter to the tsarevich from his father, and a verbal message, which probably would be agreeable to him. Count Zinzendorf undertook to report this to the emperor, and said: 'If you are allowed to go, there will probably be sent with you some person of distinction, to help you at Naples.'

While waiting for the decision, which was delayed by news of a victory in Hungary, Tolstoy again visited the duchess of Wolfenbuttel, who seemed to be very anxious that the matter should end according to the wish of the tsar, and advised Tolstoy

to go to Naples, promising to write herself to the tsarevich. She also said that the tsar should promise and encourage him to hope that he would let him live wherever he pleased, in some provincial town, or on his own estate. 'I know the nature of the tsarevich,' she said: 'it is of no use for his father to trouble himself and try to force him to attend to military matters: he had rather have in his hands a string of beads than a pistol: only I am very sadly afraid lest the anger of the tsar should extend to my grandson.'

On the 10th Aug. the emperor wrote to the viceroy of Naples, count Daun, to the same effect as if he had said: 'All being now known, I cannot refuse to let Tolstoy see the tsarevich: he will leave Vienna in five days: receive him courteously, as an envoy plenipotentiary; and on his demand appoint a time and place for an interview with the tsarevich. In the mean time communicate to the tsarevich the tsar's letter (the Russian original) to me, and let him know that Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff are coming with a letter to him, and with a verbal communication: you can say that Tolstoy says here (at Vienna) that the tsar not only consents to pardon him, but will let him live where he pleases, of which, you may say, *I will be his surety*. Also suggest to him in confidence that his father's anger is increased by his having with him a woman disguised as a page, and if she were parted with there might be at once a reconciliation.

'If he consents to see Tolstoy, wait for the result. If he does not consent, let him know that it is my will that he should see him; but that in no case will I withdraw from him my protection, nor give him up against his own will.

'It would be well to ascertain his mind before he has spoken with his disguised mistress, that she may not dissuade him. At the interview either you yourself or some person of distinction chosen by you must be present, and the courier who is sent with this: he is sent on purpose, as knowing Russian perfectly, and as being very intelligent: he will report to you, and will write down all that passes in their own language between Tolstoy and the tsarevich, Tolstoy's proposals and the tsarevich's answers, and you will report all exactly to me. In what place it is to be I leave to you, as, for instance, in the castle, or in the karthaus near it, or, for better appearance, in my own palace.

'Farther, take notice, 1. That there is absolutely to be an inter-

view: 2. If, to avoid it, the tsarevich wishes to leave Naples, he must not be suffered to do so: 3. Give him notice some hours before: 4. Yourself, or some other person chosen by you, and the courier must be present: 5. So it must be, that none of the Muscovites (desperate people, and capable of anything) may fall on him, or lay hands on him, though I do not expect that.

'Of three possible results: 1. If he consents to go *unconditionally*, let them go, and give them a confidential courier to escort them while in my dominions. 2. If he consents, but with certain conditions and precautions, desire him to write the conditions he wishes to make, and report them to me; and meantime Tolstoy may stay on at Naples.' 3. If he refuses, *do not* on that account break off the matter definitively, but tell Tolstoy that you will report to me; tell him to have patience till my resolution comes: he can amuse himself with seeing the antiquities, &c.; but watch him carefully, and do not let him send off any couriers.'

Count Daun replied on the 24th Aug. o.s., before Tolstoy had yet arrived, that he had done all as directed; but he added, as information, that previously 'the tsarevich, in conversing with my secretary Weingardt, whom I sometimes send to him to know if he wants anything, once declared to him that in no case would he of his own will return to his own country, where he foresees for himself nothing good. Whatever assurances his father might make, the tsarevich, *knowing him*, does not trust them: *the tsar does not hold himself bound by any word (or pledge) whatsoever.* Also he said: "If the displeasure of my father is on account of the woman who is with me, then"—so he objected—"why does he not demand that *she* should be sent away, instead of stretching out his hands only against me?" From these passages of conversations it is plain that *it will be difficult to move him to return voluntarily.*'[35] And he asks: 'Now that the tsarevich is known, how am I to treat him? Hitherto he has been treated as if he were a state prisoner' (*staatsgefangene*), &c.

Aug. 12, count Zinzendorf, after a preamble, told Tolstoy, from the emperor (so they wrote to the tsar on the 21st), that for him 'to give up the tsarevich—as he trusted your majesty must yourself acknowledge—contrary to universal rights, was impossible: but of his friendship for your majesty he allowed us to go

[35] Which was now desired by the imperial government; and no doubt count Daun had received some other letter, besides that of the emperor, to this effect.

to Naples, and to see the tsarevich, and to try to persuade him to return: the emperor would not write from himself to him about that, wishing to remain neutral: he has directed an order to be sent to the viceroy count Daun, but he will not send any one from hence as from himself with you, as he trusts you; and there is no need.'

After they had wasted many words by reiterating the tsar's demand of extradition, of which count Zinzendorf now would not so much as hear, there was nothing to be done but to go to Naples.

'On the 13th the duchess of Wolfenbuttel sent to Veselovsky to come to her, and asked if we were content; and if we meant to leave without first coming to see her? So on the 16th I (Tolstoy) went to her, the duchess, and she said: "The emperor wishes not to meddle, but leaves all to the will of the tsar and his son; but for the sake of the tsar's friendship he will do *all*[30] that is not derogatory to his own honour and power." Then I asked her to write to a certain person, to recommend him in good terms to return, and she promised to do so. And withal, hossoudar, she repeated the question: Might she assure him that your majesty will allow him to live where he pleases? And I said that if he goes obediently to your majesty, *I am confident* that your majesty will make no difficulty about that, but will allow him to choose for himself some place of residence, such as may be suitable. And she promised to write a letter, and to show it to me.'

On the 17th count Zinzendorf sent to Tolstoy a sealed order for the viceroy of Naples (dated 25th Aug., 14th o.s.), directing him to admit Tolstoy, with one or two other persons of his choice, to see the tsarevich, &c. A copy of the order was sent with it, which by no means satisfied Tolstoy, as it neither directed the viceroy to *move* the tsarevich to return, nor to let him go at once if he consented: he went to Zinzendorf to urge that these points should be inserted: but he was assured that this was superfluous, as the viceroy already had orders to try to persuade that person to return; and if he consented, he would not detain him nor write about it for an answer, since the emperor has no sort of advantage, but rather trouble and embarrassment, from having that person in his dominions. And he, Zinzendorf, has written also himself to the viceroy, asking him in a friendly way, and giving

[30] And his servants did for him a little *more* than *that*.

him clear reasons, *to the effect, that it is for him to move that person to return.*

'After this'—Tolstoy writes—'we had an audience of the emperor, and thanked him for his openness, &c. He replied that he hoped the tsarevich might be persuaded by them to return, and that your majesty will pardon him. And when I encouraged him in this hope, he said again: "I shall be very glad to hear that he has returned, and has been pardoned," &c. Also we had an audience of the empress, and she spoke in the same sense. And afterwards we went to the duchess of Wolfenbuttel, who enlarged on her own zeal, &c., and gave us her letter (dated 20th Aug. o.s.) for a certain person, advising him to return: she also commended her grandchildren to your grace. And so we start for Naples to-day,' &c.

The duchess wrote that she 'desired the reconciliation of the tsarevich with his father, but did not seek to persuade him or to dissuade him, one way or the other: she prayed God to enlighten him to choose for himself what was best, and to *put to shame his enemies*.'[37]

Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff were five weeks (owing to continual rains) on the road, and reached Naples only on the 24th Sept., and saw the viceroy the next day. He, making a merit of the emperor's orders that they should be admitted to see the tsarevich, even though he were unwilling, and expecting him to be unwilling, promised to bring the tsarevich down from the castle to the *palace* on the 26th, and to admit them to see him there. And so it was done; and Tolstoy delivered to him the letter of his father, dated 10th July from Spa: 'My son!' Peter wrote, 'since all know what disobedience and disregard you have shown to my will, and neither by words nor by *correction* have you been moved to follow my instruction; and now at last, deceiving me, and after swearing by God at parting with me, you have—done what? You have gone off, and given yourself up, like a traitor, to be under foreign protection! a thing unheard of not only among our children, but among our subjects of any note. And hereby what wrong and grievous outrage have you not done to your father, and what shame to your country!

'Therefore I send to you now this my last admonition to do according to my will, of which hospodins Tolstoy and Roumi-

[37] *i.e.* no doubt, by *living a respectable life.*

antsoff will speak, and make proposals to you. But if so be that you are afraid of me, I encourage you (not to fear), and I promise by God and his future judgment that no sort of punishment shall be inflicted on you; but I will show you more (lit. better or best) affection, if you obey my will and return. But if so be you will not do this, then as your father, by the power given me of God, I will curse you for ever, and as your sovereign I will declare you a traitor; and I will not fail to use all possible means to punish you as a traitor and outrageous rebel against your father, in which God will help me, as my cause is just.

'Also remember that I did all to you not by compulsory violence: for if I had chosen, what need had I to leave anything to your will? What I willed I should have done.'

'We delivered also'—so Tolstoy wrote in his report of 1st Oct. to the tsar—'the letter of his mother-in-law, and spoke to him according to our instructions, using both good words and threats. But since we found him, hossoudar, in great terror, of which if we were to write a full report, it would take much time and paper: in brief, hossoudar, he was under the impression that we were sent to kill him: and he was specially afraid of the captain Roumiantsoff, as was told us by the viceroy: on that account he made us at the time no answer, except this, that he had gone away, &c., from fear of your anger, as if your majesty, choosing to deprive him of the succession, meant to force him to become a monk: but of returning, he said: "At this moment I cannot say anything about that, because it is necessary to think much about it." And he promised to see us again on the 28th in the house of the viceroy. And (at this second interview) he told us that he was afraid to return to your majesty, because, he said, "to appear soon before one who is exasperated is not safe: and for what reason I dare not now return I will explain in writing to my protector." On hearing this, we spoke to him, threatening him severely. And when he heard from us that your majesty would seek to take him by force of arms, he hesitated somewhat, and taking the viceroy out into another room, he spoke with him for some time apart. Eventually he said that we must give him still time for farther reflection: "Perhaps," he said, "I will write an answer" (*i.e.* to your majesty's letter), "and then I will give my final answer."

'Yesterday (*i.e.* 30th Sept. o.s.) the viceroy sent to us his

secretary, who was sent to the tsarevich to do all he could to persuade him to go at once to your majesty, and he promised yesterday to see us again in the house of the viceroy; but he did not come; why, we know not. But so far as we can judge from the words reported above, he is only by these repeated conversations wasting time, and does not mean to go to your majesty: we do not expect him to go without absolute compulsion.

'The viceroy is very earnest that he should go, and has told us in confidence that he has received from the emperor an autograph letter, *bidding him do all that he can to persuade him:* and as a last measure (to desire) that *wherever he went*, he should at any rate *go without delay out of his dominions:*[38] and he showed us your majesty's letter (the original letter itself), which *the emperor had sent* to him *to show to the tsarevich* for two reasons: first, *because in it pardon was promised for him;* and, secondly, because at the end your majesty desired to have from the emperor a final (speedy) answer, "*in order that you might take your measures.*" We make bold to suggest that perhaps your majesty might write again to the emperor in flattering terms, &c. So far as we can collect, the emperor is not without fear that this affair may produce hostility.

. . . 'Between the tsarevich and the viceroy the only medium of communication used is the secretary, *with whom we have already established a friendship;* and we (only as yet in general terms), though without instructions for that, have promised him a reward if he will say to the tsarevich, as if in confidence, that he had better not trust too much in the protection of the emperor, because the emperor will not defend him by force of arms, and cannot under present circumstances, because the war with the Turks is not ended, and another war is beginning with the Spaniards. And this the secretary has promised us to do.

'We trust to see your son again this evening, and will report of that by the next post, &c. P.S. Just now the viceroy has sent his secretary to tell us that yesterday your son was unwell with a headache, and that was the cause of his not coming to him: however, we may go this evening at 4 P.M. to the castle in which he is, and the viceroy has sent thither general baron Wedel (Wenzel).'

By the same post Tolstoy wrote also to Veselovsky, among

[38] To be hunted by the two bloodhounds?

other things: 'Unless our *child* despairs of the protection under which he is, he will never think of going: for this reason your grace must do (at Vienna) all you can in all quarters to get *them* to signify to him clearly *that they will not defend him by arms:* for it is on that that he rests all his hope. We have reason to thank the zeal of the viceroy here in our behalf; but he cannot break down his fixed obstinacy. I am thinking of sending off to-morrow a special courier, and if I succeed I will write to you. At present I cannot write more, because I am going to our *game*,[39] and the post is leaving.'

On the 3d Oct. they wrote again: 'The tsarevich has this day declared to us that it is his intention to obey your majesty's order, and to go to you to Petersburg with us, without gainsaying; and of this he has written a letter to your majesty, which he has given us open, and of which we inclose a copy. . . . How this has been effected there is no time to write now, as the viceroy's secretary, who will also take this to Veselovsky, is now leaving for Vienna. . . . We hope to leave Naples on the 6th or 7th. . . . However, the tsarevich wishes first to go to Bari, to see the relics of St. Nicholas, and we will go with him thither, and then return to Naples, Rome,' &c. And on a separate slip he advises the tsar to keep all secret for a time, 'lest any one, to whom it is disagreeable that the tsarevich should return, should write to frighten and deter him.'

And there is another more detailed report written by Tolstoy, to one of the tsar's ministers, probably—Oustrialoff says—to Shaphiroff, to be read to the tsar. From this we extract the following:

'The source of this happy success is the imperial ministers, the Spaniards, of whom I wrote from Vienna, inasmuch as they brought the emperor to write an autograph letter to the viceroy of Naples, to endeavour by all means to induce the tsarevich to return to his father. But he at first would not so much as hear of this. And of this the viceroy told me frankly, and *asked my advice, how to deal with him.*

'I always advised him to show him clearly that the emperor would not defend him by arms, because he has no *reason* for doing so: and though he in conversation constantly repeats that the emperor has promised him his protection, and trusts greatly in

[39] lit. wild animal, such as may be hunted, '*zverin*.'

this, the emperor has already performed his promise, and has protected him till now that the tsar's majesty *has promised him pardon*, and of this he has written *both to the emperor* and *to the tsarevich himself, calling God to witness*, that he will pardon him *for all his offences, if only he* obediently *returns*, and therefore now the emperor is not bound to protect him any longer, because it is clear that he only of his own obstinacy will not go to his father, and so the emperor has no cause to make war, contrary to all justice, with the tsar's majesty, having besides two wars already on his hands; and if it comes to that, the emperor will be obliged, even against his own will, to give the tsarevich up to his father.

'The viceroy said that he could not speak to him so roughly as that; however, so far as it was possible, he would show that he took a proper view of the matter. This I did in order that the viceroy also might be impressed by the apprehension that the tsar's majesty will not fail to seek to retake him even by force of arms.

'Then the viceroy said to me: "I have an idea of alarming him, as if I were going to take away from him the girl whom he keeps with him; and though I cannot really do that without an order, we shall see what will come[10] of it." I recommended him to do this, with the wish that the tsarevich might see from this that the emperor's protection is not to be much reckoned upon by him, and that they act towards him without regard to his own will.

'After this *I instructed the viceroy's secretary*, who is the medium of all communications between them, and who is extremely sharpwitted, that he should say to the tsarevich, as if in confidence, all that I had suggested to the viceroy to say; and I gave the secretary 160 gold ducats, with a promise of a still farther reward hereafter; *and he did it.*

'And when he returned from the tsarevich he brought me a note from him, of which I inclose a copy,[11] asking me to come to him alone; which I did *without delay*. And I pretended to him

[10] We *shall* see indeed. We have already had notices of warnings sent to the tsarevich at p. 1079, 1209, 1217, and 1238.

[11] (*Copy.*) 'Peter Andreyevich! If it is possible, come to me to-day alone, and *bring the letter of which you spoke yesterday* as received by you from the hossoudar my batushka; for I have great need to speak with you, and it will not be without advantage. 2d Oct. A.D. 1717.'

that I had received an autograph letter from his majesty [as if the tsar intended to occupy *Silesia*, and to come himself almost immediately into Italy, making as if he, Tolstoy, felt sorry for the tsarevich, when he thought that it would be impossible to refuse the tsar access to his son]: and this, hossoudar, threw him into such a fright, that he then said to me that he would positively *risk it*, and would go to his father. And he asked me to come to him again the next day, together with the captain Roumiantsoff, saying: "To-morrow I will give you a *definitive* answer."

'Thereupon I went straight to the viceroy, and begged him to send immediately to say to him that he must part with the girl (and this the viceroy did); because I perceived from his words that his greatest fear about going to his father was lest he should take from him that girl. And therefore I asked the viceroy to take the aforesaid step, that he might be assailed from three sides at once—the secretary destroying his trust in the emperor's protection, while I told him that his father was coming soon to Italy, &c., and the viceroy proceeding to separate him from his mistress against his own will—in order thereby to bring him to the conclusion that there was nothing for him to do but to go to his father, and to make his submission. And when he who was sent by the viceroy notified to him that he must part with the girl, he immediately desired that they should give him till to-morrow: "and *to-morrow*," he said, "*I will declare* to the envoys of my father that I will go with them, proposing to them only two conditions, which I have already mentioned to-day to the minister Tolstoy." These conditions were, first, that his father should allow him to live on his own estates (*i.e.* should not tonsure him, nor force him to serve in the army); and, secondly, that he should not take from him the aforesaid girl. And though these state-conditions are extremely onerous, still I, even without orders, *ventured* to admit them *verbally*.

'When we the next day came to him with the captain Roumiantsoff, he immediately announced to us that without gainsaying he would go with us; and withal he begged us to obtain for him from his father this favour, that he should let him marry that girl, before coming to Petersburg. On this I offer my weak opinion to his majesty that unless there be in that something (for reasons unknown to me) contrary to his mind,

he may allow him; because he will thereby show plainly to all the world that it was not for any wrong done to him, but only for the sake of that girl, that he went away; also, because he will thereby very much offend the emperor, and he will never again believe him in anything; thirdly, because so *all danger* will be removed *of his being married suitably to a good connection*, of which *there is still even here some danger*. But that girl is now with child, and this will cause us to make our journey more slowly, because he on her account will not travel rapidly: for it is *impossible to describe how he loves her*, and what care he takes of her.

'And as regards the aforesaid permission, pray advise H.M. according to the best of your judgment. And if he is pleased to allow that, perhaps he will in his letter to me, among other things, write of that, that I may be able to show it him, without giving it to him. But *without permission* he has no intention of doing this. But if H.M. judges that *this must not be*, then will he be pleased to write to me that I have made report about this to him, and that *this can be done* at Petersburg, that the tsarevich, being so encouraged,[42] may not change his mind. But I think that this will not be prejudicial to *any future interest*, but that so he will show before all the empire of what character he is.

'I beg your excellency to submit this my report to H.M. when he is alone, because in the relation itself I did not venture to trouble H.M. with too long a letter. Also I feared to write without cyphers. But when it pleases God that I shall be at Petersburg, I will, without fear, *praise Italy*, and shall not *again* have to *drink a fine* for that, since, to say nothing of any actual journey, the bare hint of an intention of going to Italy has produced such a good effect for *their*[43] majesties, and for all the Russian empire.'

On the same day, the 3d Oct., Tolstoy wrote to Veselovsky to send on with all speed the despatches for the tsar: 'If you hear at Vienna that the tsarevich is returning, do not mention this on any account in writing to St. Petersburg.'[44] And the same in another letter: 'for fear lest some *devil* should write to the tsarevich and alarm him, so as to make him change his mind.'

[42] so *cheated*, rather.

[43] Alluding to *Catherine's* interest in the matter of the succession.

[44] *i.e.* lest any should write to the tsarevich to alarm him, and unsettle his mind.

And he begs him to thank count Zinzendorf for his zeal, and to assure him that *he will not be forgotten by the tsar.* 'And I write only the truth: the orders which were sent to count Daun *from the Cabinet were really admirable, and he communicated them all to me,* and *exerted* himself in this matter no less (than I did myself). The tsarevich wishes to go to Vienna. *Cannot we pass by it?* He asks him to do what he can about this. 'Yesterday the tsarevich gave privately to the viceroy a letter to his people (left at Ehrenberg), with a request to forward it.' The viceroy showed it to Tolstoy, who advised him to send it to Vienna.

Roumiantsoff wrote to Veselovsky an undated letter in a jocose vein, giving him first an account of his love adventures at Naples. Then he also wrote: 'Of our miracles, in truth, I cannot give any description; only we have got a certain grave burden off our hands, and have confided it[45] to Peter Beklemisheff: and so far as I could, out of my friendship for you, I endeavoured that she should not miss you . . . . but chance did not allow of it, or, knowing your propensity that way, they did not trust her to you. Don't be angry with me for this.'

The tsarevich finally determined to return, probably at the persuasion of Euphrosyne. She herself stated this afterwards. 'When Mr. Tolstoy came to Naples, and the tsarevich wished to go away, from under the emperor's protection, to the Pope of Rome, I kept him from doing so.' Hence it was that, of all the persons who were about the tsarevich, *she* was the only one whom the terrible inquest did not touch; and *Peter showed towards her special goodwill.*

The tsarevich wrote to the emperor (3d Oct. o.s.) thanking him, as his servant; and telling him that, after hearing the proposals of the envoys sent to him, he had resolved to go to *Vienna;* 'and to thank your majesty for your very great kindness, when I am allowed to see you, *personally;* and to make request concerning certain needs; and then, with permission of your majesty, to go to my own country, to the hossoudar my father.'

And to his father he wrote (Oct. 4): 'Most gracious hossoudar-batushka! I have received, hossoudar, through Messrs.

[45] *i.e.* Euphrosyne, who seems to have travelled in company with the tsarevich from Rome to Florence and Bologna: so this letter may have been written from Bologna about the 15th Nov. o.s.

Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff, your most gracious letter, by which, as also by their verbal communication, I, who am unworthy of all grace, am promised from you, *if I return*, for this my wilful departure, a *gracious pardon*. For this I with tears thank you; and falling at the feet of your mercy, I beg you with tears to forgive me my offences, though I am worthy of all punishments. And *trusting in your merciful promise*, I resign myself to your will, and I will go with your envoys, hossoudar, from Naples in a few days to you, to Petersburg. Your most humble and unprofitable servant, who is unworthy to call himself son, Alexis.'

He wrote too on the 5th Oct. to his servants, who had been left at Ehrenberg. They were to come, with all the things left there, to Venice; and there they did in fact meet and join Euphrosyne, who was travelling separately under the care of Beklemisheff.

In the report written on the 14th Oct. (3d o.s.) to the emperor by the viceroy Daun there occur the following passages: 'I *persuaded* the tsarevich to receive him (Tolstoy), after a long opposition: he conversed with him twice in my presence in the royal palace; and afterwards, in consequence of my being unwell, several times in the castle of St. Elmo, in presence of the feldzeugmeister Wentzel. The tsarevich long hesitated to give a final answer; at length, yesterday, he *of himself*[46] expressed a desire to see Tolstoy alone, and told him that he consented to go with him. *To-day, this morning*, he gave definitive assurance of the same to him (Tolstoy), Roumiantsoff, and the feldzeugmeister: also he asked to be allowed to send to your majesty a letter of thanks, with a request to continue to him your protection, and to send with him or before him to his father an officer of your majesty; also he asked for permission to visit the relics of St. Nicholas at Bari, and to come to Vienna, to express personally his gratitude, through Rome and Venice, where he will await your answer. In connection with these negotiations there were so many circumstances that I do not write them, but commission the feldkriegsconcipist Weingardt to report them by word of mouth: he from first to last had to do with the tsarevich, and was present at all the interviews.'

[46] So the emperor knows nothing of the baying of the bloodhound, of the bribed secretary, or of the unauthorised feint of taking away Euphrosyne.

Naturally Weingardt would tell the emperor nothing of those *three persuasive arguments* which had been brought to bear at once upon the tsarevich; but later, in A.D. 1718, the emperor's suspicions were excited by the manifesto published by the tsar, as if the court of Vienna had persuaded, and even *forced*, the tsarevich to return.

Oct. 6, Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff wrote to the tsar that they were leaving that day for Bari: that *they* had absolutely declined the escort and carriages which the viceroy would have given them, 'desiring him as far as possible to let us go incognito, at our own charge: and he has consented; only he will send one or two officers with us, till we reach the frontier.' They 'hope to be back at Naples in six days, and then to go to Rome, and from Rome by such route as may be best. Incessant rains have made the roads almost impassable.'

And on the 14th Oct. they write: 'We have started this day with carriages hired to Rome, and thence we shall go to Venice. The viceroy has sent only one man, to serve the tsarevich on the road: he wanted to send an escort, with some officers, but *the tsarévich* declined this. This letter we send from the first post-station by Ivan Tolstoy; and the tsarevich writes too, wishing to show his obedience, and to obtain your grace and permission to live on his estate in the country near Petersburg, and above all to marry the girl who is now with him, and who is already four months gone with child. And when we first made an impression on him and inclined him to go to your majesty, he would not so much as think of it unless the two above-mentioned conditions were granted to him; and we then assured him that your majesty would let him live on his estates; but of the girl we (only) said that we had no order to take her from him, but neither for his marrying her had we any order. And of this he now speaks to us, that we should give him a written assurance. And if, hossoudar, we should not be able to put him off as to this matter, we, in order not to make him desperate, will give him a writing to this effect: that your majesty, if he returns obediently to you, will receive him graciously, and let him live on his own estates; and that we have no order to take that girl away from him. He is very importunate, hossoudar, that we should obtain for him from your majesty permission to marry that girl before he comes to you; and

if your majesty will allow that, he will no doubt go to you; but if you judge that this is inexpedient, then will not your majesty graciously encourage him to hope that this may be done, not abroad, but in his own country, that so he may go to you without any misgiving? And give orders, hossoudar, to send to us immediately an oukaz, which we may notify to him: because, under the pretext that he wishes to see Rome and Venice and other places, he will delay on the road; but really his motive is that, before he gets near to his own country, he may receive your oukaz about his marriage, and take his measures accordingly. Besides, the roads among the hills are excessively bad, and though one were to delay nowhere, to travel fast is impossible.

'Also your son intends to go from Venice to Vienna; but we have tried by all means to dissuade him from this; nevertheless hitherto he insists on it very obstinately, saying that he cannot go through without having first thanked the emperor, and he will remain in Vienna only one day. But since, hossoudar, we cannot by force prevent him from going to Vienna, I have written to the resident Veselovsky to endeavour by all means to manage at the court that they may not, under any pretext, allow him to come into Vienna; *because*, so far as I could understand from the words of the viceroy of Naples, the emperor himself does not wish to see him. But if it should be impossible to prevent his going to Vienna, we will endeavour that, *with God's help*, he may without any hindrance leave Vienna soon. When once we have got out of the emperor's dominions, we shall have less cause to fear;' &c.

The tsarevich wrote from Aversa on the 14th Oct., merely referring to his previous letter, and announcing that he has 'this day left Naples,' signing himself, 'Your most humble slave and unprofitable son, Alexis.' And he wrote to Catherine a similar announcement: 'Gracious hossoudarina-matushka!' &c., with this addition: 'I beg you, hossoudarina, not to let me be without your gracious intercession. Your most humble slave and son, Alexis.'

On the 19th Oct. o.s. prince Eugene reported to the emperor, as the opinion of the secret conference: '1. That your majesty can receive the tsarevich, the more so as he travels incognito; 2. You can send an officer, as he wishes, to the tsar: 3. This officer should know at least the Bohemian language, and

he should be capable of using his opportunities of getting information; 4. You should not answer the tsarevich's letter; but you can instruct the envoy at Venice to inform Tolstoy that the tsarevich will receive all possible attention and assistance, both at Vienna and elsewhere; 5. The three servants left at Ehrenberg should be sent to Venice, as he seems to wish; 6. The letter sent by Tolstoy to Veselovsky (of 3d Oct. o.s., sent through the viceroy, and *not* in *cypher*) was opened after conference.'

Twelve days after their final departure from Naples, when the tsarevich, with Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff, Euphrosyne and their servants, had reached Rome, on the 26th Oct. o.s., Tolstoy wrote to the resident Veselovsky to send the tsarevich's three servants from Vienna to meet him, and forwarded at the same time a letter for them.

Notices of the stay of the tsarevich at Rome and of his movements appeared at intervals in the Amsterdam *Courant* and other journals, as communicated by local correspondents. Such are the following: 'Rome, Nov. 6 (*i.e.* 26th Oct. o.s.). The tsarevich has arrived here from Naples, where he has been staying for some time past: he drives out in the carriage of cardinal Paulucci, and visits all the objects of interest.' 'Nov. 6 (26th Oct. o.s.). Don Carlo Albani showed the heir of Muscovy over the Vatican, and afterwards offered him a splendid collation.' 'Nov. 13 (2d o.s.). The tsarevich, after visiting the Relics preserved in this city, to which, however, he did not seem to pay much attention, has left for Vienna.' 'Vienna, 2d Nov. (22d Oct. o.s.). The tsarevich has determined to leave Italy and to return to St. Petersburg.' 'Vienna, 27th Nov. (16th o.s.). The house in which the prince of Wallachia used to live has been engaged by the Russian resident for the reception of the tsarevich, who, with the privy councillor Tolstoy, is coming hither from Naples; because the tsarevich, as it is said, is soon to return to St. Petersburg to his father.'

On the 15th November the tsarevich wrote from Bologna to Euphrosyne, with whom he had now parted company, and who seems to have gone on before him from Bologna to Venice: 'Matushka, my friend, Aphrosiniushka, health to you! Do not grieve, my friend, for God's sake. I am just now starting on my way. I commit you with your brother to the good keeping of God: may He keep you from all harm. *Alexis.*'

Whether the tsarevich himself also went by way of Venice, as he had originally intended, or more directly to Inspruck, the written documents extant do not show. But on the 26th Nov. Tolstoy wrote to Veselovsky to inform him of their arrival at Inspruck. Thence they were to go to Sali, and from Sali by the Danube to Lintz. From Lintz, he writes, he will send an estafette to Veselovsky to come out a mile to confer with him: without that they will not go in to Vienna.

The tsarevich too, on the 26th Nov., wrote a letter from Inspruck, but his letter was to Venice, to Euphrosyne, bidding her take care of herself, and travel without hurry, resting wherever she pleased, and not thinking about expense. She afterwards wrote to him from Inspruck a letter dated the 20th December. These letters shall be given below.

Meanwhile the tsar had written on the 17th Nov. from Petersburg to his son thus: 'My son! Your letter of the 4th Oct. I have received here: and I reply to it thus: As regards the pardon which you ask for, which has been already promised you before now through Messrs. Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff, both in writing and by word of mouth, I now again ratify the same: of this be well assured. Also Mr. Tolstoy has written to us about certain wishes of yours; and those likewise are now hereby granted to you: of this he will make a notification to you.'

And at the same date he wrote to Tolstoy: 'My hospodin! Among your other reports, you wrote that my son wishes to marry that girl who is with him; also that he wishes to live on his estates in the country: and that, when he shall have come here, shall be allowed him. And if then he does not wish it to be done here (in Petersburg), it may be done somewhere in the country, after he has come here.'

And again, 22d Nov., Peter writes to Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff: 'That my son, putting faith in my pardon, has actually started with you to come hither rejoices me much. But as for what you write, that he wishes to marry the woman who is with him, for that too he has full permission, when he shall have come into our dominions, as for instance in Riga, or in Courland, in the house of our niece: but for him to be married in any foreign country would rather add to our shame. But if he doubts that he will not be permitted, then let him consider thus: When I have forgiven him such a great offence, why should I not allow

him this small matter? Of this I wrote before by Taneyeff, and gave him to understand that he should have his wish; and now I again assure him of the same: also that he may live where he likes on his country estates: of this give him in my name an assurance. If I did not write to him of this, it was because he had not mentioned it in his letter to me. However, this letter also is equally from my own hand.' And he wrote the same day (22d Nov.) to the tsarevich, acknowledging his letter of the 14th Oct. from Aversa; and he added this P.S.: 'Messrs. Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff have written to us of your wish, to which I have given my consent, and I have written to them at length: on this point you may set your mind quite at rest.'

On the 1st Dec. o.s. Tolstoy, by estafette from Lintz, asked Veselovsky to come out on the *fourth* Dec. to Nussdorf (on the bank of the Danube, near Vienna), without telling anybody of their arrival, and to see him first alone.

'Late at night on the *sixteenth* Dec.' (the *fifth*[47] o.s.)—so at least the emperor wrote to count Colloredo—'the tsarevich came into Vienna.' The next day, the sixth, was the day of St. Nicholas; and on the day after that, the *eighteenth* N.S. (*seventh* o.s.), 'early in the morning, *without having been to the emperor*,' he went on to Brünn, where he arrived on the evening of the *eighth*. (The distance from Vienna to Brünn is 64 miles.)

This proceeding alarmed the emperor, who immediately sent to Brünn, to the governor-general of Moravia, count Colloredo, a secret order, dated, according to Oustrialoff, on 'the 19th Dec.' (which would be the 8th o.s.): but either the document which Oustrialoff saw in the archives at Vienna was only a copy, the date of which was written later, or the order itself was accidentally misdated, since count Colloredo's report, written after the receipt of that order, shows that the eighteenth, not the nineteenth, was its true date. After the date, Oustrialoff gives the order as follows:

[47] But the tsarevich himself writes to Euphrosyne as if he had arrived (at Vienna) on the evening of the fourth (yesterday), since he says that 'to-morrow' is the festival of St. Nicholas (that is, the *sixth*); and he expects to go on 'to-morrow,' meaning perhaps in the afternoon, but probably they did not actually go on till the morning of the *seventh* o.s. To reconcile the emperor's statement with that of the tsarevich one must suppose that the tsarevich received the letter of Euphrosyne on his arrival at Nussdorf on the 4th, and that in writing to her he identified Nussdorf with Vienna itself. See Oustrialoff's *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. p. 124, and 424, 425, 426.

'The tsarevich, after having asked permission to thank me at Vienna for the protection given him, came on the 16th Dec. (5th o.s.), late at night, to Vienna, and *to-day*, early in the morning, left for Brünn, without coming to me. Nor did Tolstoy visit any of my ministers. From this unmannerly conduct nothing else can be inferred but this, that the people who are with him feared lest he should change his purpose of going to his father. I have thought it necessary to send to you with all speed this courier with orders: When the tsarevich arrives at Brünn, detain him under some fair pretence or other; and in order to show him attentions, try to see him alone, and ask him in my name how it was, and by what reasons, that they persuaded him to return to his father? was he not, in fact, compelled to that by some force put upon him? and has he not now any suspicion and fear to prompt him to seek my protection? If he has changed his intention, and says that, if he could choose, he would desire not to continue his journey, take all necessary measures for his suitable reception, and see that his people do nothing with him. However, deal with them becomingly till you receive an order from me. But if the tsarevich desires to continue his journey, give him full freedom to do so.'

Count Colloredo replied on the *twentieth* Dec. (the *ninth* o.s.): 'Immediately on the receipt of your majesty's order *of the eighteenth* (so of the *seventh* o.s.) *yesterday evening* (the evening then of the *eighth* o.s.) I went to the tsarevich, but I was told that he was already in bed. To-day, in the morning, I went (again), and when I desired them to announce me, they replied: "There is no prince at all here." I said: I know positively that he is here in person. Tolstoy sent a message to me that that could not be, and that they had to start immediately. After this I went in *myself* to Tolstoy, and asked him to admit me to the prince, that I might in your majesty's name give him your compliments. Tolstoy replied that he could not admit anybody to him. I, with all possible courtesy, endeavoured to induce him to show so much friendliness as to wait here till I could report to your majesty and receive an answer. He replied: "That cannot be done either." The more I pressed him, the more he showed haste to leave. I did not desist. He declared that he took the detention as an affront and an arrest, and demanded two couriers, that he might send one to Vienna and the other to Petersburg.

I protested most solemnly that he had no right to take my intention of paying in your majesty's name a friendly compliment as an *arrest*. In the mean time, as the case is altogether unexpected, I ask for directions from your majesty: what am I to do?'

Tolstoy also wrote the same day (9th Dec. o.s.) to Veselovsky. He wrote thus: 'I am obliged to send you this from Brünn by a hired messenger, in consequence of a strange occurrence. Yesterday evening we came to Brünn, and thought to go on early this morning; but the commandant of this city, count Colloredo, sent to me his secretary to say that a special courier has come to him from Vienna, with an order from the emperor not to let us go away without having seen the tsarevich. I answered that the tsarevich has no business with him, and cannot see him, as he does not wish to lose time, and is in haste to return to his own country. The count came to us, to our quarters, and in an interview with me said the same as he before sent his secretary to say. But *the tsarevich* did not admit him, being *dissuaded* by me: for the interview would have given room for suspicion. Then Colloredo let us know that without an order from the emperor he could not send us on; and that he has sent a special courier to ask for instructions, &c. And so we are now under honourable arrest. Endeavour all you can to let us know accurately what is the cause of this. And if you find that they will let us go on without delay, that is well; but if, under any pretext whatever, they are going to prolong our detention, then, without losing a moment, send a letter to Beklemisheff to tell him to go to Berlin, if possible, without entering the emperor's dominions; and, if that is impossible, then not to come out of Italy.

The emperor caused count Colloredo's report to be considered by his ministers, and they gave in each his own written opinion.

*Count Zinzendorf, the chancellor,* saw 'that he (count Colloredo) sought to speak with the tsarevich, but that was by Tolstoy roughly refused. I see in that great audacity on the part of Tolstoy; and it is clear that they are afraid lest the tsarevich should change his mind. Hence there arise two questions: 1. Is count Colloredo to use force in order to speak with the tsarevich? 2. Ought he to be detained, if he wishes to continue his journey (for the other case, if he wishes to remain, the count has

already instructions)? My opinion is that he should try to speak with him, with (the observance of) decent forms: but if Tolstoy does not consent, then, without having recourse to force, he should let him know that his unfriendly conduct will be immediately reported to the tsar; and in the mean time *they* should be *allowed* to go on. An attempt to do anything by force leads to *extremities* (*i.e.* to a rupture), and the prince *is not much to be reckoned upon.*'

*Schönborn, the vice-chancellor:* 'My secretary has reported to me that prince Eugene and prince Trautzen think it best that we should *rid ourselves of the presence here* of the tsarevich. I also am of that opinion, if only it can be done without any dishonour to the imperial authority. God grant that the tsarevich may *not* change his intention of returning to his father. On the part of H.M. all has been done that was required by magnanimity, honour, and affinity: all this the tsarevich *himself* has parted with and *rejected.* To continue to protect him, when he is so irresolute, and when the empire is threatened by danger from the power of the tsar, would be *imprudent:* the tsarevich *has not mind enough* to justify us in expecting any sort of *advantage from him.* All the same, I think that count Colloredo certainly ought to see him, and present to him *compliments:* and he should say to Tolstoy that he must not take upon him to dictate (lit. to prescribe laws) to his majesty. Colloredo may even for that use force, and, under pretext of its being his suite, he may take with him a considerable detachment. Tolstoy may be present, or he may not be present. The *compliments should consist of general expressions.* If the tsarevich on this occasion should ask afresh for protection, he (count Colloredo) should say that he is free to do what he pleases: but he should suggest to him to go with Tolstoy.'

The emperor approved this opinion of count Schönborn; and on the 22d Dec. (11th O.S.) he wrote an order to count Colloredo thus: 'Having had knowledge from your letter of the 20th Dec. (9th O.S.) of the unbecoming behaviour of Tolstoy, I order you without fail, in some way or other, even by force, to see the tsarevich. For this purpose, take with you a numerous suite, and go into his rooms, allowing Tolstoy to be present or not to be present, as he pleases, at the interview. Say to the tsarevich that it would have been agreeable to me to have seen

him in my capital, and that my disposition towards him is unchanged: but give Tolstoy to understand that his conduct *will probably not be approved of by the tsar's majesty*. After this, *if the tsarevich wishes* to go on, let him have *his will;* but if he says that he has changed his mind, then defer sending them off, and wait for my orders.'

Count Colloredo replied on the 24th (13th O.S.): 'Before I make report to your majesty of the execution of your orders, I think it my duty to acquaint you with what passed here after my report of the 20th (9th O.S.) Dec. As soon as the courier bearing it had left, I sent my secretary to Tolstoy with the most courteous request possible to wait for your majesty's answer. Tolstoy said: "I do not understand how we can be *arrested* merely for this, that *the tsarevich does not wish* to listen to *compliments*." The secretary objected that it was quite impossible to call the intention of your majesty to show friendliness to the tsar's majesty in the person of the crown-prince an *arrest*. Tolstoy answered in Italian (in which language they conversed): "Adesso è l' amicitia passata: questo non può restare cosi; e si vede sà cosa che ne seguira." And in spite of all my secretary could do to put the matter in the best light, he persisted in his own opinion. At last he said that he would send to me a captain of the guards of H.M. the tsar with his passport, that I might see who he was.

'The captain, in fact, came to me, showed the passport, and demanded a courier to send with a report to the tsar. I said that this was not necessary, since in a few hours there would be an answer from your majesty. The captain objected that they would find some other way to inform their sovereign; and now, he said, they would not go from hence till they received a resolution[48] from him. Having taken measures of precaution for detaining their letters at the post, I endeavoured to show them all possible attention, and bade the municipality go to the tsarevich with salutations. The deputation was not admitted, under pretext of the fast. The municipality sent some fresh fish: the tsarevich accepted it, and returned his thanks. I, for myself, sent some wine and game, and, in like manner, received thanks; but the carriages which I offered were sent back.

[48] This word is constantly used by Peter and those about him for a decision and order on any practical question.

'Your majesty's last order was brought by the courier Antony Pochkai' (the same who had been sent to Naples) 'at 9 o'clock P.M. on the 22d (11th O.S.) Dec., when the tsarevich was already in bed. On the following day, at 8 A.M., I sent my secretary to let Tolstoy know that I had received an order, and to ask his coöperation for the presenting of your majesty's compliments. At first he refused obstinately, as before; at last he asked: "But what are you going to do *after the compliments?*" The secretary answered that they would then be free to continue their journey at their pleasure. "Now there is still the question: *Can* we go without permission of the tsar's majesty? We have already written to him." In conclusion, he desired to *talk it over* with the tsarevich. Then, after some time, he sent word that his highness *had no time in the morning*, and was *thinking about it*.

'Not receiving for a long time any answer, I twice sent the courier Pochkai, who had accompanied them from Naples, to make known that he had brought me a most positive order to see the tsarevich in one way or another: in the mean time I assembled people in order to go in by force.

'At length the tsarevich sent me word that I could come to him between four and five o'clock. I went. They took me into the reception-room, into which there came the captain, with the German who lives with them. Then the tsarevich came out of his room, *with Tolstoy*. Then I began to make the *compliments*, and said that your majesty would have been glad to see his highness, and that you were anxious that he should be fully satisfied in all the provinces of your empire; that the delay here had been caused solely by your wish to express to him your good disposition. In conclusion, I gave him to understand that you were *surprised* that he had not chosen to see you.

'The tsarevich replied (after some words of thanks and of responsive civility) that it was his bounden duty to thank you personally, &c.; but he had not a suitable equipage, and in such a dirty state as he was after his journey he did not venture to present himself at the court;[49] that, however, he had commissioned the resident Veselovsky to express his gratitude: and though it had been an annoyance to *him* to be detained here, still, as this

[49] So Tolstoy had schooled him to say, no doubt; excuses worthy of his own brutality.

had been done for his own sake, he desired me to express his most humble gratitude.

'To speak with him alone was impossible for me. Of himself he did not enter into any explanations. Tolstoy, the captain, and the German stood close to him, and listened attentively to every word. I took my leave: he replied courteously, and retired into his room. Tolstoy went out after him, without saying a word, and shut the door; while the captain with the German conducted me to my carriage. From all it is evident that Tolstoy is a violent and coarse man. Though he had said before that he would not leave till he had received an order from the tsar, the visit of compliments was no sooner over than he ordered the courier to make ready, and to-day at 7 o'clock A.M. they left.'

On the 19th Dec., from Breslau, Tolstoy wrote to Veselovsky his account of what had passed, thus: 'The letter of your grace dated the 11th, from Vienna, we have received, and I thank you for it much.

'On the 12th count Colloredo was admitted to see the tsarevich, and on the 13th we left Brünn.

'I perceived from your letter, about the words of count Zinzendorf, that he made an imputation against me, as if we, having conceived a groundless suspicion, would not admit that Colloredo to the tsarevich. This I cannot leave without an answer. Therefore I beg you, my friend, to go to him, and let him know that it is highly disagreeable to me to hear of such a groundless imputation, because I am in that matter *entirely innocent*.

'First of all, the hossoudar the tsarevich went away from Vienna without seeing the emperor. About that *you know very well* that it was not owing to me, but *his highness himself* sent a message to your grace explaining the reason which obliged him so to do. And as for this, that he did not admit Colloredo when he came the first time, that also was *not from my will*, but his highness could not then admit him, because he was suffering some little derangement (or weakness) from the fatigue of his journey. Besides that, Colloredo did not notify any business of duty; but when he heard from us that he could not see the tsarevich, immediately he announced to us that we were detained. This was very offensive (lit. sensible, felt) to his highness, because such a thing has never been heard of as that a prince should be arrested because, on account of his weak health, he had not at once

admitted somebody to pay him compliments. And after that, though the tsarevich might have been willing to admit him, he had already said that till he received an order from Vienna he dared not let us go. And I am greatly surprised that, after putting upon the tsarevich such an affront, they now choose to throw the blame upon me, as if I had had some suspicion, which could not be, and for which there was no reason; since his highness, *of his grace to me*, is so good as to communicate to me all—not only what has been done at this present time, but also all that was done from his first coming to Vienna, through count Schönborn and through his secretary, when his highness lived in the country house of count Schönborn, and what communications were made to him by count Schönborn in the name of the emperor; and also afterwards, what they proposed about conditions and guarantees, and the rest, he communicated to me *all*. And after that it is *plain* that whoever came to see him, that *could not* be anything to excite in me any suspicion. But that I should *compel* the tsarevich to do anything against his own will, any one must have the sense to see that *this is impossible*. For his highness, having submitted himself to the will of his father, *has received* from him his paternal gracious pardon *for all*, and is now going as a son to his father, and my presence with his highness is solely for his *service*.'

Charles VI. was very much displeased against Tolstoy, and on the 1st Jan. A.D. 1718 (21st Dec. A.D. 1717 O.S.) he wrote to Peter: 'When your majesty's son, our friend and brother-in-law, came into our dominions, we received him with such regard as the duty of universal rights, his near affinity, and our special zeal for your majesty required. We thought that it would be more agreeable to your majesty to know that he had come to us than to any other. We not only, with hearty goodwill, gave the privy councillor Tolstoy permission to go to Naples to the prince, to treat with him about your paternal requirements, but in effect we pointed out to him the way to regain your grace. And when we had shown all possible friendly dispositions to a prince who had remained so long in our dominions, we did not doubt but that he, after his return, would present himself to us. Contrary to all expectation, on his arrival, without visiting us, he immediately went off. Knowing, however, from experience his courteousness, we ascribe such want of attention to Tolstoy: a proof

of this is his refusal of permission to see the tsarevich to our governor-general at Brünn, a thing which among civilised nations, especially among princes linked together by affinity, ought not to be tolerated.'

Peter, in reply, on the 17th March A.D. 1718, wrote thus: 'Tolstoy *stated* that it was *not he, but our son*, who was in fault in not showing you respect. Tolstoy *tried to persuade him by all means to see you*, but our son refused, excusing himself because he was unused to such court ceremonies, and had not with him any suitable equipage; but most probably the truth was that he was ashamed, from the consciousness of having calumniated us to you. Our son asserted that he himself did not wish to see you on account, as he said, of some grave reason or other. In the same way it was about receiving the governor Colloredo at Brünn. Tolstoy *long tried to persuade* our son to receive him, and with difficulty, after some days, he succeeded in doing so. On his own side, Tolstoy complains of count Colloredo, who, *without any respect*, detained them under arrest till he should receive your orders. We submit this to your consideration, and trust that you will not approve the conduct of Colloredo.'[50]

The tsarevich left Brünn on the 13th Dec. On the 19th he was at Breslau; and on the 1st of Jan. A.D. 1718 at Dantzig; and on the 10th at Riga, from whence Tolstoy went on in advance to the tsar, after having written on the 11th to Veselovsky at Vienna 'that *they were waiting* at Riga *for an order* from the tsar to direct them where to go.' And the tsarevich wrote on the 12th Jan. to his father: 'My gracious hossoudar-batushka! Mr. Tolstoy, as he was leaving, has notified to me that by your oukaz I am ordered to go to Moscow to you, hossoudar; and in obedience to that oukaz I will start to-morrow, and will make haste. Your most humble servant and son, *Alexis*.' On the 18th Jan. the tsarevich arrived at Novgorod, and on the 22d at Tver.

On the way from Bologna to Tver he corresponded by letter with Euphrosyne, who travelled after him without hurrying, on account of her condition, and at length stopped at Berlin, as if

[50] 'Peter had few to equal him,' writes a Prussian diplomat, 'in dissimulation and falsehood.' There is an ironical impudence in this letter, especially in its last words, not unlike that of Paisius Ligarides in writing for the tsar Alexis to the patriarch Nectarius. Compare the direction to count Colloredo given above at p. 1311 and the taunts of P. Ligarides in vol. iii. p. 376-379.

expecting to be confined there. Their correspondence shows a warm attachment on the side of the tsarevich, and by its freedom from all cynical coarseness contrasts favourably with the correspondence of Peter and Catherine.

The first letter is that of 15th Nov. A.D. 1717, which has been already inserted above at p. 1305, and which was written by the tsarevich from Bologna. Then he writes to her to Venice from the German frontier: 'Mamenka, my friend! Get the medicine made at Venice, according to the doctor's prescription, and take back the prescription; but if they do not know how to make it up at Venice, any more than they did at Bologna, you can get it done in the German territory in any considerable town, so that you may not be without medicine on the road. Also, my friend, when you write from Venice, tell Peter Ivanovich (Beklemisheff) to send the letters to Vienna, to Veselovsky; but when you write from other towns, send them to Berlin, to Golovkin.' Nov. 26, from Inspruck: 'My matushka, my heart's friend, Aphrosiniushka, health to you in the Lord! I came to Inspruck yesterday, in good health; and after sleeping here, we shall go to Vienna by water. And you, my friend, do not be anxious. Come on your way with God's help, but take care of yourself by the way. Travel in a *letiga*, without hurry, because among the mountains of the Tyrol the road is stony and rough; you know that yourself; and wherever you like, rest as many days as you please. Do not think of expense: though you were to spend ever so much, your health is more for me than all. Here at Inspruck, or somewhere else, buy a good easy carriage (a *koliaska*, calèche). Here we have received information that our people have been sent to Venice; and if they have come to you, take them all with you; and if you have not already sent off any of them to me, do not send them, because they will not overtake me, and I have no great need of them. I have got myself a shoub made here. Write, my friend (*svièt*), to me wherever you can, that I may have the pleasure of seeing Mamenka's handwriting. Herewith I send also a letter to your brother, and to the people, to bid them travel in an orderly manner, without quarrelling. Please to read those letters, and deliver them yourself. I commend you, with the little *Selèbenni*, to the keeping of God. Your faithful friend, *Alexis*.' And, 5th Dec., Vienna: 'My Matushka, my heart's friend, Euphrosyniushka Theodorovna,

health to you for many years! Your letter from Venice of the 19th Nov. I received here[51] yesterday on my arrival. I rejoice for this, that you have arrived in good health at Venice. Also I am very glad that the young men are with you, because you, my friend, have not the discomfort of being alone: and Yakoff will be able to cook for you whatever you like. I came here yesterday; and we shall go on, *I expect*, to-morrow. This is my fourth letter. . . . Write me word, my friend, if they have all reached you. . . . Give Soudakoff the same money as the others. And when you bid him sing the vespers and matins in your room on the Sunday, and he, living as a heathen (*'Hellenoyot'*), has, as I expect, forgotten the tones, tell him that on the 1st of Dec. it was the *eighth* tone, and then he will know what to sing. I wish you joy for to-morrow's festival of St. Nicholas (6th Dec.); and I commend myself and you and the little *Schkouni* to the keeping of God, and to the patronage of the Mother of God, and to the Saint of to-morrow and all the Saints, and remain your faithful friend, *Alexis*.'

To the brother of Euphrosyne he wrote, from Dantzig, 1st Jan. A.D. 1718: 'Ivan Theodorovich, health to you! I beg you for God's sake to take care of your sister, and (though she is not yet completely so, still I have already the permission) my wife, that she may not be sad; for nothing else has hindered that completion but only her pregnancy, of which may God grant her to be safely delivered. I have written to her to stay at Berlin, or, if she can, to go as far as Dantzig; and I have sent to her a midwife from hence, who can serve her till our own people come. For God's sake see that the young men live in good accord with one another, and that they behave respectfully to Tolstoy,[52] who was left for you.' And to the servants he wrote: 'Lads! I wrote to you some time ago, and now I repeat the same: Be attentive and respectful to my wife, and do your best to please her, that she may not be sad. Also be obedient to her brother Ivan Theodorovich, and to Ivan Andr. Tolstoy.

'Peter Michaelovich! Chatter, amuse Euphrosyne as well as you can, that she may not be sad: because all is well: only on

[51] Or perhaps at Nussdorf, where they halted on the 4th, before entering Vienna, and where they may have received from Veselovsky such letters as had come to him for them. See above, p. 1307.

[52] Ivan Andreyevich, brother of Peter.

account of her pregnancy (the marriage) cannot be yet completed: but God will give us of his mercy also its completion.'

After he had come into Russia the tsarevich carefully sent to Euphrosyne various women to serve her, and a priest. Also he wrote to Ivan Athanasieff, from Novgorod, 18th Jan. A.D. 1718: 'Ivan Athanasieff! I wrote from Riga to send Alexievna with Theodosia and Theodore Borisovich to Berlin for Euphrosyne, saying that the passport would be sent from Moscow soon; and as soon as you had received it, you were to send them off without delay. The same I repeat now, that all may be ready. And do your best to arrange that Alexievna may go with Theodosia, in spite of their excuses and unwillingness, unless Alexievna is far gone with child, or decidedly ill: but, except in those two cases, mind not any other excuses. And if for either of those two reasons—not for any others—she cannot go, then send Maura, the wife of Matveyeff, with Theodosia. But if Theodosia is not living, or cannot go, then with Alexievna or Maura send the girl Veronica. And if Maura cannot go for such reasons as are mentioned above, then cause Irene or Veronica to be in readiness, so that on receiving the passport they may go at once, together with Theodore Borisovich (Everlakoff). And about this write to me to Moscow.

'As it is necessary to send with them a priest, order the pope of St. Nicholas Potapi to come from Doubno to Petersburg, and cause him also to be in readiness to be sent: for this an oukaz is also sent to Riadki. Give money for the journey to Theodore Borisovich, a hundred rubles for them all: at Riga, for their passage through the German territory, there are left with Elia Isaieff two hundred ducats: and let all be ready. And from Moscow I will write again about this.'

Four days later he wrote to Euphrosyne, from Tver, on the 22d Jan. A.D. 1718: 'My heart's-friend Aphrosyniushka, health to thee, my matushka, for many years! I wrote to you from Riga that Peter Andreyevich had gone on in advance to Moscow, whither I also was on my way after him. And after being at Moscow, he has met me here. And, thank God, all is well; and I expect that they will discharge me from everything, so that I shall live with you, if it please God, in the country, and we shall have no trouble about anything. But when I arrive I will write exactly about everything. Be so kind, my friend,

as not to believe any accounts you may hear of my arrival, till you get a letter from me, because you know that in the German newspapers there is much falsehood. I have given orders to send off to you the midwives, and this letter is sent through Alek. For God's sake be not sad: God will bring all right. Your faithful friend, *Alexis*.

'P.S. I wrote to Petersburg to send off to you a priest, with midwives: and when they come, if you can, go to Dantzig. As you will then have with you a priest and midwives, wherever you are confined, it will be well; and so you may go to Dantzig, and, if it please God, be confined after going there; and God grant that it may be happily. But if you cannot do so, you may remain at Berlin. I leave this to your will: as may seem best, so do. Send letters through Ivan Tolstoy: he will be always with you.'

The same day Peter Tolstoy also wrote from Tver to Euphrosyne: 'My hossoudarina, Euphrosyne Theodorovna! I congratulate you, my hossoudarina, on the happy arrival of the hossoudar the tsarevich in his own country, because, by the mercy of God, all has been done as you wished. God grant that we may soon see your grace, my hossoudarina, together with the hossoudar the tsarevich. Your obedient servant, Peter Tolstoy.'

From Euphrosyne to the tsarevich there are four letters. From Inspruck, 20th Dec. A.D. 1717 (the first words only written by herself, in a very weak hand): 'Batushka, my friend, tsarevich Alexis Petrovich, health to you for many years! You are pleased to remember me; and I, by the mercy of God, have come from Venice to Inspruck in good health, with *Selibonni*. I am thankful for your letters' (then the rest is written from her dictation), 'which I received, viz. at Venice on the 1st Dec. two letters: one from Mr. Beklemisheff, written from the German frontier; the other from that trader whom Mr. Sabba Vlad. Raguzinsky had sent to Bologna, written from Bologna, in which you wrote to me about the medicine (so and so, as above in the tsarevich's letter to her): but, by the grace of Christ, I have no need of it. . . . At Venice I have taken a pass for Berlin. I report to you of my purchases which I have made at Venice: 13 cubits of gold stuff, for which there were paid 167 ducats; a cross of precious stone, earrings and a ring of rubies, for which ornaments there were paid 75 ducats. Operas and plays I did not go to: only on one of

the days I went out in a gondola to the church, with Peter Ivanovich and with Ivan Theodorovich, to hear the music; except this, I did not go out. At Naples the doctor prescribed that in the fifth or seventh month I should be bled; and of this write me word, if it is to be done, and how many ounces, that I may not let the time pass. Also I wish you to know that your third letter, written from Inspruck, was received on the 5th Dec. at Venice, for which I thank God. Be so kind as to continue to write. I left Venice on the 7th Dec. Of all the rest Peter Ivanovich will write to your highness. *Euphrosyne.*'

And there is a P.S., asking him to give a note which she incloses to Peter Tolstoy. This note is as follows:

'From Inspruck, 20th Dec. A.D. 1717. Most excellent hospodin Peter Andreyevevich, health to you for many years! Do not neglect my petition, what I asked of you at Bologna before leaving. *Euphrosyne.*'

From Nurenberg, 1st Jan. A.D. 1718, she wrote herself: 'My hossoudar, batushka, my friend, tsarevich Alexis Petrovich, health to you for the new year, and for many years!' (then she dictates) 'I thank you for your letter written from Breslau' (dated probably on the 19th Dec. O.S.), 'which I received at Nurenberg on the 31st Dec., in which you are pleased to write and communicate the unspeakable joy of our marriage (being permitted): which may the omniscient Lord, according to our wish, bring to pass for good, and remove evil far from us. And as for what you are pleased to direct, that I should make known this our joy to my brother and to Mr. Beklemisheff and the young men, I have told them, and they rejoiced, thanking our Creator. I report to you, hossoudar, that we are journeying prosperously: and for the future we trust in God. Pray be not angry that I have not written all this letter myself; because on account of *Selébeni* I cannot. *Euphrosyne.*'[53]

And 18th Jan. A.D. 1718, from Berlin: after writing herself

[53] Peter Iv. Beklemisheff had written earlier from Nurenberg, on the 29th Dec. O.S., to the tsarevich: 'I humbly report to your highness that a certain person has arrived here, by God's grace, safe and well. Your highness's letter from Breslau to a certain person I have received obediently, and have delivered it to the same certain person.' And he wrote again, 18th Jan., from Berlin: 'The two persons whom you know of have arrived here safe and well. Two letters from your highness from Vienna to a certain person I have received, and I have delivered them to her. A midwife for her service has been with her on the road from Venice to Berlin.'

the first words, she dictates: 'I report to you, hossoudar: I arrived from Venice here at Berlin on the 15th, well and without any sort of harm; and I received from your highness four packets, for which I thank my Creator, and I thank you for your grace, that you do not leave me without letters from you. It gives me not a little pleasure to receive them, and I hope likewise in time to come to hear of your health. I thank you for the honourable presents which you have been pleased to send me with your letters—an image of the Saviour, and another of St. Nicholas. Mr. Beklemisheff sent us to Berlin to Mr. (Ivan) Tolstoy, who had been sent from your highness, but he went himself to Hamburg to his wife. I thank you for sending me a midwife from Dantzig: she came ten days before I reached Berlin, and is now with me. I wished to go on to Dantzig, or farther; but that midwife said, after taking knowledge of my state, that I must on no account travel farther, because the chances are that I should have to stop on the road in some inconvenient place, where there might be neither doctor nor apothecary to be found. The midwife that I had with me before, who came from Venice, has been sent back.

'Mr. Alexander Gabr. Golovkin came to see me yesterday evening, and told me nothing; nor did I importune him about anything. But I see that he is a man not very obliging, and I have no business with him, nor any sort of need to apply to him. Mr. Tolstoy hired a separate house for me at Berlin, for which the rent is to be 24 dollars a month, in order that I might in that house be alone, without any strangers. I wished to take two or three rooms at an hotel, as you had directed; but this could not be done, because there are all kinds of people from all parts in those houses; whereas here, thank God, nobody knows anything about us; and hitherto all, thank God, is quiet, and as one could wish.

'I beg of you, if this letter reaches you, to send by those people whom you meant to send to me some fox-fur (of the bellies of foxes), to make a little quilt for *Sel'dyenni*; some of it may serve also for other purposes. Pray too, if it can be done, send me to Berlin some caviar, black and red caviar in grains, salmon salted and smoke-dried, and fish of any other kinds; if you please, also a small quantity of cabots of Bielo-ozero, and *gresh*-grits. Yakoff, according to your directions, was sent to Carlsbad for mineral powder, and he has returned, and has

brought thirty pounds of it. I beg you not to be displeased with me because I have written only a few words with my own hand; I was too much oppressed to write more. Herewith I remain your faithful friend, *Euphrosyne*.'

And on Sunday the 16th Feb. A.D. 1718, probably from Berlin, she wrote, at least so far as appears, for the last time: 'My hossoudar-batushka, my heart's-friend tsarevich Alexis Petrovich, health to you for many years! I give you, hossoudar, to know that I hope to start and journey onwards on Thursday in the cheese week (*i.e.* on the 20th Feb.). Pray send out some one to let them know where to go: it would be best to go to Rojdestvenno. Your faithful friend, *Euphrosyne*.'

She arrived at Petersburg about the middle of April A.D. 1718, as appears from a despatch, written on the 29th Apr. (18th O.S.), by the Austrian resident Pleyer to the emperor, and she was then still expecting her confinement. At what date precisely she was confined, and what became of her child, is altogether unknown. Tolstoy reported to the tsar in the middle of Oct. A.D. 1717 that she was then in her fourth month; but from her own letter of the 20th Dec. one may infer that she was then in her fifth month; and if so, she would not be confined before the end of April. Her first examination was a month after she had come back into Russia, about the 12th of May.

### A.D. 1718.—*The Father, the Tsar.*

A second time—Solovieff writes—the tsar returned after a prolonged absence abroad with feelings of dissatisfaction. The first time he returned after hearing that the seed of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky was sprouting, and instituted the terrible inquest about the streltsi. It seemed that the noxious seed was extirpated. Sophia died in a monastery, the streltsi were exterminated: in their stead there appeared the army of Poltava, and the fleet of Gangouda; the conspiracies of the Astrachan raskolniks, of the Don kozaks, and of the hetman Mazepa had no success; many years had passed full of great labours, terrible calamities, and unexpected glory. A new seed, as it seemed, had been scattered on a fruitful soil, and promised a rich harvest. The Russian flag floated victoriously on the Baltic; Riga, Revel, and Finland were subdued: the tsar was pursuing the Swede on foreign ground; from Denmark he combined a plan

for the invasion of Sweden; the scene of Russian diplomatic action embraced all Europe; Russian interests were mixed up with the interests of Germany, England, and France. Who could imagine anything like what had taken place eighteen years before? But suddenly there was the news that the seed of Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky had sprouted again;[54] and now it had sprouted in the tsar's own lawful son. The tsarevich had gone away out of Russia; he had placed himself under the protection of a foreign sovereign, complaining of the tyranny of his father, blaming his works, describing in dark colours the people about him. To this time it was the glory of the great tsar which had been spread over Europe; now it was ignominy: a family gangrene was revealed before all: the son called the father before the bar of Europe. The fugitive returned. But there was then a difficult and terrible business in prospect for the future. How was he to be dealt with?[55] Of any reformation or change it was idle any longer to think. Till his flight there had been only obstinacy, disobedience; now there had been manifested also enmity not admitting of reconciliation. To allow Alexis to live quietly on his estates in the country was to leave an irreconcilable enemy for his own house, for the future of Russia, for his *wife* and his children. But this was not yet all. Could Alexis, being of such a character as he was, have determined *alone* on doing that which he had done? He must have had advisers. Who were they? From the people of the tsarevich's *household* the business could not have originated: they were not the kind of people. There must be others. Who were they? First of all the tsar's thoughts turned to the monastery in which [his lawful wife] was living in forced confinement: there they must know. But there must be others besides who knew. And had not some foreign enemies also been at work? There must be a searching inquest!

There were many who were alarmed at the thought of an inquest. They had been disquieted when the tsarevich had disappeared; they had rejoiced when they heard that he was with the emperor. The hofmeisterinn who was with the chil-

[54] So this *lucid* writer identifies the tsarevich, whom elsewhere he himself describes as the *passive victim* of a *torturer*, with insurgents and murderers.

[55] He writes as if all the promises and the oath of Peter were simply nothing. It was *only* the *Name of 'God,'* which had been *taken in vain*, which had to see to that.

dren of the tsarevich, Mme. Rogen, said to Athanasieff: 'Thank God! and do ye pray. As I hear, the tsarevich is in safe keeping, with the emperor. They write to me that he was driven out by His Most Serene Highness (prince Menshikoff). By and by he will pay him off.' Ivan Narishkin said: 'When the tsarevich comes here—he will not be always where he is—he will clear away His Most Serene Highness with the rest. I think the teacher too (Viazemsky), with his kinsfolk, will come in for something, because he betrayed the tsarevich to the Prince.' Other conversations were caused when they learned that the tsarevich was coming back to Russia: 'That Judas, Peter Tolstoy, has deceived the tsarevich and snared him; and it is not the first prey that he has devoured.' They said that Tolstoy had made the tsarevich drunk, and then wrought upon him. The prince Basil Vlad. Dolgorouky said to prince Bogdan Gagarin: 'Have you heard that that ass the tsarevich is coming here, because his father has promised to marry him to Euphrosyne? A wale[56] for him, not a wedding! The devil has him! They all deceive him on purpose.' Kikin was violently disturbed. He sent for Athanasieff, and began to say to him: 'Do you know that the tsarevich is coming back here?' 'I don't know,' replied Athanasieff; 'only I heard from the tsaritsa, when I was with the children of the tsarevich; I heard her say that the tsarevich had gone to Rome, and how they met him there.' 'I tell you for certain that he is coming,' continued Kikin: 'it were well if it were only he himself that had to suffer for it; but others also will suffer, all for nothing.' 'If it comes to me, I shall say what I know,' said Athanasieff. 'Why will you do so?' objected Kikin: 'you will destroy yourself. I beg you to say, and pray get the other servants to say, that I for a long time had not been with the tsarevich. If he could only hide himself somewhere! You could go to meet him, to Riga, and tell him that his father is in wrath, and means to put him upon his trial, and with a view to that *all the bishops* have been brought together to Moscow.' Athanasieff replied that he dared not go, he feared the prince Menshikoff. Afterwards he proposed to send his brother, and Kikin obtained for him a pass with the vice-governor's signature. But Athanasieff did not either send

[56] '*Jelo* yemou, ne *jenitba!*' The word '*jelo*' is, first, a *tortoise*; secondly, a *hard swelling, made by blows or contusions.*

his brother, lest he should get into trouble. So the tsarevich knew nothing of what awaited him at Moscow.

According to a despatch of Pleyer (who lived twenty-five years in Russia), written on the 20th (9th O.S.) Jan. A.D. 1718 to the emperor from Moscow, the Russian court, when it knew that the tsarevich was returning, was delighted: but many Russian gentlemen, who favoured him, wished that he had remained abroad: he would be sent, they thought, into a monastery. The landed proprietors, the clergy, and the common people were all devoted to him; and they had all rejoiced when he found an asylum in the emperor's dominions. When they saw his young son at a window, common people bowed to the ground, and said aloud, 'Bless, O Lord, our future hossoudar!' The tsar asked the metropolitan of Riazan, whom he *greatly loves*[57] and respects, what he thought of the flight of the tsarevich? The metropolitan replied: 'Here there was nothing for him to do: probably he *wishes* to *improve himself* and to learn something abroad.' The tsar looked sharply at him, and said: 'If thou sayest that to comfort me, it is well, else thy words are *Mazepian*.'[58] The metropolitan was so frightened that he *is still* unwell.

The tsar with all the court had come to Moscow on the 15th Dec. A.D. 1717, not having been there since A.D. 1711, when he had by oukaz made Catherine Hossoudarina and Tsaritsa. He now celebrated there again merrily, as in former years, the Christmas festival, and went about carolling or 'glorifying Christ,' and visiting with his suite many private citizens. For the new year 1718, after the liturgy and the moleben in the cathedral, he gave a banquet in the palace of the Kremlin, and at night there were splendid fireworks.

The tsarevich arrived from Tver on Friday the 31st Jan. (A.D. 1718), *late in the evening* (for the same reason probably for which Nicon had been ordered to come for his condemnation in Dec. A.D. 1666 *late in the evening*). He was lodged at Preobrajensk; and his father at first seeing him seems to have dissembled somewhat, if one may judge from a letter which he wrote

[57] A foreigner's blunder; and the anecdote itself, *as given*, does not suit the *time* when the tsarevich was no longer 'wishing to improve himself abroad;' and before his return Peter had not been at Moscow.

[58] *i.e. traitorous.* Also Yavorsky had been informed against as having had living with him in past time an agent of Mazepa, who died, leaving a large sum of money; and of this money Yavorsky had given no account to the fisc.

some days later to Euphrosyne, and which has been printed by Mr. Kostomaroff; for in that letter he wrote: 'My batushka took me to himself, to eat with him (*i.e.* at Preobrajensk), and he behaves to me graciously. God grant that he may continue to do so.' The whole letter shall be given below.

The next day after his son's arrival, early, the tsar held a secret council, and orders were given to make ready the great audience-chamber (or banquet-hall, the *stolovaia*, in which the great council or high court of judicature to condemn Nicon had been held): and, by oukaz of the tsar and prikaz of the governing senate, orders were given to summon to meet in the stolovaia palata on Monday the 3d of Feb. at eight o'clock A.M. many persons both of the spiritual and of the secular order.

Feb. 2 was the Sunday of the Pharisee and the Publican, the beginning of the preparation for Lent, and also the names-day of Anna, the eldest of the tsar's four illegitimate children, by Catherine, then living. Anna was now ten years old, Elizabeth nine, Natalia five, and Peter, 'born in the purple,' two. About this last child there was a story in the Haarlem *Courant* (No. 5) given thus: 'Hamburg, 25th Jan. (14th O.S.) A.D. 1718. They write from Petersburg that the tsar, before leaving, gave to his young son (Peter Petrovich), of whom he is extremely fond, his own portrait set with diamonds, and promoted him to be an under-officer in the guards. The tsar will not remain long at Moscow, but *will soon go to Voronege*, to give orders, and *to inspect the ships building there*.' Again: in No. 9: 'Hamburg, 25th Feb. From Moscow they write that the tsar is there, in good health; that he asks with interest about all that has occurred during his absence; and that as soon as the tsarevich arrives, who is on his way thither with Mr. Tolstoy, he *will return to Petersburg*.'

On Monday the 3d Feb. there assembled in the stolovaia palata in the Kremlin, in presence of the tsar, the following persons:

*Of the Spiritual Order:*

The metropolitans, of Riazan Stephen, of Nijny Silvester, of Voronege Pachomius; the bishops, of Kroutitz Alexis, of Rostoff Dositheus, of Vologda Paul, of Tver Barlaam; and five archimandrites, of the Troitsa, of the Choudoff, of the Novospass, of the Sabbine, and of the Daniloff at Pereyaslaff.

*Of the Secular Order:*

*Privy councillors and senators,* count Ivan Al. Mousin-Poushkin and Tichon Nik. Streshneff; general-*fieldmarshal* chevalier count Boris Pet. Sheremetieff; *general-admiral* chevalier count Theodore Matv. Apraxin; the Imperial *chancellor* chevalier count Gabr. Iv. Golovkin; *adjutant-general* Ivan Iv. Boutourlin; *major-generals* Ivan Mich. Golovin and prince Gregory Sem. Volkonsky; *boyars,* the princes Peter and Boris Iv. Prozorofsky, Alexis Pet. Soltikoff, Peter Iv. Boutourlin, Peter Iv. Soltikoff, and prince Ivan Alex. Golitsin; *okolniks,* prince Nikita Mich. Zasiekin, prince Ivan Step. Khotovsky, and Alexis Alexandr. Youshkoff; *doumni dvorianin* Nikita Sab. Khitroff; *brigadiers* Peter Bas. Izmailoff and Karl Ivanitsky; *ober-kommandant* Ivan Pet. Izmailoff; *polkovniks* (*i.e.* colonels, seventeen names, the last only being a foreign name, Daniel Cooper); *adjutants-general,* Alexander Soltikoff, Semen Davidoff, Peter Joukoff, and staff-quartermaster-general Peter Doubasoff; *blijnie stolniks,* prince Ivan Theod. Romodanofsky, Michael Greg. Narishkin, and count Alexander Theod. Golovin; *vice-governors,* prince Stephen Iv. Poutiatine, Nikita Alph. Koudravtseff, prince Basil Iv. Gagarin, Stephen Andr. Kolicheff, and Basil Sem. Ershoff.

Also there were present *landraths,* and *landrichters,* and *diaks,* and the rest of the *people of the prikazes;* also *gosti* of the *gostinnaia sotnia,* and people of the other orders, a great multitude.

All these formed a mixed great council, in which the ranks and titles of the old and the new empire were strangely joined together, assembled in that same *stolovaia* palata (otherwise called the *granovitaia,* or the *bolshaia zolotaia* palata) of the palace in the Kremlin in which the mixed councils or pseudo-synods of A.D. 1660 and 1666 had been held by the tsar Alexis.

Very early in the morning of that day (the 3d Feb.) three battalions of the guards were drawn up in the Kremlin (at the gates of the Kremlin, and of the Kitai-gorod) with loaded muskets. The tsar appeared in the audience-hall, and gave orders to bring in the tsarevich (who had been kept, since his arrival, at Preobrajensk, where no one was allowed to see him) *as a prisoner,*[59]

[59] So already the whole perjury and injustice was manifested by anticipation, just as it had been in the case of Nicon. See vol. v. p. 668-680.

in uniform, but without sword or cap. He then spoke to him severely, recounting how much care had been taken for his education from his earliest youth, and how all had been disregarded by him; how he had lived ill with his late wife, to the dissatisfaction of the emperor; how he had fled from Russia, and had spoken with audacious disrespect of his father.

The tsarevich fell at the feet of the tsar his father, confessed himself guilty in all points, and with tears asked the tsar for pardon and grace.

The tsar demanded, What did he ask for? He answered: 'I ask for my life, and for grace.'[60]

Then he was ordered to stand up, and grace was *promised* him[61] *if* he would renounce the succession and inform against all those who had been parties to his flight or cognisant of it. The tsarevich *consented* to all, and gave the following autograph declaration, dated '3d Feb. A.D. 1718:'

'Most gracious hossoudar, batushka! Whereas already, acknowledging my offence before you as my father and sovereign, I wrote a letter of acknowledgment with my own hand, and sent it from Naples, so now also I make the same acknowledgment, that I, forgetting the duty of a son and a subject, went away and placed myself under the protection of the emperor; and asked him to defend me. For this I beg for gracious pardon, and grace. Your most humble and unprofitable servant, who am unworthy to call myself son, Alexis.'

The tsar went out with him into another neighbouring room apart, and there questioned him, and the tsarevich then revealed the chief of those who had been parties to his flight,[62] to arrest whom there were sent the next day to St. Petersburg the couriers Saphonoff and Taneyeff, and to Souzdal Gregory Skorniakoff-Pisareff.

After that (the tsar having brought his son back into the

He might have answered: 'Nothing but what has been already promised and granted by word and in writing; viz. my life, and liberty to live on my estates in the country, and to marry Euphrosyne.' But he was afraid.

[61] *i.e.* the promise made, and notified to the emperor as in part already performed, is now retracted; and it is *renewed* only on certain conditions, the first already yielded by the tsarevich, the second—but for the miserable weakness of 'the victim'—an afterthought altogether inadmissible.

[62] Which the tsar and his bloodhounds had never ventured to hint at at Naples, and which there the tsarevich would certainly have refused to do, and which much more he *ought* to have refused to do now.

great hall) the vice-chancellor Shaphiroff read aloud a form of oath which had been prepared for the tsarevich to subscribe:

'*Promise on Oath:*

'I, the undersigned, declare and promise before the holy gospel, that whereas, for my offence against his majesty my father and sovereign, described in *his letter*[63] (or writing) and in my written confession, I have been deprived of the succession to the Russian throne, I acknowledge this deprivation, on account of my offence and unworthiness, to be just; and I promise and swear by the Almighty God who is glorified in Trinity, and by His judgment, to submit entirely to that will of my father, and never at any time either to seek or to wish for or to accept that succession, under any pretext whatsoever. And I acknowledge as the true heir my brother the tsarevich Peter Petrovich. And in testimony hereof I kiss the holy cross, and subscribe with my own hand, *Alexis*. Moscow, this 3d day of Feb. A.D. 1718.'

After this the bells sounded from the great belfry of Ivan Veliki, and all who were in the hall went down and across to the cathedral; and there the tsarevich, before the holy gospel, solemnly renounced the throne, and subscribed the 'Promise on Oath' with his name, '*Alexis*.'

On the same day there was published the following manifesto:

'*Manifesto of the Deprivation of the tsarevich Alexis of the succession to the throne, 3d Feb.* A.D. 1718.

'We, Peter the First, by the grace of God tsar and autocrat of all Russia, &c., make known to the people of all Russia, of the spiritual, military, civil, and all other orders, our faithful subjects:

'We are confident that to the greater part of our faithful subjects, and especially to those living in our capitals, and in the service, it is known with what attention and care we endeavoured to bring up our firstborn son Alexis. And to that end from the years of his childhood we gave him teachers not only of the Russian but also of foreign languages, and ordered them to teach them to him, that he might not only be bred up in the fear of

[63] This *should* be, 'his letter to me, to which my letter from Naples was the answer;' but that was not a public document; so it is probably *meant* to refer to the manifesto *about to be made public* after this oath had been already signed and taken by the tsarevich.

God and in our orthodox Christian faith of the Greek confession, but that he should also, for the better knowledge of military and political (or civil) affairs and of the state and policy of foreign realms, learn other languages, in order that, by reading in them history, and all military and civil sciences, he might become a worthy heir of our throne of all Russia.

'But all that our care for the education and instruction of our son we saw to be in vain: for he always was far from honest obedience to us: he would not attend to anything which was becoming for a good heir, nor learn; and his teachers appointed by us he disregarded, and kept company with such unprofitable people[64] as would teach him everything bad, and nothing to his advantage. And though we often, both by kindness and by anger, and sometimes also by paternal correction, tried to induce him to learn as we desired, and for that end took him with us to many military campaigns, to teach him the art of war, as the first of secular accomplishments, for the defence of his country (but from dangerous battles we always kept him away, for the security of the succession, though in them we did not spare our own person); likewise at times we left him at Moscow, committing to him some branches of government in the empire, for his future instruction; and afterwards we also sent him into foreign parts, hoping that he, seeing their regular (*i.e.* civilised) states, would be touched with emulation, and moved to goodness and diligence; but all this care availed nothing; this seed of instruction fell upon a rock: for not only would he not follow the instruction given him, but he even hated it, and showed no sort of inclination either for military or for civil duties; but only wasted his time continually in the company of unprofitable and low people who had *coarse and foul* habits.[65]

'And though we, wishing to reclaim him from such unprofitable ways, and to dispose him to keep company with honourable and well-born people, moved him by our exhortations to choose himself a wife from the affinity of distinguished foreign sovereigns (as elsewhere is usual, and as used to be done in old times by our predecessors, the Russian sovereigns, who made

[64] *i.e.* priests and monks.

[65] *Like those of his father*; blamable and disgusting, not because contrary to the ten commandments, but because not joined with military and naval tastes and energy.

affinity with other sovereigns), leaving it to his own will to choose where he pleased; and he, having taken a liking to a granddaughter of the duke of Wolfenbuttel then reigning, own sister to the consort of the present Roman emperor and niece to the king of England, asked us to treat for her to be given to him in marriage, and to allow him to marry her; and this we did, not sparing for this marriage great expenses; still, after the making of that marriage, from which we expected some special fruit and change of his bad habits and conduct, we witnessed quite the contrary. For though that his wife, so far as we could observe, was a lady of very good sense and of honourable conduct (and she was a wife of his own choosing), he lived with her nevertheless on the worst terms, and kept company even more than before with unprofitable people, to the shame of our house in the sight of foreign sovereigns, his wife's relatives and connections. And on that account we had great complaints and reproaches made to us. And though we by frequent remarks and admonitions laboured to induce him to reform, all that had no effect. And at last he *even, while* that his wife was *still living*,[66] took a certain *worthless*[67] girl *of servile condition* and lived openly with her in *unlawful* connection, deserting his *lawful* wife, who soon after that died. And though she died from a natural illness, there was room to think that the distress caused by the disorderly character of his life with her contributed much to that result.

'And we, seeing his obstinacy in those his unprofitable proceedings, notified to him at the funeral of his aforesaid wife that, if he thenceforth would not follow our will, and learn that which befitted the heir to an empire, we would deprive him of the succession, although he was our only son (for at that time we had not as yet another son), and we bade him not reckon upon that, because we would rather make a stranger who is worthy our heir than a son of our own who is unworthy: for we cannot leave such an heir as would ruin all that by the help of God his father has gained, and cast away the glory and honour of the Russian nation, for which we have sacrificed our health, not sparing on some occasions even our life. Besides, we also *fear the judgment*

[66] And the father's own wife was even then 'still living.'

[67] She could read and write at any rate, which Catherine, who was equally of *servile condition*, could not. Nor are there any such coarse and foul jokes and allusions in her correspondence with the tsarevich as abound in that of Peter and Catherine.

*of God*[68] if we were to commit such a charge of government to him knowing him for certain to be unfit for it, after having admonished him on many different occasions how he ought to walk *in the path of virtue*. And we gave him time within which to reform.

'And though he to that answered us by confessing himself guilty in all, and representing that he for his weak bodily health and want of mental capacity could not bear the fatigue of such studies and exercises as were necessary, and therefore acknowledged himself to be unworthy of the succession, and begged us to consider him to have renounced it, still we, admonishing him as a father, and threatening him, laboured by those threats also to bring him back to the path of virtue. And after we had gone away for military operations to Denmark, we left him at St. Petersburg, setting him a time for reflection and amendment. But after that, having heard that he was going on as before in our absence in his former unprofitable courses, we wrote to him to come to us to Copenhagen, to be present in the military campaign, and *for better instruction*.[69]

'But he, forgetting the fear of God and his commandments, which require a son to be obedient even to ordinary parents, not to say parents who are also sovereigns, repaid us for all our above-recited care and parental anxiety for him by an act of unheard-of ingratitude. For, instead of coming to us, he took what money he could get together, and that above-mentioned girl with whom he was debilitating himself, and went off and gave himself up to be under the protection of the emperor, uttering against us, his father and sovereign, many unjust calumnies,[70] as if we were persecuting him, and intending without cause to deprive him of the succession, and as if he were not without fear *even for his life* from us;[71] and he begged him not only to conceal him from us, but also to give him his protection against us even by force of arms.[72] And what shame and dishonour he by that his conduct

[68] The same hypocrisy and profanation of the name of God as the tsar Alexis and his council and the Eastern patriarchs had uttered in Dec. A.D. 1666.

[69] He being then of the age of twenty-six.

[70] Which I am now going to show in the face of all the world to have been no calumnies, but simple truth.

[71] So he had already made a pretty full confession of all details either to Peter himself, or perhaps before to Tolstoy.

[72] True in the letter, but in the sense meant a murderous lie.

did to us and to all our empire, before all the world, every one can judge; for an example of anything like it can scarcely be found in history! And though his majesty the emperor had been informed of his unprofitable courses, and how he had lived (on bad terms) with his wife, his, the emperor's, sister-in-law, still for his earnest entreaty he gave him a place to stay in, where he begged him to keep him so secretly that we might be unable to obtain any notice of him.

'And when we, from his long delay on the road, perceived that something must have happened, being paternally anxious about him, and fearing lest any mischief had befallen him by the way, we sent to make inquiry on different roads; and after long pains we obtained information about him through our envoy, the captain of the guards Alexander Roumiantsoff, that he was being kept secretly in a certain castle of the emperor in the Tyrol. And on that account we wrote an autograph letter to the emperor, asking him to send him, our son, to us. And though the emperor sent to him, representing to him that our wish, and advising him to go to us, and to obey our will, as that of his father and sovereign, he prayed the emperor, with many *unjust calumnies* against us, not to give him up into our hands, as if we were an enemy and a persecutor from whom *he expected*[73] even to suffer death: and he moved him so far that at that time he did not send him to us; but, on the contrary, at his request, he sent him away to the most distant parts of his dominions, viz. to the city of Naples in Italy, and kept him there in a fortress, under another name, secretly.

'However we, through our above-mentioned captain of the guards, having obtained knowledge of his being there, sent our privy councillor Peter Tolstoy and the same above-mentioned captain of the guards Roumiantsoff to the emperor, with a letter written in strong terms, representing how unjust it would be if he were to seek to detain our son, contrary to all divine and civil rights, according to which even ordinary parents (to say nothing of an independent autocratic sovereign, such as we are) have full power, without let of any other judge or tribunal, over their own children; and representing our just and *virtuous* proceedings towards him our son, and, on the other hand, his disobediences; and, finally, signifying what bad consequences and quarrels might

[73] And now I am going to show that he had good reason to expect it.

from that his detention ensue between us, since we could not leave him so; instructing our above-mentioned envoys to say verbally something even rougher than that, viz. that we should be obliged by all ways and means to revenge ourselves for that detention of our son. And withal we wrote also an autograph letter to him, our son, setting before him that *wicked* act and crime committed against us as his father, for which God in his commandments threatens to punish disobedient children with eternal death; and threatening him also with our paternal curse; and warning him that, as his sovereign, we should proclaim him, if he did not obey us and return, to be a traitor to his country; and at the same time giving him hope,[71] if he submitted to our will and returned, of pardon for that his crime.

'And those our envoys received from the emperor permission, after making many instances, and after that our written and their own verbal representations, to go to him, our son, and to move him to return. And at the same time it was told them by the emperor's ministers to what persecutions from us, and even danger for his life, he was said to have been subjected, of which he had made representation to the emperor, and had thereby wrought upon him to feel compassion for him, so that he took him under his protection: and it was said that, after considering our *true* and *honourable* representations on this subject, the emperor would give orders to persuade him by all means from his side to return to us, with a notice that he could not, contrary to all right, keep him from us, that is, from his father, and on that account embark in a quarrel with us.

'But though they our envoys, on their arrival, wished to deliver to him our autograph letter, they wrote to us that he at first was not willing to admit them; but he was at length brought to it by the emperor's viceroy in this way, that he invited him to come as if for a visit to himself, and then against his will presented them to him. But he, even after receiving from them that our letter and fatherly admonition, with the threat of our curse, did not show the least inclination to return, but excused himself, bringing forward many unjust calumnies against us, as if he, on account of many dangers threatening him from us, could not and would not return, boasting that the emperor had promised not only to keep him safe and defend him against us,

[71] Promising, and swearing by Almighty God.

but also against our will[75] to put him in possession of the Russian throne even by force of arms; seeing which, those our envoys used *all means* to persuade him to return, both *virtuous* encouragements to hope (for grace) from us, and also menaces and threats, saying that we would seek to recover him by force of arms, and that the emperor did not mean to go to war with us for him, &c. But he paid no attention to all this, and was not moved to go to us, till at length, seeing this his obstinacy, the emperor's viceroy represented to him, in the name of the emperor,[76] that he should go to us; that the emperor could not by any right keep him from us; and that, with the present war with Turkey and also war in Italy with the king of Spain, he could not engage in a quarrel with us for him, &c. Which he seeing, and fearing that they would give him up to us against his will, at length yielded to go to us, and made a declaration to that effect to those our envoys, as also to the emperor's viceroy. And to us he wrote of that from Naples, acknowledging his crime, and writing a confession, a copy of which is hereunto subjoined. And *so*[77] he has now come hither.

'And though he our son, for such his disobedient conduct for many years past against us as his father and his sovereign, especially for this dishonour done to us in the sight of all the world by his flight, and his calumnies divulged against us, has deserved, as one that had spoken evil of his father, and had opposed his sovereign, to be punished with death, still we, grieving for him with the heart of a father, *pardon him for that his crime, and exempt him from all punishment.*[78] Nevertheless,

[75] Yes, but after the death of his father, who was seeking to assert absolute authority for his own will even beyond the grave.

[76] Naturally, the emperor's *personal* sense of honour was touched at this revelation. See above, p. 1296 and p. 1298. But when Schönborn had written for publication that exact account of the whole affair which is still preserved in his handwriting in the archives at Vienna, the referendary Dolberg (who had been so useful to Veselovsky) dissuaded the publication, and made this one of his objections, that if the instructions sent to the viceroy at Naples, and his reports, were published (and yet they were far from revealing the *whole truth*), 'it would be observed that the court of Vienna *had* itself *demanded*, or at least *strongly wished*, the return of the tsarevich,' &c. (Oustrialoff, vol. vi. p. 579).

[77] Without a word here of his own later promises and assertions, meant no doubt only to entrap and to make sure of 'the victim.'

[78] Having, however, already perjured myself by retracting the original *pardon*, and renewing the *promise* only on such *conditions* as are a certain *trap for his life*.

considering his unworthiness, and all the facts above recited, and his dissolute conduct and habits, we cannot in conscience leave him to be heir after us of the Russian throne, since we foresee that he, by his disorderly proceedings, would lose all that glory of our nation and that political advantage which, by the help of God, and by our own incessant pains, has been obtained. And with what great labour and difficulty we have obtained it, not only recovering those provinces which in times past had been taken from our empire by enemies, but also acquiring for it many new important cities and territories, and at the same time training our nation in many military and civil sciences, to the public benefit and glory, is known to all.

'And so, feeling anxiety for our empire and for our faithful subjects, lest by such a ruler they should be brought into a worse condition even than before, we, by our paternal authority (by which, according to the rights of our empire, even every one of our subjects is free to deprive his son of his inheritance, and to transfer it to such other son as he may designate), and as an autocratic sovereign, for the good of the empire, deprive him our son Alexis, for those his offences and crimes, of the succession to the throne of all Russia, even though there were to be no single person of our family besides him remaining after us. And we designate and proclaim as our successor in the said throne our other son Peter, though he is still a child: for other grown-up heir we have not. And we bind our aforesaid son Alexis, on pain of our paternal curse, never at any time to claim or seek that succession. And we desire of all our faithful subjects, of the spiritual and secular orders, and of all the people of all Russia, that they, in conformity to our will and determination, acknowledge and regard this our son Peter, whom we have designated to the succession, as the *lawful* heir; and that, in confirmation of this our constitution, they make oath of this before the holy sanctuary, in presence of the holy gospel, by kissing the cross. But all those who shall at any time whatever dare to oppose this our will, and to regard hereafter our son Alexis as heir, and go about to help him in that sense, we proclaim traitors to us and to their country. And this our manifesto we command to be published and sent to all parts, for the information of all the people. Given at Moscow in the year 1718, this third day of February, under our hand and seal.'

After having been thus publicly disinherited, the tsarevich wrote to Euphrosyne, evidently wishing to make the best of what had occurred, and to lessen the chance of her being alarmed by reports reaching her from other sources. He wrote: 'My batushka took me to himself (*i.e.* at Preobrajensk, on the tsarevich's first arrival, he called him to that part of the palace which was inhabited by himself and the tsaritsa Catherine) to dine (lit. to eat) with him, and he *behaves* to me *graciously*. God grant that he may *continue* to do so, and that I may expect you with joy. God be praised that they *have cut me off* from the succession, because so we shall remain at rest with thee. God grant that I may live happily with thee in the country (the *derevnia*), since with thee we desire nothing more than to live at Rojdestvenno. Thou knowest thyself that I desire nothing but only to live with thee quietly till death. But if you hear anything of a *German marriage* (for me), do not believe it, pray. Yea, yea, there has been nothing farther.' (This letter has been printed by Mr. Kostomaroff, but without the date. Probably the tsarevich expected it to be opened and read, even if it were allowed to reach Euphrosyne.)

Voltaire—who had been engaged to write the History of Peter the Great, and furnished with materials, by the court of Russia, and who, as far as his sharp wit and his *amour propre* permitted, wrote in the spirit desired—remarks on the public act for the disinheritance of the tsarevich thus: 'There are *many states* in which such an act would not have *any sort of validity*. But in Russia, as among the ancient Romans, every father had the right to disinherit his son; and this right was stronger in a sovereign than in a subject, *especially in such a sovereign as Peter*.' However, in the act by which Michael Romanoff was in A.D. 1613 elected to the throne by all orders of the Russian people, under the blessing of their clergy, the intention was expressed to renew in the family then elected the former hereditary monarchy 'from generation to generation,' and by no means to make the succession depend upon the mere personal will or caprice of the reigning monarch. And the Muscovites of all orders promised and swore obedience and loyalty not only to the tsar Michael personally, still less to any illegitimate child or foreign captive (if such a thought could have occurred) as he might *nominate*, to the exclusion of his own legitimate de-

scendants, but to him *and to his children after him;* and *they* bound themselves not to desire any other rulers. And it is to be remarked that the words 'his children' could mean only his legitimate children and descendants; for in Russia an illegitimate child was legally nothing; nor was there any such thing known as the legitimatising of such children by a marriage contracted afterwards, or by any act or patent of the sovereign. The most that could be made of bad and abusive Russian precedents was this, that if the tsaritsa Eudocia had been tonsured otherwise than by special oukaz, or had been found guilty of adultery and divorced by ecclesiastical sentence; and if Catherine had not been god-daughter to the tsarevich Alexis, the offspring of Catherine born after her public marriage of Feb. A.D. 1712 might (with whatever religious impropriety) have been called civilly legitimate. And *though, with the concurrence of all orders,* a physically or mentally or morally incapable heir might have been set aside, or placed in an asylum, or under a regency, still what could be the reasonableness or '*lawfulness*' of disinheriting an innocent grandson, nephew to the empress of Germany, merely to prefer another infant son of the reigning tsar by a foreign mistress 'of servile condition' whom he had publicly married while his lawful wife was still living? Even such a writer as Polevoi, whose worship of Peter is unbounded, admits (in common with Oustrialoff), against Voltaire and against Peter himself, that Peter now arbitrarily set aside '*a fundamental law of the empire,*' and that this innovation 'led to the most disastrous consequences.' But Peter, who knew no law but his own will, and who tried to extend his autocracy over future as well as present time, regarded his son Alexis simply as any ordinary state criminal; and in Russia the children of state criminals were commonly involved in the ruin and punishment of their fathers.

'After all,' Voltaire continues, 'there was room to fear that some day or other the same people who had set the prince against his father, and had suggested or favoured his flight, *might endeavour to set aside an abdication imposed by force,* and to restore the succession to the elder son. . . . Hence it was important to discover who were the *ill-intentioned;*[79] and the tsar threatened his son once more with death if he attempted to conceal *any-*

[79] And *hence* it was felt after all to be necessary not only to disinherit him, but also to put him to death.

*thing*. In consequence the prince was juridically examined, first by his father, and afterwards by commissioners' (Voltaire, *Hist.* &c. ii. p. 103, ed. Paris, 1774). He was also required to *write* what he had told his father at first, in replying to his questions, only by word of mouth.

Solovieff writes, without giving the reference, that the tsar at this time said to Tolstoy: 'If there had been no nun (Eudocia) nor monk (Dositheus?), and no Kikin, Alexis would not have ventured upon such an unheard-of misdeed. Oh, those beards! What a root of mischief are the monks and popes! My father had to do with one beard (Nicon), but I have to do with thousands. God sees the heart and will judge the perfidious. I wished him well, but he was always set against me.' Tolstoy replied: 'For them that repent and become obedient there is mercy; but it is time that the wings of the monks should be clipped, and their down plucked.' 'Yes, lest they fly away. Quick, quick!' was Peter's answer (*Hist.* &c. vol. xvii. p. 216).

On the 3d of Feb., the same day on which the tsarevich was publicly disinherited, Peter wrote to Menshikoff: '*Mein freund!* On his arrival here my son stated that those who had known of and who had counselled his flight were *Alexander Kikin*, and his own servant *Ivan Athanasieff*: take them both, and iron them.' On the back Menshikoff has written: 'Received 6 Feb. at 11 o'clock P.M., and done at once.' Again, 3d Feb.: 'Mein freund! There are *two* Ivan Athanasieffs (major and minor); take them *both* (the elder is the man).' And again, 3d Feb.: 'Mein freund! . . . At the very time of the arrival of my son, when I learned about Kikin, I wrote to you (as above): but now I have great misgivings, for it seems that my domestic Judas Baklanofsky[80] is in league with Kikin; for when he knew that Saphonoff was sent to Petersburg, he immediately sent off thither Kikin's denshchik to him, Kikin, so I fear that enemy may have got away. Moreover, his brother (Ivan Kikin) and the tsarevich of Siberia are implicated; so take them up. I send a letter also to the senate. Also arrest Alexander Salin. And be sure to seize all papers,'[81] &c.

[80] Brother to Kikin's wife.

[81] In consequence, on the 8th and 11th Feb., Ivan Athanasieff minor, the *strapchi* Nikiphor Bogd. (Vlazemsky), the diak Theodore Everlakoff, Ivan Kikin, and the tsarevich of Siberia, Michael Samarin, and Abram Loponchin were arrested, and taken to the fortress.

On the next day, 4th Feb., there were proposed to the tsarevich certain *questions*, all written by the tsar himself, and copied out by Peter Andr. Tolstoy.

*Points of interrogation for the tsarevich Alexis, 4th of February,* A.D. 1718:

Since *yesterday* you received pardon *on condition*[82] of revealing all the circumstances of your flight, and of *all the rest of the same kind;* while, *if there be any reticence*, you are to lose your life; whereupon as to certain points *you answered verbally*,[83] for *better* (answering of the purpose in view) *make clean* (your conscience) *in writing* on the points under-written:

i. After the delivery to you of the letter at the funeral of your wife, and of other letters addressed by me to you about this matter, with whom did you consult before writing your answers? And since in all your letters, as also in your verbal request, you constantly *asked*[84] (to be allowed) to go into a monastery, but now it has been made clear in fact that all that was deception, with whom did you consult about that? and who knew that you were doing it deceitfully?

ii. When I was dangerously sick at Petersburg, did not some one speak to you words about flying to you for refuge if I died?

iii. About your flight had you begun to think long before? and with whom? Since you got ready and started so soon, it may have been thought of long before: explain clearly about this: With whom? where? verbally, or through letters, or verbal messages? and through whom? And the letter written as if from the road, and intended to deceive, in concert with whom did you write it? and why? Also while on the road, did you not write to anybody?

iv. While you were a refugee, did you not receive from any one from Russia letters, or any verbal message, directly or indirectly, or through other hands, and through whom (also, though not from Russia), about Russian matters, concerning yourself and me?

[82] But what of the pardon promised and *given* before without any *condition*, and enlarged upon to the emperor himself, and to others? Compare p. 1306.

[83] So, seemingly, this *condition* having been first publicly imposed in the hall, the trap for his life was laid in the interval during which his father took him aside into another room.

[84] 'The victim' only asked it as the preferable alternative.

v. When, and where, and for what purpose was the Greek priest with you?

vi. As touching that letter of which *you said that the emperor's people compelled you to write it*, write down here its substance;[85] though you may not be able to remember the exact words, yet explain in full its force. Also who of the emperor's people *compelled* you? When, and where, and who of your own people knew or knows of it? and to whom did you give those letters? and have you not any foul copy? and is it quite true that the emperor's people *compelled* you?

vii. Declare all, and cleanse your own conscience, *as if you were in actual confession*, about *all that relates* to this affair, though there may be anything not covered by these questions: and if you conceal anything, and it is afterwards discovered, blame not me; because yesterday it was declared before all the people that in this case the pardon is no pardon.

*Answers*[86] *of the tsarevich, dated 8th Feb. (abridged)*:

i. Thy letters, hossoudar, were made known and read to Alexander Kikin and to Nikiphor Viazemsky; and I consulted with them *separately*: and they advised me, after the first letter, to renounce the succession, and to ask to be deprived of it for my weakness, as I myself wished. And I wrote in sincerity. For why should one take upon one's self a burden which one cannot carry? About the other letter, they also advised me to ask leave to go into a monastery, so as even in that way to escape this burden[87] of the succession. And they said to me: 'If there is no other way, then it is better to go into a monastery, if you cannot so (*i.e.* simply remaining as you are) be divested of the succession.' When I took leave of you (before the tsar went abroad), I spoke of the same (*i.e.* of wishing to go into a monastery) as I did, in order not to vary from what I had written (though I had no *wish*,[88] as to this same question I stated verbally). And when you then said, 'Reflect upon it, take your time,' I hence put it off indefinitely. Soon after you had left,

[85] So the trap had no sooner been set before him than the poor wretch floundered into it, though at first only verbally. Now he must *write* his own most unnecessary falsehood.

[86] The passages bracketed below were *omitted* from the *Acts of the Inquest*.

[87] *i.e.* the burden of being drilled, &c.

[88] *i.e.* he *wished* rather to live on with Euphrosyne, and wished for a monastery only as preferable to a life of service.

Kikin went to Carlsbad; and a fortnight or less before he left (for when he left I was at my house in the country) he said to me: 'I will seek out some place or other for you.' And I, after he had gone, expected to hear from him, and was wishing to go away. But how my flight actually took place I will state plainly when I clear (my conscience) on the third point.

Before giving my first letter in answer to yours, I went to prince Basil Vlad. Dolgorouky, and to Theodore Matv. Apraxin, and begged them, if you should speak with them about this, to recommend you to deprive me of the succession, and to let me live in the country, and there end my life. And Theodore Matveyevich said: 'If your father speaks to me I am ready to do so.' And the prince Basil said the same; and he added: 'Give a thousand letters: still, who knows what may happen? There is an old proverb, "The snail crawls; sooner or later." That is not a bond with a penalty, such as we used to give one to another.' And when I had given my answer, on that same day or the next—I do not remember which—the prince Basil came to me, and desired me in your name to show him your letter; and I read it to him. And he said to me: 'I have been speaking with your father about you: I expect that he will deprive you of the succession; and he seems to be content with your letter.' And he asked me to show him the foul copy of my own letter; and I read it to him; because he had advised me to write that *about my brother* which is written in it. And when I had read it through, he said to me: 'It is written very well.' And then he repeated the words given above; and he added farther: 'I can tell you that I got you off with your father *from the block*.' And I said to him that I gave this letter without any *arrière-pensée*, in sincerity, not wishing to take upon me a burden which I cannot bear. And he said to me: 'Now you may congratulate yourself; you will have no work of any kind put upon you.' But whether I showed the letters to Theodore Matveyevich or not I do not remember.

This first letter I composed with the advice of Kikin and Nikiphor, taken separately. Sometimes, for instance, when I had written a draft, I might send it sealed by Basil Borikoff, because it was not always possible, on account of the distance, to see Kikin himself. Besides, Kikin said: 'There are spies from your father's dvor, who *watch to see* who goes to you.' And

I asked him: How do you know that? And he replied that some of his dvor-people had told him so; but *who* had so told him he did not say. But whether Borikoff knows what letters he carried from me to Kikin I cannot say, because I did not tell him: I only told him to take them to Kikin privately; and he, having made corrections, sent them back to me, also sealing them up.

Kikin advised me to renounce the succession: 'You will have quiet, when you give up all, if only they will be content to do it so. I know that you cannot bear (the burden) for your weakness. It was ill managed that you did not go away; and now that opportunity cannot be recalled.' Nikiphor said: 'God is free, and the empire; if only you could be in quiet.' More than those words I do not remember. About the other letter I consulted with the same two, Kikin and Nikiphor; but, so far as I remember, there were no sendings to and fro, as the time was short. Kikin, I think, was with me alone: he had suggested, before those letters, that I should go into a monastery: 'You see the klobouk will not be nailed to your head: it can be taken off.' And therewith he said: 'For the present it would so be well; and hereafter what is to happen who knows?' What words Nikiphor said at that time I do not remember; only I remember: 'If there is no other way, then go into a monastery. And send to your confessor, and tell him that you are compelled to go into a monastery, that he may know. He can speak to the bishop of Riazan also of this, that they may not think of you that you have been tonsured for any crime.' And I did according to that advice of Nikiphor. And my confessor George, the protopope of Petersburg, on hearing that from me, said: 'If there should be a convenient time for it, I will mention it.' But afterwards I asked him: Had he mentioned it? And he said: 'No.' And I said to him: Then now don't mention it. But with what purpose Nikiphor told me to do that I knew not. Of my consultations with Kikin he, my confessor, did not know, and with him I consulted about nothing.

And after giving that other letter, I wrote two letters, to my confessor Yakoff and to Ivan Kikin, telling them that I was going of compulsion into a monastery, and that they were to give to *her* who would deliver this letter a certain sum of money; how much exactly I do not remember; because at that time there was money of mine in their hands; and I gave the letters sealed

to that girl who was living with me (without telling her what was written in them), and I said to her: When I die (for I was then ill) deliver those letters; they will give you money. And she put those letters by into a box, and they are now at Petersburg. Of your letters to me and of mine to you she knew nothing. When I had formed the intention of flying, I took her with me, deceiving her, saying that she should accompany me as far as Riga, and thence I took her on with me. And I told her and the people who were with me that I had orders to go secretly to Vienna to make a treaty of alliance against the Turks, and that I was to live in secresy, in order that the Turks might not know it. And beyond that they heard nothing from me. At that time the above-mentioned letters were known to the prince Youry Your. Troubetskoy, and to the tsarevich of Siberia; but the letters themselves they did not see. Troubetskoy asked me three weeks after the first letter: 'What sort of letter was that which I saw your father give you, an unpleasant one or agreeable?' And I told him what was written in your letter, and in my answer; and he said to me: 'You do well not to desire the succession: only think, what tears gold makes to flow: you could not support that.' And I said to him that in truth it was so. The tsarevich of Siberia said to me: 'What sort of letters were those which Makaroff brought to you? the same day he told the prince Yakoff, and we know all.' And I, calling him to me, gave him some ducats, that when I should be tonsured he should give them to my girl for her maintenance. And after some days I took them back. And my having given that money was known to Nikiphor Viazemsky, Ivan Athanasieff, and my confessor George. About the letters, whether I told him or not I do not remember. Of my flight he, my confessor, knew nothing.

ii. When you were dangerously ill I heard nothing from any body; nor were there any words about flying for refuge to me, if you were to die, spoken by any one.

iii. About my flight I had had words with Kikin often at different times and in different years, and before these letters, to the effect, that if it happened to me to be in foreign parts I should remain abroad, somewhere, not for any other purpose, but merely to live on, removing myself from all, in quiet (only for the execution of this there was no great earnestness). When I went to

Carlsbad for a cure, Kikin said to me: 'When you have made your cure, write to your father that you need to make another cure in the spring, and in the mean time you will go to Holland; and then, after the spring cure, you can go to Italy, and so prolong your absence for two years, or for three.' And I from Carlsbad wrote to him, asking, Should I do so as had been spoken of between us, or not? And he wrote back: 'If you were to do this without submitting the matter to your father, you would run a risk of incurring his anger; but write to him and ask his permission: but as for you, *don't forget your own business*.' In what sense he wrote those last words I could not make out. And when I gave up the thought of going to Holland and returned to Petersburg, and found him, after the inquest, already pardoned and sentenced to banishment, but already set free from being under guard, I had an interview with him. He asked me: 'Did any one go to see you from the French court?' And I said: No, nobody. And he said: 'It was a pity that you did not see some one from the French court, and go off thither: the king is a man of magnanimity; he keeps even kings under his protection; and it would have been no great matter for him to protect you.' And I asked him: When you wrote to me not to forget my own business, what did you mean by that? 'I meant when I wrote that,' he said, 'that you should go off to *France*, but I could not write plainly; you ought to have been able to guess for yourself.'

But of my present actual flight I had consulted before with nobody; only when I had received your letter, and so it was free for me to go out of Russia, according to my former words with Kikin, I thought to go away somewhither, to the emperor, or to some republic, as that of Venice or Switzerland; and of this I spoke to nobody, only I told Ivan Athanasieff the elder that I meant to go off to some one of the above-mentioned places. But I did not say distinctly to what place, because I myself had not a decided intention. And at the same time I said that I had had conversations with Kikin before about that, and perhaps he had found a place for me, because he was then in foreign parts: And when I shall have seen him, I said, then I will go to some one of those above-mentioned places. (But before that I had never said anything on this subject to Ivan Athanasieff, nor consulted with anybody else except Kikin, either by word or by

writing, or in any other way whatever; nor did any one of my household, or any other, except those whom I have mentioned, know from me that I meant to go away.) And Ivan said, when I told him of my intention of flying: 'I am ready to keep your secret; only there will be mischief for us when you go off: consider what you are doing.' But when I had met Kikin at Libau and asked him, Had he found me any place? he answered: 'Yes, I have; go to Vienna, to the emperor; there they will not give you up;' and he began to tell me how he had lived at Vienna. [' And Veselovsky said to me that they asked him at court, Why were they going to deprive you of the succession? And I said to him: You know yourself that they do not like him; I think that is the chief reason, and that it is not for anything else. And as I knew for certain that he, Veselovsky, *did not intend to return to his country*, I began to speak more boldly with him, and to ask him about you: If he were to come here would they receive him? And he said to me: "I will speak with the vice-chancellor Schonborn; he is friendly to me." And after some time he said that he had spoken with Schönborn, and he asked the emperor in conversation, and the emperor said that he would receive him as his own son, "and I think that he would give him 3000 guldens a month." ' But in fact, during all my stay there, except 1000 ducats and my food, nothing else was given me: also the emperor sent me a gold watch.] And I asked Kikin: Why did you go to Vienna? for me, or for some other cause? for though you spoke before you left of seeking out some place for me, you never wrote to me about anything. And he said: 'I had no other business there except what was for you. I asked permission of the tsarevna Maria to go to Vienna for business of my own, and she charged me to persuade Prozorofsky to return.' And then I asked him: If any should be sent to me to Dantzig or to Korolevetz, what am I to do? And he said: 'Get away from them by night alone, or take only one lad; but abandon your baggage and people: but if *two* should be sent, pretend to be sick, and send one of them on ahead, and get away from the other:' so as is written above of this.

The letter intended to deceive was written by advice of the same Kikin at Libau, and it was purposely dated from Korolevetz that they might not suspect that it was written by advice of Kikin, because my interview with him was not secret. And the

letter was given to the captain of the Semenofsky polk prince Shakhovskoy; and we told him to send it by the post; and he, the captain, knew nothing of our consultation. It was written for this end, that there might be nobody sent to meet me. The same Kikin desired me to write a note to Ivan Athanasieff major (when I had told him that he knew of my intention and of my flight), bidding him come to me, and adding that, to let him know where, I would leave a letter for him with the postmaster at Dantzig. And he, Kikin, thought: 'If Ivan is not at Petersburg this cannot come out, because, except us two and him, nobody else knows; and I was not at Petersburg while you were there, so there will be no thought of suspicion against me: but if Ivan is at Petersburg there will be danger of his saying something to somebody or other.' And I said: I think Ivan will not go. And Kikin said: 'Write another letter, as if you had said nothing at all to him about this, but had conceived the thought of flying when on the road, and bid him take certain things with diamonds, and come to you, and say that you will leave for him a letter' (I do not remember where in the town he told me to write that he was to go); 'and I will tell him to take that letter to prince Menshikoff, as if he were revealing your secret: then they will not put him to the question.'

Farther, he bade me write also a letter to the prince Basil (Dolgorouky), thanking him for his affection, for which when I can I should be bound to make him a return, saying: 'If there should be any suspicion against me in connection with your flight I will show your letter to the prince Basil, and will say: Apparently he had consulted with him, since he thanks him; but I suppressed this letter.' And those letters he took to himself; and whether he delivered them or not I know not. But, together with the above-mentioned letters to Ivan Athanasieff, he bade me write a letter to prince Menshikoff to give Ivan a podvod and to send him off. Also he bade me thank him for having advised me to take my girl with me. 'It may be,' he said, 'that the prince will show your letter to your father, and he will conceive a suspicion against him also.' Prince Menshikoff had spoken to me of that in this way: When I, before leaving, had gone to him, he asked me: 'Where do you mean to leave her?' And I said to him: I will take her to Riga, and then send her back to Petersburg. And he said to me: 'You had best take her

with you altogether.' But my intention was really to take her, only I said on purpose 'to Riga,' that they might not perceive that I meant to fly. On that account I did not tell the girl herself the truth, that she might not let it out. And when I had mentioned this to Kikin, he bade me write to the prince. But prince Menshikoff did not know of my flight; and with the prince Basil (Dolgorouky) I had held no kind of consultation about that. And after that we parted company from Kikin. Kikin and Ivan Athanasieff both asked me to let them know when I turned off on my way in the direction needful for me, thus: I was to write that I had passed beyond Dantzig without any harm from the confederates, and had gone on my way: 'And write nothing more than that; we shall understand.' And I did so. I wrote from Stargard to them; and that there might be no suspicion against them, I wrote also to others who knew nothing either of my flight or of my consultations with Kikin; viz. to Nikiphor Viazemsky, to Theodore Doubrovsky, to the tsarevich of Siberia, and to Ivan Narishkin, in the same sense as to Kikin and to Ivan . . . And those letters were sent from Riga to the prince Peter Golitsin, to send to Petersburg. But after that I sent no other letters to Russia. From Courland and Livonia I wrote to my house about matters of business relating to my house and to my country estates: also to Doubrovsky, about taking certain books: because before that more than once I had given many books and other things into the keeping of others; and in the same way I did then. Prince Peter Golitsin knew not of my flight. Whether those letters reached their destinations or not I know not, because no letters from Russia from anybody reached me.

Farther, Kikin said to me: 'If your father sends anybody to persuade you, go not to him: he will cut off your head publicly.' And at that time I said to Kikin: It is well that you have found me a place; but if there had not been a letter from my batushka, how should I have been able to get away? And he said: 'I meant to manage it so that you should say that you would go of yourself to your father, and so get away.' [Also he said: 'Your father will not tonsure you *now*,[89] even though you

[89] Kikin was a clever rogue, full of malice against Peter; but Peter's letter to his son clearly gave him the option of going into a monastery; and if he chose that, he was *actually to do it* before sending back the messenger. But the

wished it: the prince Basil has advised him to keep you constantly with himself, and to take you about everywhere, that you may die of the wear and tear, since you cannot stand hard labour. And your father said: "It will be well to do so." And the prince Basil observed to him: "As a monk he will be in quiet, and may live a long time." And after these words I wonder that they have not called for you *long ago;* and *now* they call for you *with that intention;* and you, except by flight, have no other possible means of escape.']

iv. During the time of my flight I received no letters from anybody from Russia, nor from anywhere else, nor any verbal message directly or indirectly, or through the hands of others, about matters here; nor had I information about anything, except from count Schönborn, when I was at Ehrenberg: first, that there were notices about me, that I had gone away, (and recommendations) that I should live in secrecy; secondly, when Veselovsky made representations about me (to the court) at Vienna. And of these I do not remember in which letter it was that a copy (or extract) was sent me from a letter of Pleyer, to the effect, that after my departure there had been some inquiries made by the people of my household; and that there was a disturbance in the army then stationed in the territory of Mecklenburg, in particular among the guards, where the greater part were of the nobility, (with a plot) to kill the hossoudar, and to send the tsaritsa with her son into the same convent where is now the old tsaritsa, and to take her out to Moscow, and after seeking out her son, who had disappeared, to place him on the throne; that at Petersburg all were complaining that they put the nobles on a level with the lowest classes, and enrolled all alike as sailors and soldiers; and their estates were ruined by the building of cities and ships. What more was written I do not remember. That letter is with my other things, which have not yet arrived. Also there was a letter from Schönborn about removing to Naples. While I was at Naples there were no letters from Schönborn. And in my present flight I have never written in cypher to any one, nor received any news, except the above-written, and printed gazettes.

v. No Greek priest, anywhere or for any purpose, from my

tsarevich started at once; so there had been no time for any such advice of Basil Dolgorouky to have been given *afterwards*, and to have become known to Kikin, or to have *changed* Peter's design.

departure from Petersburg to the arrival at Naples of Messrs. Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff, came to me.

vi. Keil, the secretary of count Schönborn, when he had brought me to Naples, *forced* me to write letters to the senate and to the bishops, in the quarters of Weingardt, the secretary of the viceroy, (saying) that I should write[99] to Russia to the above-mentioned persons, 'because,' he said, 'there are reports that you are dead: others say that you have been taken and sent to Siberia: on that account write; but *if you will not* write, *we* will not keep you:' and he did not go out while I was writing: and, in consequence of his compulsion, I wrote to the senate and to two bishops, viz. those of Rostoff and Kroutitz (because they were only slightly known to me), to this effect:

'I suppose that my having gone away, without anything being known about me, is a matter of astonishment to you and to all. To that I was driven by great ill-treatment, so that they had almost put on me the monastic habit: but God gave me an opportunity of getting away (so as to be) under the protection of a certain high person' (since I was forbidden to name any one), 'under which I am for a time, till the Lord bids me return. I beg you, do not forget me. If there should be any one of those who wish to destroy the remembrance of me among the people who shall give out that I am dead, or any other evil report, pray do not believe it, and keep others from believing it: for I am alive and in good health, being preserved by God and by my benefactors, who have promised not to abandon me, and in every necessity to help me. I remain, ever wishing well to you and to all my country to my death.'

This, which I have written, was the purport of the letter; but the exact words I do not remember: but the foul copy of the letter they did not give me back: only there is a letter which I began to write, but altered: and that, instead of (or 'as equivalent to') the foul copy, I kept; though it is not exactly in

[99] The secretary *may have suggested* this, as something to do during the two days that the tsarevich was waiting in the palace below, before the secretary returned: but with the threat that he was to forfeit his life if detected in any reticence, it was an insane cowardice which prompted him to say or write '*compelled*' for '*suggested*.' No doubt he was pretty sure to forfeit his life, even if he had been as sharp as Kikin himself, and as full in his confessions or informations as it was possible to be. But that is another matter. Well might Basil Dolgorouky exclaim, 'That ass the tsarevich!' An ass he was, not by any want of intelligence, but by habitual terror.

the same words, yet it is to the same effect: and now that letter is coming after me with the rest of my written papers. And when I had written those letters I gave them to the secretary. And he left with them, to go whither I know not, but he said that he was returning to Vienna. And he placed me in the castle of St. Elmo. And of my people, *no one*[91] knew anything about those letters (nor had I at that time any *man* who could read and write with me). But we ourselves, with the secretary,[92] shutting ourselves up, wrote them in duplicate alone. This was on the 8th May A.D. 1717.

When I came to Vienna, I went to count Schönborn, and asked for protection; and he said: 'I will go to the emperor (and see) what he will say. But you must take care that Veselovsky does not see you.' And when he had come back from the emperor, he said that he had given no determination; 'but he has ordered me to hold a conference with prince Eugene and count Starenberg.' And, after that conference, they determined to receive me under protection, and to send me to some fortress. And the count said to me: 'What can you do at Vienna? All will discover you; and, worst of all, Veselovsky. But the emperor will not abandon you; and, *in case of need, after the death of your father*, he will be ready to help you even by force of arms to obtain the throne.' And I said to him: *I do not ask you for that:* I ask you only to keep me under your protection: *that* (other assistance, even after the death of my father) *I do not desire.*

vii. What farther relates to this affair I explain thus: When I went away from Petersburg prince Menshikoff gave me 1000 ducats. And when I took leave of the senators they gave me 1000 ducats; and as at that time ducats were not at hand, they made order to give me 2000 rubles in money. Farther, I borrowed of Elia Isaeff at Rigà 5000 ducats, and 2000 in small money, which an officer there changed for me into ducats. What his name was *I do not know;* and 500 he gave me in change, but 500 others did not appear, and now at Riga I asked to have inquest made about this. But of my flight the abovementioned persons, the prince, and the senators, and Elia Isaeff, knew nothing. I told them that I was going to you to Copen-

[91] Another needless inaccuracy, since Euphrosyne had actually in her keeping the draft just before spoken of.

[92] *i.e.* the courier *Potskay*, who was sent with them as knowing Russian perfectly.

hagen, and they gave me the money. But from Elia I was recommended to borrow by Ivan Athanasieff.

Farther, what at different times and from different persons I heard worthy of mention: I heard the tsarevich of Siberia speak thus: 'Michaelo Samarin said to me, "There will soon be a change with us: if you will be good to me, it will be the better for you; that it will." And what Samarin says, that comes to pass.' So spoke the tsarevich of Siberia; but what the change was to be he did not explain. Also he said to me in March A.D. 1716: 'On the first of April there will be a change.' And I asked him: What change? And he said: 'Either your father will die, or Petersburg will be destroyed: I saw that in a dream.' And when that day had passed, I asked him: How is it that nothing has happened? And he said: 'It may happen some other year on this day; I did not say that it was to be in this present year: only look out for it on the first of April; but what the year is to be I do not know.'

[After your illness, Simeon Narishkin, on his arrival from England, came to me to my house, and with him Paul Yagoujinsky or Alexis Makaroff; I do not remember which of these two it was, but one of them it was; and talking about *successions* in those parts, Simeon said: 'In the case of Prussia, the uncles were set aside, and a nephew is on the throne, because he is the son of the eldest brother.' And looking at me, he said: 'Seemingly too your father has set *you* aside, and has given the succession to the throne to your brother, after a bad fashion.' And I said to him: With us he is free; he does what he will: we have not their rights. And he said: 'Nobody can tell what will happen, if this is so done; in the customs of the whole world there is nothing done like it.']

Nikiphor Viazemsky having come from Moscow to Thorn, said to me: 'I heard Alexander Sergeyeff say that the hossoudar will not live more than five years. But whence he has learned that I know not.' [Also the same man said to me at Petersburg: 'Your brother will not live more than seven years, and scarcely so long.' But from whom he learned that he did not say.]

When he was before Stettin the prince Basil Dolgorouky,[93]

[93] Perhaps he is the more ready to inform thus against Basil Dolgorouky from having believed the story which had been told him by Kikin of the advice given by Dolgorouky against himself to the tsar.

as he was riding with me one day, said: 'If there were not the tsaritsa to mitigate the tsar's severity, we could not live: I would be the first to desert (and to go) into Stettin.'

Of all the above statement is thus made by your most humble servant and son, *Alexis*.

Farther, as a supplement (to my answers) to the points given to me to clear (my conscience, in respect of the fulness required of me), I state what I before forgot to write:

When I was going away, as I was conversing with Theodore Doubrovsky, he asked: 'Are you going to your father? go, for God's sake.' And I said to him: I will go—God knows whether to him or somewhere else. And he said: 'Many of your brethren (*i.e.* princes) have saved themselves by flight: I think your connections will not give you up.'

[Also he asked me for money, for 500 rubles, saying: 'I will give them to your mother.' And I gave them to him.]

Also Simeon Narishkin, having met me between Memel and Korolovetz, said: 'There is no good in your hastening: you might remain there (*i.e.* abroad) longer: we, who are faithful to you, thought of that, and Kikin wrote to you.' And I said to him: What he wrote about that I could not make out. And he said: 'Now it must be as it is.'

[Also at the time of that conversation with Doubrovsky, in which I told him of my intention of flying, he said: 'I think your father will examine Abram (Lopouchin), your uncle, with torture.' And I said: Why should he, when he knows nothing about it? When you have certain information that I have gone away, then you may tell Abram, if you will; but at present say nothing to anybody. And he said to me: 'I shall *never* speak of it to anybody.' But whether he did speak of it or not I know not.

At the time of my batushka's dangerous illness, Alexander Kikin said to me: 'Your father is not (really) dangerously ill: he has been confessed and communicated on purpose to make the people think that he is very ill; but it is all a sham: and for that he communicates, he makes a rule of doing so for his state policy.']

Ivan Athanasieff, before I left, after I had told him of my intended flight, brought me a paper of heads about the management of my household affairs, for me to sign, directing how all was to be done in my absence (so it had been always my custom

to do when I was going away). And thereupon I said to him: Why should I sign this, when I am going off (altogether)? And he said to me: 'For me this will be desirable for the clearing (of my conscience).' Also he proposed to me to send to Copenhagen, for my personal service, provisions and people.

He also advised me to take away the girl by deception—as has been written in the longer answers—and not to tell her or the people who were to be with me of my intention of flying.

Also he advised me to borrow money of Elia Isaeff, 10,000 ducats or more; which there, after the payment, became known, &c. And all this was so done according to his suggestion.

[Before reaching Libau I was met by the tsarevna Maria Alexievna, and she took me to her into the carriage; and, after much other conversation, there was mention made of my mother. And she said: 'You seem to have forgotten her: you do not write, and you do not send her anything. Have you sent since that time when you sent through me?' And I said: Yes (alluding to what I had sent through Doubrovsky, &c.). And she sought to *force* me to write a short note to my mother (*of which I have before this given information*).[94] And I said to her: I am afraid to write. And she said: 'What do you mean? even if you were to suffer for it, that would be nothing; you see, it would be for your mother, and not for anybody else.' And I said: What good is there in that, that I should bring mischief on myself without her being thereby at all benefited? And I said: Is she alive, or not?[95] And she said: 'To be sure, she is alive; and there has been a revelation to her and to others, that your father will take her back to himself, and there will be children. It will be thus: Your father will be sick, and during his sickness there will be a certain disturbance, and he will go to the Troitsa monastery for the festival of St. Sergius, and your mother also will be there, and your father will be healed of his sickness, and will take her to himself, and the disturbance will cease. You must manage too to see Kikin; he wants to see you.' Also she said that Petersburg will not be long for us: 'It is to be desolate; many speak of that.' Also at various times,

[94] So Peter had questioned his son privately about communications with his mother, though this subject is omitted in the written 'Points,' except so far as the drag-net of Point vii. covers everything.

[95] *i.e.* 'Have you heard from or of her quite recently?' A letter often contained only the words, 'I am alive' (*ya jiv*), or little more.

when the conversation turned upon my matushka the tsaritsa Catherina Alexievna, and I spoke with satisfaction of her kindness to myself, she (the tsarevna Maria) would say: 'Why do you make much of that? you see, she is not your real mother: how can she really be so much your friend?'

The tsarevna Maria asked me at times with urgency for money to send to my mother: at one time, for 100; at another time—I do not remember—for 300 or 500 rubles, three years or more back. And near Libau, when she met me, she *forced* me to write a short note, only about health; and, so far as I remember, it was written thus: 'Matushka-hossoudarina, health to you! Pray do not cease to remember me in your prayers.' More than that I never wrote. And she showed me a letter from her; only she did not give it to me, nor did I seek to take it. She wrote also about (sending her) alms. And she (the tsarevna) gave me a small icon of our Lady, and a handkerchief or beads, I do not remember which. Doubrovsky brought me to *Siaskoe Oustie* a small bottle of vodka from Abram, and a short note about the same vodka, which I there tore up.

Also when my former confessor, Yakoff Ignatieff, the protopope of the Spassky sobor, was at Petersburg, he said to me: 'Abram is much concerned that you are not cordial towards him. Write a little note, without signature or address, to this effect, that you keep him in that affection which is due to your near relationship, and are always his well-wisher; and of that he is not to doubt.' And that note he took to himself; but whether he delivered it or not I cannot say.

Eleven or twelve years back, or more (so in A.D. 1706 or earlier), he, the same Yakoff, said to me: 'I have letters from your mother to you;' and he showed me them. Only I did not take them from him; and in them, as I remember, she wrote of health, and asked for alms. And I said to my confessor: Do not bring me such letters in future. And he did not.

Also the widow Maria Solovtsoff, at Petersburg, brought me from my mother a prayer-book (*molitvennik*), a small book, two small cups, such as they use for drinking vodka, some beads, and a handkerchief, without any letter or any verbal message; only she said that 'she bade me give them to thee.' That widow is the sister-in-law of Nikiphor Viazemsky, own sister to his wife, and my godmother.]

Feb. 7, the tsar wrote to Petersburg, to Menshikoff (sending him also written *points* for examination): 'Now I write to bid you examine them (the prisoners whom he had arrested) in the chamber of torture as to those who were in concert with them: torture them once only, by hanging them up once; but don't knout them (that they may be able to travel); and send them here as speedily as possible, that they may arrive while I am still here; that is, Kikin and Athanasieff,[96] and any others implicated with them. The others—that is, the tsarevich of Siberia, Samarin, and Abram Lopouchin—keep at Petersburg, under guard.'

Since it was regarded as high treason not only for his own servants to have served the tsarevich without informing against him, but for his friends or acquaintances or even strangers to have known, though indirectly and accidentally, of his flight; and he, from pusillanimity and terror, had attempted to save his life by answering his father's questions, and in so doing had named some twenty-four persons, besides three foreigners,—this gave his father a basis for an inquest capable—through examinations with torture, and reëxaminations on the discovery of discrepancies—of involving an indefinite multitude of persons. But setting aside the crime of having sympathised with the son rather than with the father, a crime which he might have detected in the greater part of the nation, his anger was naturally concentrated upon the mother of the tsarevich as the original source and occasion of the passive antagonism of his son, and upon Alexander Kikin, who had suggested his son's flight. Hence the Souzdal and the Kikin inquests, as distinct from the personal affair of the tsarevich himself.

In all there were arrested and examined above fifty persons, of whom the chief were the tsaritsa Eudocia, the tsarevna Maria, the bishop of Rostoff Dositheus, the protopope of the Spassky sobor in the palace of the Kremlin Yakoff Ignatieff, the kliuchar of the sobor of the Annunciation Ivan Athanasievich, Abram and Alexander Lopouchin,[97] the major Stephen Gleboff, &c.

[96] These were sent off to Moscow at seven o'clock A.M. on the 9th. So this letter must have been written before the 7th Feb., between the 3d and the afternoon of the 5th.

[97] Alex. Lopouchin received seventeen blows of the knout, and was sentenced, 16th March, to the galleys for life, for having heard of the tsarevich's flight after he had fled, and that Kikin had had to do with it, without giving information.

Also Alexander Kikin and his brother Ivan, Ivan Athanasieff major, Nikiphor Viazemsky, Theodore Everlakoff, the prince Basil Vlad. Dolgorouky, the prince Simeon Tscherbati, Ivan Narishkin; and a number of women, hegoumninas and nuns, and the princesses Troekourova (sister of the tsaritsa Eudocia), Lvoff, and Golitsin. Some were tortured three and four times: ten persons were punished capitally; as many more were condemned to the galleys; and a still greater number were banished to Siberia and distant towns.

Alexander Kikin had just received the notice sent to him by his brother-in-law Baklanofsky, and was consulting about it with his brother Ivan a little before midnight (on the 6th Feb.), when he was arrested.

On the 11th Feb. Menshikoff (who had already on the 9th sent off Alexander Kikin and Ivan Athanasieff major to Moscow) wrote to the tsar thus: 'By thy majesty's oukaz,[94] received today, I have at once arrested Samarin, the tsarevich of Siberia, and Ivan Kikin, and have with no small severity examined them verbally. They all, especially Samarin and the tsarevich, with one voice asseverate that they are quite innocent, as having neither known nor learned anything; and they say that the tsarevich has made a statement against them, as if of something which passed between them and himself alone, so that it is impossible for them to bring proofs in their own justification. Ivan Kikin, when I began to question him verbally, denied everything; but when I said that his brother Alexander had revealed something about him, he then said that the prince Yakoff Theod. (Dolgorouky) sent him, Ivan, to go to the tsarevich, and to say to him that it was not well for him to go to his father; he had better be tonsured. But he, Ivan, did not go to the tsarevich with that message. He said to the prince Dolgorouky: "I in that matter am not an adviser." I inclose a copy of what Alexander Kikin confessed to when hung up. Abram Lopouchin has today been arrested and placed under guard. When on the first day Alexander Kikin was taken under arrest, he took me aside and asked: "Has the prince Basil Dolgorouky been arrested?" And I said: No, he has not. Then he said: "They will torture us; but the tsarevich has screened the Dolgoroukys, favouring them

[94] An order based upon the written answers completed and given in by the tsarevich on the 8th Feb.

on account of their *nobility*." These words he spoke in presence of the major-general prince Golitsin, Chernicheff, and the majors of the guards Yousoupoff and Soltikoff. We asked him: With what meaning he so spoke? He was silent, and did not explain.'

At the same time Menshikoff inclosed (1) a *copy*, dated on the 11th Feb., from Alexander Kikin's statement, made when he was hung up in the garrison (*i.e.* in the Fortress), the original of which had been signed by himself; and (2) a copy from the statement made by the kammer-diener Ivan Athanasieff major, when examined at the same time with Alexander Kikin.[99]

Kikin's hint that the Dolgoroukys ought not to escape was characteristic of the man; and from the first, in all his advice to the tsarevich, his chief motive had been malice against Peter. It is not to our purpose to reproduce all the details of the examinations and reëxaminations to which either Kikin or others were subjected, there being no real ground for judicial proceedings against any of them; but some passages shall be extracted.

Alexander Kikin—so he stated of himself, when examined by Menshikoff—had said to the tsarevich: 'If the Cesar should be unable from any circumstances to receive you, go to the Pope, and to other parts.' . . . 'It is better now to be tonsured: your inheritance hereafter, when the time comes, will not be lost, nor go away from you.'

Feb. 16, Peter writes to Menshikoff: 'My son implicates also general prince (Basil Vlad.) Dolgorouky, and the protopope Igor; arrest them.' This was done on the 20th.

Feb. 17: 'Take up the diaks Voronoff and Voinoff, and the prince Bogdan Gagarin, and send all the prisoners here for this affair grows greatly. Hang up Everlakoff, and question him according to the schedule of questions sent herewith. Also take up Peter Apraxin and Alexis Volkoff (but do not send *him* yet). Everlakoff said to Ivan Athanasieff major: "Many commended the tsarevich for going off, but now they do not commend him by any means for coming back." But *who* spoke so he did not say: he must be tortured to make him say.' This was all done on the 21st.

Feb. 17: 'I have received yours, after I had already written about sending the bandits of that *company*, and the *copies* of the

[99] Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. 1859, Appendices, p. 460-467, where the date 11th Feb. is erroneously given to the statements themselves.

cypher alphabets. Send the originals; and the people also from whom they were taken.'

Feb. 18: 'Take up and send here Basil Gleboff, and the podiak from Riga, Ivan Osip. Protopopoff; and keep Ivan Iv. Narishkin under guard.' This was so done at Petersburg on the 22d; and on the same day 'they beat the drums and made proclamation, at different places about the city, that till the tsar's arrival none of the inhabitants should go out on the Moscow road, *on pain of death*.'

On the 22d Feb. Peter wrote: 'Arrest and send the archimandrite of the Simonoff monastery.'

On the 26th at Petersburg the six regiments of the garrison 'being all drawn up on the Troitskoi ploshchad, and all the ministers, with the most illustrious prince (Menshikoff), having come to the church, the tsar's manifesto about the tsarevich Alexis was published. And all the ministers, &c., swore upon the cross and the gospel that the tsarevich Alexis was no longer the heir, and that the tsarevich Peter Petrovich was the heir.' And on the next three following days all the soldiers of the regiments, &c., were sworn in the same church in like manner.

On the 27th Feb., the day *after* this had been so done (the prayers addressed in the churches to Almighty God, whether before or during or after the publication of the tsar's manifesto and the administration of the new oath on the 26th having been the same as in time past), Menshikoff wrote to the tsar from Petersburg thus:

'Thy most dear children the tsarevich (Peter Petrovich) and the tsarevnas are well.' And after giving an account of the works on the island of Kotlin, *he* asks in a postscript for an *ookaz*, how to *pray* in the ectenias *in the churches?* 'Peter Petrovich is named already: but is Alexis Petrovich to be named *still?* I have told the archimandrite (of the Nefsky) Theodosius (Yanofsky) to write to you about this, and I inclose herewith his letter.'

And, March 3, Menshikoff sends the copy of a letter from Euphrosyne (the tsarevich's mistress) to the protopope Igor, and he writes: 'I send also all the original letters, &c., taken from the above-mentioned podiak Protopopoff.'

March 4, Peter writes to Menshikoff: 'Arrest and send here Trockourova, the sister of my former wife, Barbara Golovin,[1]

[1] Golovkin at p. 276 of the same *Collection of Documents*, &c.

the wife of the *writer* (*pisar*) Nikiphor Bogdanoff (Viazemsky), and the letters which are with the hofmeisterinn who is with my grandchildren.'

March 11: 'Arrest in his house the prince Michael Vlad. Dolgorouky, implicated by Abram Lopouchin; and keep under arrest the princess Maria Lvoff, the widow.' Done on the 16th.

March 17: 'On receipt of this cause my chambers at Schlüsselborg, which are near to the church, to be well arranged for my sister the tsarevna Maria Alexievna to live in, as she will soon be sent thither from hence.' At this day, which was the names-day of the tsarevich Alexis, it is noted in the *Minute-book of the Fortress at Petersburg*, that 'there was no salute fired, nor was the standard hoisted,' as on that day had been usual in years past.

And in answer to questions from Menshikoff about the treatment of the tsarevna Maria, Peter writes that 'she is to have all that is *necessary*, nothing more; to be guarded by the soldiers of the garrison: to have such servants as are *absolutely necessary*, with the same wages as before; not to be allowed to go out: her foreign doctor is to be kept on; and the okolnik prince Khotetevsky.'

*The Kikin group of the inquests occasioned by the flight of the tsarevich, and by his answers to the questions put to him after his return.*

This we take first, because it relates directly and avowedly to the flight of the tsarevich, with which neither his mother herself nor those at Souzdal or elsewhere who were in communication with her had had in truth anything to do.

On the 18th Feb. *Alexander Kikin* was examined at Moscow as to nine questions, all written by Peter. The sixth of these was worded thus: 'Of his relations, did Abram (Lopouchin) and others know of the project of this proceeding, or participate in it? and if any did, who? and in what way? and were there not letters from his mother on this subject, or on some other like it? or to her? and through whom?' To this Kikin made no reply. The ninth question was characteristic of Peter: 'Though there be nothing about it here, if you know of anything against yourself, or against any others, state it.' And Kikin's answer is characteristic, very unlike the answer of the tsarevich Alexis to nearly the same general demand addressed to him. 'I am not asked,' Kikin replied. That is, 'I cannot answer a question

till it is asked: and the tsar has no right to call upon me to accuse myself before him as if I were in confession to God, nor to accuse others of all that I may imagine would displease him.'

Besides his first examination on the 11th Feb. at Petersburg, when he was only hauled up, Kikin was tortured three times at Moscow, being hauled up and receiving on the 18th Feb. twenty-five blows of the knout, on the 22d four blows, and on 5th March nine blows. On the 14th March he was condemned 'by the ministers' to be capitally punished, with severity. The sentence was signed by the prince Ivan Romodanofsky, general-fieldmarshal Boris Sheremetieff, count Ivan Mousin-Poushkin, general-admiral count Apraxin, count Gabriel Golovkin, Tichon Streshneff, prince Peter Prozorofsky, baron Peter Shaphiroff, Alexis and Basil Soltikoff; and it was countersigned by the diak Timothy Paliechin.

*Ivan Athanasieff major*, in his first examination, 11th Feb., before Menshikoff at Petersburg, stated that the tsarevich had spoken of leaving him a cypher alphabet; but this was not done: then his podiak was to bring it from Riga; but when the podiak returned from Riga he knew nothing about it. Some weeks after he had left, a little after Kikin had returned, Athanasieff received a letter bidding him go to Dantzig: he went, but found no letter left for him by the tsarevich at the post-office: he went on to Schwerin, to the tsarevna Katerina Ivanovna, but she could tell him nothing: there he fell sick; and after some weeks he saw there the Greek priest Liberius Coletti, who had been before with the tsarevich in Saxony, and again at Thorn, and later at St. Petersburg. He then had gone from Berlin to Venice, and on the way back he had discovered in the Tyrol that the tsarevich was somewhere there. Athanasieff gave Liberius 200 ducats to go back to Ehrenberg, to be with the tsarevich, carrying him also a letter and message, and a cypher alphabet: and he went, and was near Ehrenberg two days, but he could not get admittance into the castle.[2] But Athanasieff wrote to the tsaritsa in Holland, and obtained from her an order to return to Petersburg.

[2] For this Liberius was degraded and secularised, and on the 4th March A.D. 1718 examined with torture, receiving twenty-five blows of the knout on the 5th, and again on the 8th receiving fifteen blows, and on the 11th receiving eleven blows; and on the 16th he was sentenced by the ministers to be imprisoned for life in the Solovetsky monastery.

*Ivan Athanasieff major*, when tortured at Moscow on the 4th of March, receiving twenty-five blows, wrote a second statement, in which he said that the tsarevich had told him that he and the tsarevich of Siberia had persuaded the teacher Viazemsky not to go with him to Copenhagen, by giving him charge of his *tritsren*. The tsarevich Basil of Siberia[3] said to me that *many* commend the tsarevich as having done a very sensible thing in going off to the dominions of the emperor. Also he mentioned to me that it was said of the protopope Igor that he had married the tsarevich to Euphrosyne. Basil Gleboff, Ivan Iv. Narishkin, and the hofmeisterina of the tsarevich's children expressed pleasure at hearing where he was. At Riga I lodged with Ivan Osip. Protopopoff, agent of Elia Isaeff, and told him. Nikiphor Bogdanoff,[4] the tsarevich's podiak, accountant for the estates, did not know—his wife might perhaps, as she was with Euphrosyne in the chambers.

On the 4th of March, when tortured with twenty-five blows, he (Ivan Athanasieff major) admitted that he had wrongly charged Basil Gleboff. And on the 6th, when he was again tortured with seventeen blows, he was not sure whether it was Everlakoff or Ivan Narishkin[5] who called Peter Tolstoy a Judas: certainly Ivan Narishkin called the teacher Viazemsky a Judas.

On the 11th March he wrote a third statement: Theodore Voronoff told me that the tsar had dropped a letter from his pocket. When I came back from Mecklenburg, I told Voronoff that I had heard from my interpreter Friedrich (who heard it from the landlady of the house where we stayed) that the tsar's majesty has a mistress, a woman from Hamburg. Then Voronoff said: 'Here there is no talk of that.' Some days later Voronoff, in his house, said to me: 'I too have now heard that the hossoudar has a mistress, and the tsaritsa (Catherine) knows of it:

[3] By sentence of the ministers of 16th March (since after being tortured three times he had not confessed) he was to be set free; and by oukaz of 24th March he was exiled to Archangel.

[4] Bogdanoff took after the tsarevich to Riga a letter which had come for him from the tsar after he had left: and the wife of Bogdanoff, Prascovia, did *not* know: only Euphrosyne had told her that the tsarevich had more than once said to her: 'If the hossoudar will allow it, I will marry you.' By sentence of the senate, 22d July, they were set at liberty, giving bail.

[5] He confessed when hoisted up to having said those words, but at random; and he was sentenced, 22d July, to exile. By oukaz of 21st Jan. A.D. 1719 he was sent to Pereyaslaff of Riazan.

when she came to Holland she began to cry (about it) before the hossoudar; and the hossoudar asked her: "Who told you?" She answered: "I was told by the polkovnik's wife, and she knew it by a letter from Platon." And Platon, for that, got a beating from the hossoudar.'

With what purpose Athanasieff revealed this anecdote is not clear; but in what follows he is manifestly endeavouring to win some favour or mitigation of punishment by extenuating his own complicity, and by making revelations more or less acceptable against the tsarevich. After relating that Kikin would have sent warning by him or by his brother to Riga, to let the tsarevich know what awaited him, and that *the bishops* had been summoned to Moscow, and that neither he nor his brother went, he continues thus:

I heard from my brother that the tsarevich was angry against (Anisia) Tolstoy and (Barbara Arsenieff) the sister-in-law of Menshikoff, and threatened to impale them; and that he was angry also against the Olsuphieffs. Similar violent words I myself had heard from him when he was in liquor. If any one spoke to him against any other, he would become angry against him, and destine him at once to be impaled. Once I ventured to say to him: Why, hossoudar tsarevich, do you speak so violently? Consider, somebody, hearing you so speak, will repeat your words, and people will be alarmed, and will cease to come to see you; and as it is few come. And he said to me: 'I spit upon them all, so long as the common people (*chern*) are safe for me.' And the tsarevich said often: 'Remember what I say, that Petersburg will not be any long time for us.' Also he said: 'How is it that my father (batushka) is a sharp-witted man, and yet the most illustrious prince (Menshikoff) is always taking him in?' When the tsarevich Peter Petrovich was born, he, the tsarevich, after his birth was many days disturbed in mind.[c] And when they called him to the hossoudar, or to the prince (Menshikoff), to a banquet or to a launch, he would say: 'It were better for me to be in the galleys, or in bed with a fever, than to be there.' Also he said: 'I wonder at batushka, how he can like the archimandrite of the Nefsky (Theodosius), unless it be because he introduces among the people Lutheran customs, and *allows everything*.'

[c] No doubt, and with reason, having his father's letter then to think about.

Ivan Iv. Narishkin said: 'When the tsarevich comes here —you see, he will not remain there altogether—he will clear away the most illustrious prince, with the rest of them. I expect that the teacher too, with his relations, will come in for it, because he betrayed the tsarevich to the prince.' And he, Narishkin, in the house of the tsarevich, said: 'That Judas, Peter Tolstoy, has deceived the tsarevich; he has taken him in by fair words: and it is not the first prey that he has devoured.' And from me he went to Everlakoff; and there, I fancy, he said the same. Theodore Everlakoff said to me that Peter Andreyevich made the tsarevich drunk, and then got round him.

When the tsarevich came from Rojdestvenno, upon receiving the order to go (to Copenhagen), he called me, and disclosed to me his intention, &c. (as above). At that time he began to say to me: 'I did not expect my father to send to me: the thought of it had never come into my mind: but now I see that God directs my way. And I have now had a dream, as if I were building churches; which means that a way is opened for me.'[7] The tsarevich bade me pay attention and respect to Euphrosyne, and said at times to me: 'Take notice that I mean to marry her: you see, *my batushka has done in the same way.*'

In his last written statement, 1st May A.D. 1718, Ivan Athanasieff gave that account of abusive language uttered by the tsarevich when drunk about his wife and others which has been printed above, at p. 1163; and after excusing himself for not having said anything of this before, partly because he did not remember, and partly from fear, because the tsarevich would deny all, and so only cause him superfluous suffering, he added: He, the tsarevich, has a great warmth (of zeal and affection) for the popes, and the popes for him; and he honours them as God; and they all call him *holy;* and among the people he has always been praised and blessed by them.

The Governing Senate, on the 28th July A.D. 1718, gave sentence that 'Ivan Athanasieff, because he knew of the intended flight of the tsarevich before he left Russia, and *advised* him to fly to free cities, and himself wished to go off after him, and took a cypher alphabet from the diak Voronoff, that so he might correspond with him during his flight, and, besides, made a cypher

[7] That God is making a way for me, so that I may be able to build churches hereafter.

alphabet for correspondence with the tsarevich, and sent it to him by the pope Liberius, giving him 200 ducats, and before the flight of the tsarevich heard from him many insubordinate words referring to the high person of his majesty the tsar, and *tending* to his hurt, and to civil *insurrection*, as he confessed under examination and torture, without giving information, is to be punished with death, and all his property confiscated to the sovereign.' This sentence is signed by Yakoff Dolgorouky, count Mousin-Poushkin, Tichon Streshneff, count Peter Apraxin, Adam Weyde, prince Dmitri Golitsin, and Michael Samarin.

*Theodore Everlakoff*, in his written statement given to Menshikoff, said that he was *told*, in Sept. A.D. 1716, by Ivan Athanasieff, &c. But who had advised the tsarevich to fly he could not know, as he was then away at Moscow, on business connected with the estates, with Pronchischeff; and he returned only after the tsarevich had left. He did not say anything before, because there was no inquest. When hung up, he said: In the house of Shaphiroff the prince Alexis Gagarin, before the return of the tsarevich, said that he had heard from his father-in-law, Shaphiroff, that the tsarevich was coming back: 'He has destroyed himself to no purpose.' Gagarin called him 'a *fool* (a *dourak*). The prince Bogdan Gagarin said: 'The prince Basil Dolgorouky said to me in his own house, in his bedroom, "Have you heard that that ass the tsarevich is coming here? It will be a wale (*jele*) for him, not a wedding."' On the 5th, and again on the 10th March, Everlakoff was tortured, receiving twenty-five and six blows. On the 11th March he stated thus: I said to Ivan Athanasieff that Tolstoy made the tsarevich drunk; and I heard that from the prince Alexis Gagarin, and he from the princess Mary Lvoff,[a] daughter of Alexis Socovnin, and she had heard it from Nadiejda, wife of Alexander Kikin. On the 13th March Everlakoff wrote in his confession: In A.D. 1715, when the crown-princess was still living, the tsarevich said to me alone: 'I am sorry that I didn't do as Kikin advised me to do, and go off to France: there I could have lived more at ease than here, as long as it pleased God.' I said to him: Why do so? Why not ask your father here for some employment, and live here, doing something? He replied: 'He is not such a man

[a] For this she was banished, 1st Dec. A.D. 1718, to a monastery near Archangel, and there *tonsured*.

(as to make this possible for me); nobody can satisfy him. I take no interest in anything; only give me liberty, and don't touch me anywhere, and let me go into a monastery: I could live better in the Michaelofsky monastery at Kieff than here.' He, the tsarevich, said when he was depressed: 'There are two men in the world like gods: the pope of Rome and the tsar of Muscovy: they do as they please.' And he, the tsarevich, *took medicines* on purpose, pretending to be sick, when there was any expedition to be made, or service, that he might escape it: that he said himself. I, to please him, suggested to him to take medicine, and to feign himself sick, when there were to be launches of ships, that so he might not have the annoyance and fatigue of being present, and to undertake no work, because (I said) it is impossible to execute it (so as to give satisfaction), when you know what is the character of your father. And I, from distress and fear, said to Ivan Athanasieff: If I had the money, I would go to the tsarevich; you see, here they will put us to the question; only there is no possibility of getting away. Athanasieff was ready to give me money, but I had not fully made up my mind to go: I did not like to leave my wife, my father, mother, and brother. The Governing Senate, on the 28th July, sentenced him to be banished to Tobolsk, retaining his property, and to be inscribed for service among the dieti-boyarskie; and this sentence was announced to him in the tsar's name, with the addition that he was to be severely knouted first.

*Ivan Athanasieff minor* was tortured on the 11th March, receiving fifteen blows; and he was sentenced by the ministers, on the 16th, to be knouted and exiled.

*Theodore Voronoff* was implicated by Ivan Athanasieff major as having said, when told that the tsarevich had gone to Germany, 'That is well;' and because Basil Dolgorouky had said to him privately: 'That ass the tsarevich is coming here, because his father has given him permission to marry Euphrosyne: it will be a wale (*jele*) for him, not a wedding.' He was tortured three times, receiving twenty-five, fifteen, and seventeen blows, and he confessed that Basil Dolgorouky had so said to him, adding that he had said these words: 'They all deceive the tsarevich on purpose: the devil has got him: it will be a wale for him, not a wedding.' The senate, on the 28th July, condemned Voronoff

to death, because he knew of the flight without informing, gave an alphabet in cypher, and expressed readiness to serve him.

*Theodore Doubrovsky*, when questioned on the 11th Feb., said: When the tsarevich was leaving, 24th Sept. A.D. 1716, I asked him: Are you going to your father? He said: 'Yes.' I said: No doubt your father is calling you to be married? He said: 'I do not wish it: I may go off somewhither.' And I, alarmed at that, asked him, saying: Hossoudar tsarevich! how *somewhither?* He replied: 'I should like to see Venice: I have nô other thought, but only to escape.' The words imputed to me, 'Many of your brethren have saved themselves by flight; I expect your connections will not abandon you,' I did not speak. The tsarevich told me to take 500 rubles from Athanasieff, and to give them to his mother. But I, after hearing such a bad revelation, did not take them. The words, 'I expect your father will put to the question your uncle Abram' I did speak. On the 10th of March, being examined with torture, receiving fifteen blows, he confessed to having said: 'Many of your brethren have saved themselves by flight; however, in Russia that has never been done, nor heard of.' The tsarevich answered: 'It *has* been done in Russia: the son of the grand prince Dmitri fled to Poland, and came back.' Also I said of his connections the words, 'Perhaps they will not abandon you.' The ministers, on the 14th March, condemned him to death; but this sentence was not executed: the tsar ordered him to be sent to Petersburg.

*Simeon Narishkin*, when sent to England, meeting the tsarevich between Memel and Königsberg, in the autumn of A.D. 1714, had delivered a message from Kikin, that it was not well to be in a hurry to come back; he might stay some time longer in those parts; 'I say it for his good.' And the tsarevich said that Kikin had written him a letter, part of which he had not been able to understand. About the laws of succession and inheritances in other countries he had conversed openly. And he gave an explanation of his own, adding that he was quite drunk at the time. The tsar, on the 17th of March, ordered that, for intemperate (or audacious) words, he was to live till farther order in the most remote derevnia belonging to him, without going off from it anywhither.

*Prince Basil Dolgorouky* also, after denying at first nearly

all the words imputed to him, afterwards attempted an explanation. And his relative, the prince Yakoff, wrote a remarkable letter to the tsar, pleading with him to spare the honour of the family; recounting how the princes Youry and Michael had been murdered in A.D. 1682 for their loyalty by the streltsi; how he himself and his three brothers had all been with the tsar at Troitsa, and had ever served him; reminding him how he had denounced a certain sermon of Yavorsky (in which Yavorsky had shown too much interest in the tsarevich),—'for all which I hear I am now to be rewarded by being broken on the wheel.... Now I am compelled with my unworthy groans to trouble the most dear ears of your majesty: Incline, O Lord, thine ear, and hear the voice of me, thy slave, who, in the day of my calamity, cry out to thee. I see now that my relatives have fallen into some certain fault. Though I do not know exactly what they have done, still I do know that they have never had any treasonable designs . . . they can only have been guilty of uttering some intemperate or indiscreet words without evil design. Of this they may be guilty before God and your majesty. The tongue not only lets out what is in the mind, but even utters sometimes what has never been in the mind. But, as a merciful sovereign, be pleased to consider that as a bad act differs from a bad word and intention, so a bad word and intention differs from an intemperate word without intention,' &c. So he begs the tsar: 'Let us not in our old age go down to the grave with the name of a family of felons,' &c. And again: 'I cry out with tears, Have mercy, have mercy, most merciful hossoudar!' The ministers, on the 14th March, gave sentence that in any ordinary case there should have been examination with torture about the words imputed and denied; but as Kikin's malice was evident, and the tsarevich had been by him set against Basil Dolgorouky, the tsarevich's statement was not free from doubt: but, for intemperate words with the tsarevich and with Voronoff, the prince Basil was to be degraded from his ranks, all his property confiscated, and he himself banished. As the tsarevich, in his later written confessions, continued to impute those words, 'Give a thousand letters,' &c., to Basil Dolgorouky, they were, on the 21st June, confronted; and Dolgorouky still admitted only the words, 'Give the letter to your father,' and in another sense. But on the 23d he made a larger admission, and wrote a long

and weak attempt at explanation. He had declined, he wrote, to advise the tsar to deprive his son of the succession and to let him live in the country, saying, 'That is no business of mine: you should go and speak of that to the ministers. And I asked him, Had he replied to his father's letter? He said: "Not yet; and to speak by word of mouth I am afraid; but I have written a letter." And as soon as he had left me, I went that same day to the tsar, and told him what he knows. His majesty bade me go to the tsarevich, and look at the letter which he had written to him. And the same day I went to him. He showed me that letter (that is, his own draft of an answer), and said that he had written it before the birth of the tsarevich Peter Petrovich. I said: You ought to date it above, as written before the birth. Give the letter at once, and you will have nothing to fear; and if your father asks for them, you should give ten or twenty letters: these are not such letters as in time past there used to be among our brethren, with beginnings of, "Lo, I (*Se az*)," &c.; and conclusions "without fail:" and there is no reason to fear on that account. Possibly I may have said, Give *a thousand* letters; but I do not remember. If so, it was only to induce him to give in the letter, seeing that that was necessary for the tsar's majesty, and for the interest of the empire. And of that I make oath, &c.

'And when the tsar's majesty was dangerously ill, I spoke to the ministers Peter Pavl. Shaphiroff, Peter Andr. Tolstoy, and Ivan Iv. Boutourlin, to the effect of what his majesty, I believe, knows; and so I could have no reason to seek to serve the tsarevich,' &c. And he begs the tsar to remember his 'past poor services, and show him his *divine* grace,' &c.

And on the 5th July the tsar, after hearing the sentence of the ministers and this confession, ordered that he should be banished to Soli-Kamsk, under charge of a captain, with an order concerning him to the governor of Siberia, Matthew Gagarin, &c. And he was sent off[9] on the 22d.

*The preceptor Nikiphor Viazemsky*, when hauled up and questioned at Moscow, confessed to nothing; and the tsarevich's confessor, the protopope Igor of St. Petersburg, declared that

[9] On petition of his brother Michael, he was allowed to return after the coronation of Catherine, 7th May A.D. 1724; and 23d Dec. he was restored to his rank of colonel. In A.D. 1728, 24th Oct., he was made fieldmarshal for his services in Persia.

he had heard nothing from Viazemsky. By sentence of the ministers, of the 16th March, they were both set at liberty.

But later, when questioned at Petersburg, the tsarevich again implicated Viazemsky, who was brought to Petersburg. On the 3d July he stated as before. After the funeral of the crown-princess the tsarevich said to him: 'Batushka writes to me to renounce the succession and to go into a monastery.' I said: What is there to grieve you in that? go into a monastery. And we made choice of a monastery into which he should go. The verse from the office for the anniversary of Poltava was applied to Theodosius not by me, but by the tsarevich himself, who said: 'If Stephen Bieylaeff would sing that verse on the spot in the episcopal consecration, I would give him five or ten rubles.' To be superstitious and to keep company with popes he was not taught by me; I rather drew him off from that, and I often spoke to him that he should not do so, for which I was beaten by the tsarevich more than once.

On the 26th Aug. Viazemsky presented in the Chancery of Secret Inquests an autograph statement, in which he wrote: In A.D. 1711, at Wolfenbuttel, in the duke's house, the tsarevich pulled me by the hair, beat me with a stick, and turned me out of the house. Prince Youry Your. Troubetskoy and count Ivan Gab. Golovkin said to the tsarevich that he could not turn Nikiphor out of the house without first writing about it, because he was appointed (to be with the tsarevich) by special oukaz. From that time the tsarevich always harboured anger against me. That is known to Troubetskoy, Golovkin, and the priest Slonsky. In A.D. 1711, in December, the tsarevich sent me from Thorn, through Sendomir, Jolkva, and Doubna, to Moscow with a letter, knowing that our troops had all been withdrawn from those places, and hoping that the Poles would kill me. I was in fact sometimes in great danger; and when I returned to Thorn the tsarevich wondered that I had escaped, and ordered me to live in a separate house. In A.D. 1712 he tried to beat me to death near Stettin, as is known to the Most Illustrious Prince, to Gabriel Iv. Golovkin, to the prince Basil Dolgorouky, and to the singer Dmitri Sibiriak, whom the tsarevich, from anger against me, in the anterooms of the tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna, threw down and trod upon and beat till he brought blood. When I was at Petersburg the tsarevich

always bore me ill-will, as is known to every one who had ever so little to do with his house, as to the Most Illustrious Prince, prince Dolgorouky, Pisareff, Korchmin, baron Gizen, *Glück*, and the servants. From ill-will he had devised evil against me five and seven years before that; but at that time, in A.D. 1711, he would not even let me come into his sight. His implication of me is a manifest calumny. From Baronius he made the extracts alone; and I *could not* have helped him, since that book was in German or Polish, both which languages are unknown to me. With *low people* I could not be intimate, because I was always with the tsarevich: in A.D. 1709 with fieldmarshal Holtz at Liublin, Konetz-polie, and Cracow; in 1710 from Wolfenbuttel to Thorn; in 1712 from Thorn to the neighbourhood of Stettin, to Greifswald, to Güstrov; in 1713 in flat-bottomed barges to the Berezoff islands; in 1714 to Carlsbad; in 1715 at Revel: in 1716 at Petersburg, &c.

The tsar, on the 27th Nov., wrote of Viazemsky, with his own hand: 'To Archangel-gorod;' in consequence of which he was sent to Archangelsk, without other punishment, on the 4th December.

*The Souzdal group of the inquests caused by the flight and return of the tsarevich.*

Feb. 10, A.D. 1718, the lieutenant-captain of bombardiers of the Preobrajensky guards, Gregory Skorniakoff-Pisareff, wrote a report to the tsar thus:

By oukaz of your majesty I arrived at the Pokrovsky monastery of Souzdal on the 10th day of this month of Feb. at noon, and saw your majesty's late tsaritsa in such wise that I went straight to her to her cell without being seen by anybody first, and I found her in secular dress, in a *tielogreyia* and *povoinnik*; and when I had examined the letters and papers in the boxes I found nowhere any monastic dress, but only many *tielogreyias* and *kountoushes* of different colours. And I questioned about that the treasurer-nun, into whose cell she was taken at the first, and she said that she had worn for a short time the monastic dress, and had then cast it off: and she had *not* been *tonsured*. And I took her, the treasurer, under arrest. Of letters I found only two of a suspicious character, of which I send copies, retaining their originals, that they may not be lost.

1. *Copy.*

'You are still a young man. First prove yourself in fasting, in endurance of hardships, obedience, and temperance in eating and drinking. Here is a monastery for you. Then, when you are of a suitable age, your vow may be executed.'

2. *Copy.*

'I give you to know for certain that they are expecting the hossoudar the tsarevich to arrive at Moscow in a few days: there are positive letters of this: and with him there will come Peter Andr. Tolstoy. Report this, you know to whom. They are certainly expecting him. Orders have been given to make ready his, the tsarevich's, apartment (at Preobrajensk). The hossoudar will be there. And when God shall bring him, the hossoudar, to Moscow, I will write of it immediately. Write to me. Matushka Irene Athanasievna is well. 17th Jan. A.D. 1718.' (Unsigned.)

I myself have remained in the monastery. I beg your majesty for an immediate oukaz, to let me know what I am to do, that no mischief may happen if time is allowed to pass, since she is greatly depressed. Her favourites are the nun Kaptelina, the treasurer-nun above mentioned, and her dwarf Ivan Terentieff.

And again, on the 11th Feb.: After sending off my report, I questioned Basil and Ivan Voronin, brothers of Michael Voronin, who is the strapchi of this Pokrovsky monastery; and they said that the letter of their brother, of which I sent a copy (No. 2, above) to your majesty, was delivered by them to your former tsaritsa through the nun Kaptelina: and many other letters received by them through the same Kaptelina and the dwarf Ivan (two of them with the name of the prince Simeon Iv. Tscherbatoff) they had sent to Moscow, to the same strapchi Michael: and they had themselves each delivered one letter to the kniajna Kourakin, who is now the wife of general Golitsin, and to the daughter of Abram Lopouchin. And many letters which were sent from Moscow, from the strapchi Michael, mostly directed to the confessor and kliuchar Theodore Poustinni, or undirected, they delivered in the chambers through the nun Kaptelina, and some also through the confessor. I examined the kliuchar, who denied everything: only he says that he has seen some letters written from Abram Lopouchin, only about

health. The prince Simeon Tscherbatoff, he said, is unknown to him. But on searching his papers I found a letter to him from the prince Tscherbatoff, only there was nothing of a suspicious nature in it. And I found a letter from Abram Lopouchin, of which I send a copy. I suggest to your majesty to put to the question that strapchi Michael, since all the correspondence passed through his hands.

And again, on the 14th Feb.: As regards the letter taken from the box of your late tsaritsa, about some one to be tonsured, it appears certainly to have been written to the tsarevich through Abram Lopouchin. When I took it out she was very much alarmed, and tried to snatch it out of my hands, and said (so and so, giving a false account of it). But now it appears that that paper is in the handwriting of the confessor; and he says that he wrote it with reference to a man belonging to Abram Lopouchin. And so it is clear that there has been a *felonious* evasion. The same confessor has written many letters from the tsaritsa to Abram Lopouchin, and to the prince Simeon Tscherbatoff; wherefore I suggest to your majesty to arrest Abram Lopouchin, and the prince Simeon Tscherbatoff, and the protopope of Souzdal Andrew Poustinni, who is now at Moscow. And I expect that *much felony, involving many people,* will through them be discovered. After sending off this, I am coming with the tsaritsa and with many other prisoners to your majesty: among them I have also the monk who tonsured the tsaritsa.

Feb. 15th, while on the road, the tsaritsa Eudocia, in terror for her life, wrote thus to her husband:

'Most gracious hossoudar! In past years—I do not remember in which year—when Simeon Yazikoff was there, I was, *according to my vow*, tonsured in the Pokrovsky monastery of Souzdal to be a nun, by the name of Helena. And after that I wore the monastic dress for half a year; and then, not wishing to be a nun, I threw off the monastic state and the dress, and lived in that monastery privately, under the semblance of the monastic state, as a lay person. And that, my secret, has been discovered through Gregory Pisareff. And now I trust in the *humane goodness* of your majesty. Falling at your feet, I beg for mercy and for pardon for that my crime, that I be not made to die by a bad end. And I promise to be a nun, *as before*, and to continue in the monastic state to my death; and I will pray to God

for you, hossoudar. The most humble slave of your majesty, your former wife, *Eudocia*. Feb. 15, A.D. 1718.'

After Pisareff had arrived at Moscow with his prisoners, on the 16th Feb., there began a most severe inquest.

*Hilarion, hieromonach of the Spass-Euthymieff monastery at Souzdal*, stated, respecting the tonsuring of Eudocia, thus: When the oukaz was sent by the okolnik Simeon Yazikoff to the Spass-Euthymieff monastery, the archimandrite Barlaam sent me. And I went with the okolnik Simeon to the present treasurer-nun of the Pokrovsky monastery, Mariamne, and in her cell I tonsured the tsaritsa by the name of Helena, and placed her under the authority of the hegoumina Martha, now dead. How she put off the monastic dress I know not. Of her being tonsured the confessor Theodore knew.

*The klouchar Theodore Poustinni* had seen the tsaritsa in monastic dress, and knew of her being tonsured. He confessed her after the monastic fashion for nuns. Abram Lopouchin wrote to her that the tsar wished to tonsure his son.

*The treasurer-nun Mariamne* stated thus: They tonsured the tsaritsa in my cell: but *whether they really tonsured her* I know not, because they tonsured her behind a curtain. The monastic habit she wore ten weeks, or more—I do not remember: but for what reason afterwards she threw it off I know not: only she said that *she had not renounced* the world. After that she always wore a secular dress. The choir-nuns present when she was tonsured were Viera, Helena, and Kaptelina.

*The nun Kaptelina* stated: The tsaritsa *was* tonsured. From that time, even after she had laid aside the monastic dress, she did not eat flesh meat; and she went through the monastic rule (or devotions). In the last winter Michael Bosoi came to the tsaritsa, and lived at the monastery two and three weeks at a time: there was a special chamber made for him near her cell-chapel, and he used to go to dine in her rooms: it was I who received him. A fortnight before Gregory Skorniakoff-Pisareff came, Bosoi had left us in boots to go to the derevnia of Abram Lopouchin. In this winter he came twice, once before and once after the hossoudar had come to Moscow, and each time he brought from the tsarevna Maria fifty rubles and presents, &c.; and now, lately, after the tsar had come, she sent by him a letter. By order of the tsarevna, he told the late tsaritsa about the

tsarevich, that his father wished to tonsure him, to avoid which he had gone away, and in that he had done well. He also predicted to the tsaritsa that she was to be taken to Moscow. The tsaritsa wrote to the tsarevna to thank her, and asked her to keep her informed of all that was done by the father with his son.

*Bosoi*, having been sent for, and having been taken on the Souzdal estate of Stephen Bas. Lopouchin, stated that his prediction to the tsaritsa had been made at random: that he knew of the tsarevich having gone away from the tsarevna Maria, who said, in the autumn of A.D. 1717, that *there* he would be better off, while here they would have tonsured him; and there he was living as if in paradise . . . And he reported all to the tsaritsa.

On the 19th Feb. *Mariamne* stated: We dared not ask the tsaritsa why she had put off the monastic dress. She often said: 'All that concerns us is a state matter: and how the hossoudar, in revenge for his mother, repaid the streltsi, I fancy you know: my son too is no longer in swaddling-clothes.'

Also, when Stephen Bogd. Gleboff was at Souzdal for recruiting, the kliuchar (and confessor) Theodore Poustinni spoke of him, that the tsaritsa should receive him: but I excused her from doing so for two days. Before he came, he had sent her some presents (of valuable furs, &c.). And after that she often admitted him, both by day and after nightfall. She and he and Kaptelina shut themselves up and talked together; but me they sent away to cut out *tielogreyias* in my cell, or they would give me a grivna to go and get a moleben sung. When he came in his uniform, Gleboff showed himself audaciously. I said to him: Why do you make a show of yourself? People know. After being in the church of the Annunciation for the matins, he remained after all the people in the porch. I told the ponomar to show him the way out of the monastery, and said to the tsaritsa: It is bad that he came to the matins: he might go to another church. She scolded me for that: 'The devil is after you. You will be beginning to look after me next. I know Stephen: he is an honourable man, and rich: will you incur any disgrace from him?' In consequence of that, others also spoke to me, in particular the nuns Martha and Dorothea, saying: 'Why did you make the tsaritsa angry?' Also he, Stephen, used to go to the tsaritsa at nights, of which I was told by the day man-servant and by the dwarf Agathia: 'Stephen went past us, and we did

not dare to stir.' And the nun Kaptelina had a love-affair with the servant of that monastery, Michael Rodionoff, who is now their strapchi.

*The nun Kaptelina* said: Stephen Gleboff used to come to her at evenings, and they kissed and embraced. I then went out. She received love-letters from Gleboff; and two or three[10] of her letters were written for her by me from her dictation.

*Stephen Gleboff*, having been arrested on the 20th Feb., wrote: When I was at Souzdal for recruiting eight or nine years ago, I was introduced to the cells of the late tsaritsa, the nun Helena, by her confessor Theodore Poustinni; and I sent presents to her through the same confessor (mentioning what they were); and I had an amour with her through the nun Kaptelina, and lived with her adulterously. . . . And I sent her letters about health, and she sent likewise letters to me through my servants Basil Shiron and Serge Micheyeff. . . . She gave me two rings, one for myself and the other for my daughter; and she took herself a ring from me in return.

The next day the tsaritsa Eudocia wrote the following confession: 'Feb. 21st. I, late tsaritsa the nun Helena, being brought to the Generalni dvor and confronted with Stephen Gleboff, have stated that I lived with him adulterously at the time when he was on recruiting service at Souzdal; and of that I am guilty. I have written this with my own hand, *Helena*.'

The same day Gleboff was questioned on six points; but, except his confession of adulterous intercourse, he revealed nothing. On the 22d Feb. he was tortured, but still nothing more was extracted from him.

Gleboff's wife, *Tatiana Basilieva*, stated that she went to the tsaritsa with her husband, and alone. Her husband was no medium of communications to or from anybody; and certainly he knows nothing. His son, *Andrew Gleboff*, said that his father had a friendship with Dositheus the bishop of Rostoff, with the kliuchar Theodore, and with the riznichey Peter: he conversed with them in private, he did not know about what; and he carried to them letters written in cypher. In consequence of this information, Peter (who was then archimandrite of the Simonoff monastery) was arrested.

[10] *Nine* are preserved, *all* in the handwriting of Kaptelina: they were written seemingly in A.D. 1709 or 1710.

On the 27th Feb. *the tsarevna Maria*, being examined with reference to what the tsarevich had written of his conversation with her when he met her before reaching Libau, stated, among other things, that at first meeting she asked him: Where are you going? And he said: 'To my father.' And she said: Try to please your father, and be obedient to him. (And before that she had been used to say to him the same.) And he answered her: 'That is what I cannot do, because my father likes to stand a long time, and I cannot do that.' But about a vision he spoke first of himself, saying that the bishop of Novgorod had seen one; and, as I remember, he said that that vision of the said bishop was also a prediction: but what the vision was I do not remember. And she said to him: Your mother has seen a vision (such as he has written). But that vision was told me now six years ago or more. But about the hossoudarina the tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna she did *not* say: 'Why do you make much of that (friendliness of hers)?' but she had said to him before that he should make request to her, the hossoudarina the tsaritsa, about his being tonsured; she would settle that with his father. But that she is not his own mother all the world knows: what reason could I have to say that to him? About his being tonsured the tsarevna Natalia Alexievna had spoken to her thus: 'His father said to him: "Either be (a fit) heir, or become a monk."'

When *Peter, the archimandrite of the Simonoff*, was examined (on the 3d of March) he said: When I was riznichey at Souzdal to the metropolitan Jeremiah, I went to the Pokrovsky monastery six or seven times in the year, and was in the cells of the tsaritsa as sent by the metropolitan; but I never 'sat with her two or three hours alone.' Of her being tonsured I heard, but I never saw her in monastic dress. I met Stephen Gleboff at her apartment; but that they lived adulterously I did not know. They made no cypher alphabets. When the tsar's majesty contracted *lawful matrimony*, there came to me to Souzdal the subdeacon Ivan Poustinni, and, smiling said: 'See, the late tsaritsa fully expected that the hossoudar would take her back, and that she would be tsaritsa as before, according to the prediction of the bishop Dositheus: when he was archimandrite he brought her two icons, and bade her make some hundreds of reverences before them; and Dositheus said that he had seen a vision from those icons that she would be tsaritsa again as before; and she

in consequence nearly choked herself with bowing and prostrating before those icons.' Neither with Kaptelina and the tsaritsa nor with Dositheus had I any friendship. I said to Stephen Gleboff that he did not live as he ought with his wife; and that I said in consequence of words which I had heard from her. Stephen said that his wife was in bad health, and had a cancer, and it was impossible to live with her. I said: You have already children (grown or growing up): why cannot you live with her? On the 11th March he was set at liberty.

Meanwhile, as the tsaritsa had said that she had been encouraged to throw off the monastic dress only by the predictions of Dositheus, *Dositheus the bishop of Rostoff* (who was already at Moscow, and who had taken part with the rest in disinheriting the tsarevich) was arrested. He had been before A.D. 1711 archimandrite of the Spass-Euthymieff monastery. On the 23d Feb. he wrote: With Stephen Gleboff I had no close intimacy. When I was archimandrite of the Spass-Euthymieff Stephen came sometimes with the late tsaritsa by night, and caused vsenoshni and molebens to be sung in the church, and Stephen visited me in my cell. Once together with the late tsaritsa he supped with me in my cell. And Stephen came to me after that time, when the tsar's majesty had contracted *lawful marriage* with the hossoudarina the tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna, when I had become a bishop, to the Rostoff podvorie, and said: '*Why do you bishops make no opposition* to this, that the hossoudar, separating from a wife still living, marries another?' And I said to him: I am not the *first*, and it is not my business; and I have no reason to make any opposition about that. Stephen Gleboff was questioned as to this, but he would say nothing; and he was confronted with Dositheus, and tortured, but all in vain.

The next day Dositheus was deposed from the episcopate and degraded *upon a written extract* of his offences *signed by Tolstoy*. Therein it was written that the tsaritsa had thrown off the monastic dress[11] as soon as Dositheus began to visit her: he commemorated her in the service as the tsaritsa Eudocia,[12] and spoke to

[11] A wife tonsured against her will by special oukaz of the lay head of the church, and a bishop deposed and degraded and given over to tortures and death by his colleagues for suspicion of having encouraged the will of a woman, who had never vowed to God to renounce the world, to throw off the nun's dress put upon her by the tsar.

[12] It would be curious to know if there had been any official order to all the

her of voices from the icons, and about her father. Proofs were brought from the nun Kaptelina and the kliuchar Poustinni of his having prophesied to the tsaritsa; besides his own written confession. 'And in consequence of these examinations, it is necessary on a number of points to question (with torture) that bishop, and confront him. But since he is of the episcopal order, on this account, seeing the above-mentioned and his other improper acts, it is necessary to strip him of the episcopal rank *synodically*.' On this *extract* there was made a decision of *the synod*, 27th Feb. A.D. 1718, subscribed by Stephen metropolitan of Riazan, Pachomius of Voronege, the archbishop of Viatka, the bishops of Sarai (Kroutitz), Souzdal, and Tver, and *three Greek bishops*, thus: 'This *extract* was *heard* synodically by the most reverend Russian and Greek bishops, and they judged that the bishop of Rostoff Dositheus is guilty, and worthy of degradation from the episcopal dignity.' From that time in all the acts he is called the ex-clerk *Demid*.[13]

'I *alone* in this affair,' said Dositheus aloud, 'am *the victim*. Consider what *all have in their hearts:* be pleased to open your ears among the people, and to hear what the people say; but I will name nobody.'

When *put to the question* the next day, 28th Feb., he said that he had spoken these words in anger. Also he said that when after the oath (on the nomination of the tsarevich Peter Petrovich to be heir to the throne) he was with the tsarevna Maria, she said to him: 'It is a bad thing that the hossoudar has done thus, setting aside the elder son, and preferring the younger: he is only a child of two years, and the other is grown up.' The same day they questioned the tsarevna. She said that she had not said those words, she had said only: 'The

clergy *not* to do so, and from whom, and in what form, such an order came: *e.g.* 'Whereas we, Peter, by the grace of God, &c., have, without the intervention of any primate or bishop, repudiated and tonsured our consort, we require all bishops and priests to cease to commemorate her in the service, on pain of canonical deposition and degradation by our spiritual, and tortures and death by our secular authority.' But perhaps they all spontaneously ceased to commemorate Eudocia, and after Feb. A.D. 1712 spontaneously began to commemorate Catherine.

[13] This is what the bishops, who sold themselves in A.D. 1660 to condemn Nicon uncited and unheard, have brought themselves to: they have now synodically to degrade bishops upon an *extract* of the proceedings of a secret inquest, signed and exhibited to them by their tyrant's bloodhound.

empire is his, and the children are his; it must be as he pleases.' But Dositheus said to her, to her face, that when he came from the cathedral, and she asked, 'What have you done?' he replied, We have kissed the cross to Peter Petrovich; and she answered, 'It is strange that my brother should have done that, and he has done ill to prefer the younger and to set aside the elder.' The tsarevna acknowledged that she had so said.

On the 1st of March the ex-clerk Demid was hauled up in the chamber of torture, and said that of any letters to *cause disturbance* being in the hands of Stephen Gleboff he knew nothing, and he had held no consultation with him. He commemorated the tsaritsa in like manner *as others did*; of that he was guilty. In the synod he had said, 'Consider what all have in their hearts,' with special allusion to the tsarevna.

After the examination and torture of Demid, *Theodore Jouravsky*, one of the tsarevna's singers, was tortured on the 3d and on the 6th of March, receiving the first time twenty-five, the second time fifteen blows. He said: The bishop Dositheus came to the tsarevna Maria more than once, and said that he had seen many visions: the hossoudar would soon die, and there would be a disturbance. He named times. But when these passed, and the tsarevna, surprised and disappointed, asked him, 'Why has it not come to pass?' Dositheus named other times. Also he foretold that the hossoudar would take back his former tsaritsa, and that they would have two children. This was what the tsarevna wished.

On the 5th and 6th March Demid was tortured again, receiving five and nineteen blows. He had wished for the death of the tsar and the accession of his son; and he had more than once uttered predictions to the tsarevna and to the tsaritsa.

At the same time with him the brother of the tsaritsa Eudocia, the boyar *Abram Lopouchin*, was examined and tortured. On the 28th Feb. he said: Of the flight of the tsarevich he knew nothing. With the resident Pleyer he had no relations. After the return of Ivan Athanasieff, knowing that the tsarevich was in the Tyrol, he asked him: Say, for God's sake, with whom he concert this? Athanasieff, smiling, replied: 'We knew of his intention.' Can he remain there without any disquietudes? 'He is maintained there in all plenty.' It is true, said Lopouchin, that at the present time it is none the worse for him to be out

of the way. But after hearing the words of Athanasieff, he did not give information of them to the tsar, fearing to cause an inquest; and in that he is guilty. Bad intent or design he had none: only he wished this, that wherever the tsarevich was, he might live. But the words, 'The tsarevich has done well, that he holds to the protection of the emperor: the emperor will on no account give him up to his father;' and, 'You see, the tsarevich has gone away on no other account, but only from compulsion; his father was compelling him first to renounce the succession, and then to be tonsured; and to avoid this he has gone off,'—these words were said, not by him, Abram, but to him by Athanasieff; and he, Abram, on hearing them, only said: So God has now allowed him to do. When confronted, he allowed that he had said: It is true that the tsarevich has gone away not without compulsion. And Athanasieff confessed that he had said the words imputed to him by Lopouchin.

It was proved *against* Lopouchin that he had kept up secret communications with his sister, and wrote to her about the intention of the tsar to force the tsarevich to be tonsured. Letters were taken from him from which it appeared that they wrote to him from the tsarevna Maria about all news. Jouravsky stated that he lamented, together with the tsarevna, over the burdens of the people. The former tsaritsa asked him to be good to Stephen Gleboff. The princess Nastasia Troekouroff wrote to him: 'The new people are well enough; only I see that after them the old ones will be left with nothing, which is for our misfortune.' Cyril Matiushkin stated that Abram sent a message by him to his sister, to *get ready*.

*The singer of the tsarevna Maria, Theodore Jouravsky*, wrote to Lopouchin, 31st Jan., of the safe return of the tsarevich from abroad: 'Only her gracious heart is pained by the sighs of all the people, which may the all-good Lord, for her heart's sighs, turn to joy.' Jouravsky, on the 26th Feb., said that he so wrote after hearing that the tsarevna had said to Abram Lopouchin that they were selling salt dear, and that heavy burdens were laid on the people; the war was protracted, and from that the people were ruined. To the tsaritsa she always wrote herself. All the letters that were with him, Jouravsky, from Lopouchin and Kikin he tore up and burned, by order of Simeon

Tscherbatoff. On the 25th Feb. Lopouchin wrote to the tsarevna about the tsarevich, that he was a refugee, and informed her where he was; and she wrote herself of that to the late tsaritsa; and of the tsarevich, in conversation, she said: 'He has done well in going away: there he can live better;' and of this she wrote to the late tsaritsa. The princess Anastasia Golitsin wrote and reported all news from the house of the tsar, and grieved over the return of the tsarevich.

Feb. 28, *Abram Lopouchin* said: Whether he wrote to the tsaritsa about the tonsuring of the tsarevich he does not remember: he knew of it from Simeon Tscherbatoff. The paper about being tonsured referred to a man of his named Tourki. Whether Gleboff lived with his sister he knows not: she wrote to him, Abram, to be good to him: he not only was not good to him, but he did not like him. And the bishop of Rostoff, Dositheus, when he was archimandrite of the Spass-Euthymieff monastery, came to Moscow (in A.D. 1711) when Gleboff was at Souzdal, and said to him: 'Be so charitable as to manage in some way or other that Stephen should not be there; for I fear there will be mischief from him.' And he, Lopouchin, was in great anxiety in consequence. He sent word to his sister to '*put on her clothes (Chto li oubralas)*'—*i.e.* to put on her monastic dress—because there was a report that the tsar was going to Souzdal. What the words in the letter of his sister the princess Troekouroff about 'the new' and 'the old' mean he knows not. (And other like explanations.) In that place of the letter where it was written, 'K. M. L. does not forget you,' the letters K. M. L. mean '*Knyagina Maria Lvoff*:' she lived with the tsarevna Maria, who gave her a maintenance.

March 1, being reëxamined, *Lopouchin* said: He had seen his sister in secular dress. The words, '*Chto ti oubralas*,' may have meant to '*put yourself in order*' with respect to his letters to her, though they were not about any grave matters. About 'the new' and 'the old' in his sister's letter he does not remember. Being hauled up, he said: Of 'the new' and 'the old' he wrote to his sister this, that the tsarevich Alexis was set aside from the succession, and the tsarevich Peter Petrovich preferred.

The *ex-clerk Demid*, when examined with torture, said: Four years ago Abram Lopouchin asked me: 'Will the late tsaritsa be tsaritsa again with her son? And if the hossoudar does not

take her back, then, when he dies, will she be tsaritsa with her son?' Demid said: She will. Lopouchin replied: 'The Lord grant it, that at least after the death of the hossoudar she may be again tsaritsa with her son!' Lopouchin at first denied this; afterwards, when confronted, he said that he was guilty: he had spoken such words. Thereupon he was tortured again, and he confirmed this confession.

On the 6th March *Lopouchin* and *Demid* were both tortured again, the former receiving fifteen blows, the second nineteen. They both had *wished* the death of the tsar, and the accession of the tsarevich. Demid had also uttered predictions.

Prince *Simeon Tscherbatoff*, when examined with torture, said: Lopouchin said, 'When the tsarevich reigns it will be well with us, *i.e.* in our circle, with Gregory Sobakin, the Lopouchins, Anastasia Troekouroff, Barbara Golovin, and our other relations.' After this Lopouchin and his relations were put to the question; and, under the question, Abram said: That the tsar wishes to tonsure the tsarevich he wrote to his sister. With the ex-clerk Demid and his relations he spoke the above-mentioned words; also of the burdens laid upon the people, with Theodore Jouravsky and with the tsarevna Maria. His relations also confessed.

Abram Lopouchin was sent to Petersburg, to the Fortress, for fresh questionings and tortures. The fate of the rest of the persons implicated in the Souzdal inques' was decided at Moscow, on the 14th and 16th of March, by sentence of the ministers, given in the Generalni-dvor at Preobrajensk:

1. *Stephen Gleboff*, for letters concocted with him *to excite the people against the tsar's majesty*, and *thoughts* (or designs) *against his health*, and for the dishonour of the name of the tsar's majesty and of her majesty the tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna, to be punished with death with severity. . . . And he also *deserves death* because he lived *adulterously* with the late tsaritsa the nun Helena. And all his property is to be confiscated. (He was broken on the wheel on the Krasnoi ploshchad on the 15th March, and expired about 8 A.M. on the 16th.)

2. The bishop of Rostoff, *Dositheus*, now the ex-clerk, for lying visions and predictions, and for *wishing* the death of the hossoudar, and for his other offences, to be punished with death with severity, for an example to all (to all the clergy, that is), that others henceforth, seeing such his punishment, may none of

them lie against the Saints, nor traitorously machinate and lyingly prophesy against the hossoudar's health.

3. *The Kliuchar Theodore Poustinni* to be punished capitally, because he knew that the late tsaritsa the nun Helena *had been tonsured*,[14] but told the bishop (Ignatius of Souzdal) and the rest that she was *not tonsured*; and commemorated her in the service as 'the tsaritsa Eudocia,' instead of calling her 'the nun Helena,' though he confessed her as a nun. Also he took to her presents from Stephen Gleboff, and then by his mediation led him into adultery with her: and through him there was carried on all the correspondence of the late tsaritsa with many people, as he confessed.

4. *Theodore Jouravsky*, singer of the tsarevna Maria, to be punished with death, because he did not inform of the prophecies of Dositheus, and spoke with Lopouchin *words tending to disturbance*; and wrote himself of *burdens being imposed on the people*. (From a list of 18th March, signed by Oushakoff, it appears that he was not executed, but sent to the galleys for life.)

5. The prince *Simeon Tscherbatoff*, for his correspondence with the late tsaritsa, whom he entitled 'the religious hossoudarina the tsaritsa Eudocia Theodorovna,' and for *wishing* the death of the hossoudar, was condemned by the ministers, on the 16th March, to be punished with death. But the tsar wrote with his own hand on the list of condemned criminals submitted to him: 'To be taken to Petersburg;' and, after examining his numerous letters, he made order not to punish him with death, but otherwise with severity, viz. to knout him, cut out his tongue, and cut off his nostrils, and banish him to Pousto-ozero.

6. The *subdeacon Ivan Poustinni*, for his villainous acts—because he was the medium of correspondence between the late tsaritsa and the ex-clerk Demid; and knowing that she had been tonsured, told the bishop of Souzdal that she was not tonsured; and heard of the lying predictions without informing,—to be punished severely, to be knouted, and to have his nostrils cut off, and to be sent to the galleys with hard labour for life.

7. *Gabriel Lopouchin*, for audacious words, and for having corresponded with the late tsaritsa, to be *punished*, and sent into banishment (sent to Astrachan).

[14] Tonsured certainly by special oukaz, but according to the canons and the law of God not tonsured: but to say this was treason.

8. *Gregory Sobakin* (nephew of the late tsaritsa, for the same crimes as Gabriel Lopouchin), to have sentence of death notified to him, and after that to be *punished*, and sent to the galleys (sent on the 24th March).

9. *Cyril Matiushkin*, for carrying letters from Abram Lopouchin to the late tsaritsa, and for writing to her himself, to be *punished*, and banished.

10. *Michael Bosoi*, for carrying letters, &c., and for mendaciously prophesying, to have his nostrils cut off, and to be sent to the galleys for life.

11. The princess *Anastasia Petr. Golitsin*,[15] for not informing of the words spoken to her by the ex-clerk Demid, and for reporting words from the tsar's house to the tsarevna Maria, to be sent to the Spinning-house till farther order.

12. *Barbara Golovin*, for sending letters through Michael Bosoi to the late tsaritsa, for hearing the predictions of the bishop Dositheus, and speaking improper words, to be *punished*, and banished to a distant monastery. (She was beaten with sticks. And, May 19, Youry Neledinsky reported to Tolstoy that the widow Barbara Golovin had been sent to the Bogoroditsky monastery at Pereyaslaff-Zalieysk, and there on the 6th May she was *tonsured*; and on the 12th May, by oukaz, she was sent to Sviajsk.)

13. The princess *Nastasia Troekouroff* (sister of Abram Lopouchin and of the tsaritsa Eudocia), for *audacious* words, and for *correspondence*, &c., and *for secret words to her brother*, to which she confessed, to be *punished severely*, and banished to a distant monastery. (She was *knouted*; and on the 5th of July Neledinsky reported to Tolstoy that she had been sent to Totem; and there she was *tonsured* on the 15th July.)

14. The hegoumina of the Pokrovsky monastery at Souzdal *Martha*, and the nun *Kapteliua*, after being *punished* (Martha was *ordered* to be *knouted*, but she was only beaten with sticks), to be sent to the Alexandrovskaia sloboda, and kept there imprisoned under strict guard.

15. The *Voronins*, *Michael*, *Basil*, and *Ivan*, to be sent to the galleys to hard labour for life. The protopope of the Pokrovsky monastery at Souzdal *Gerasimus*, the popes *Ivan Kouzmin* and

[15] Wife of Ivan Alex. Golitsin: she was with the tsaritsa Catherine at Copenhagen.

*Ivan Yakovleff*, the protodeacon *Dmitri Theodoroff*, the deacons *Matthew Artemieff* and *Michael Basilieff* to be sent to Revel for hard labour.

16. The landraths *Andrew Grekoff*, *Daniel Tatisheheff* with his wife, *Andrew Chaplin* with his wife, *Andrew Veshniakoff*, and *Maria Soloetsoff* with her son Stephen, and *Anisia Kolicheff*, who had heard that the late tsaritsa had been tonsured and yet went to her to the monastery, to pay their respects to her, saw her in secular dress, brought her from her relations letters and presents, and themselves offered her eatables and other presents, for that their roguery, and for not informing the tsar's majesty, to be beaten with sticks on the public place *unsparingly*, and after being so punished to be set free.

The *tsaritsa-nun Helena* was sent on the 20th March to Ladoga, and the *tsarevna Maria* to Schlüsselburg, under charge of the lieutenant-captain of the Preobrajensky regiment, Arsenieff, the order being that both should be taken through Novgorod, and kept by the way under strict guard, and no one allowed to speak with them, or communicate with them in any way; and any persons who sought to do so were to be arrested.

The *tsaritsa Eudocia* was taken, with her woman-servant,[16] her '*kardítsa*,' and her box and things of her own (*skarbom*), and was given in charge to the hegoumina of the Ladoga convent; the precinct of which was in ruins; all sorts of houses and hovels mixed up with it, and the public road running right through it: nor was any provision made for her maintenance. (There she lived till after the accession of her grandson in A.D. 1727.)

The *tsarevna Maria* (as Tolstoy wrote on the 22d May A.D. 1718 to Menshikoff) was removed to the Fortress[17] at Petersburg for re-examination: afterwards, 2d July, she was sent back to Schlüsselburg. On the 16th Nov. A.D. 1719 she was again brought to the Fortress at Petersburg, 'to the better rooms of the platz-major,' but without its being allowed for any one to

[16] The same servant who had gone with her originally from Moscow to Souzdal, and who had there been *tonsured* with her mistress, and had worn the dress for a time, and had then, like her mistress, thrown it off: she had occupied a back room with others, and so knew nothing of correspondence or of conversations.

[17] So she was in the Fortress, as a representative of the Miloslafsky connection, when the grandson of the tsar Alexis was tortured to death there for having been too like his grandfather. Her sister Ekaterina, who was also at this time still living, died at Moscow in A.D. 1719.

hold communication with her. On the 13th June A.D. 1721 she was taken across the Great Neva, to her own house, which had belonged to the tsar's secretary Makaroff, and there she died on the 9th March A.D. 1723, and was buried in the church of the Fortress, by *the side of the tsarevich Alexis.*

*Manifesto*[18] *which was read in the stolovaia palata before the sacred synod and before the ministers of the tsar's majesty and the other people of the spiritual and secular orders*, A.D. 1718, *March* 5.

Whereas *it is known to all persons*, both of the spiritualty and of the laity, that in the past year 7207 (A.D. 1699), when the okolnik Simeon Yazikoff was at Souzdal, the former tsaritsa of the tsar's majesty, Eudocia, *for certain oppositions and suspicions*,[19] was tonsured in the Pokrovsky monastery of Souzdal, and named Helena, nevertheless, through a certain information, it became known to the tsar's majesty that she, the late tsaritsa, had thrown off the monastic habit, and wore a secular dress. And his majesty, for exact knowledge about this (and for inquest), ordered that the spiritual and other persons and servants of that convent should be examined by the lieutenant-captain of the guards Skorniakoff-Pisareff; and from his examination it appeared that the late tsaritsa, having cast off her monastic dress, wore a secular dress as a lay person; and on a tablet taken from the church of the Annunciation of that monastery, where it was on the *jertvennik*,[20] that appeared plainly, since by it they commemorated her as the tsaritsa Eudocia, and not as the nun Helena; and the name of the hossoudarina the tsaritsa and grand-princess Ekaterina Alexievna is not entered for commemoration in that tablet. And after that examination order was made to take her, the late tsaritsa, and certain nuns and spiritual and secular persons of that convent, and bring them to Moscow for farther inquest. And on the way, before reaching Moscow, the late tsaritsa wrote with her own hand a letter to the tsar's majesty, and sent it by the lieutenant-captain Skorniakoff-Pisareff, as follows:

(*The letter*, as given above, p. 1373.)

And after they had been brought to Moscow inquest was

[18] This was also printed at St. Petersburg in March, but copies now are extremely rare. By special oukaz of 26th July A.D. 1727, it was suppressed.

[19] These words are inserted in the original in Peter's own hand.

[20] *i.e.* the side altar or table of *prothesis*, where the offertory is made.

made, and by the inquest there were obtained the following statements:

The hieromonach *Hilarion* (see above, p. 1374).

The choir-nuns *Viera* and *Helena* (see above, p. 1374).

The nun-treasurer *Mariamne* (see above, p. 1374).

The kliuchar *Theodore Poustinni* (see above, p. 1374).

And he, the kliuchar, and the protopope of the Pokrovsky monastery *Gerasimus*, and the popes *Gerasimus*, *Ivan Kouzmin*, *Ivan Yakovleff*, *Ivan Andreyeff*, the deacons *Matthew Artemieff* and *Michael Basilieff*, the subdeacon *Ivan Poustinni*, and two nuns, viz. the treasurer *Mariamne*, the cell-companion of the late tsaritsa, and the nun *Kaptelina*, and the rest of the servants of the monastery, and other persons, &c., stated: 1. That she had been tonsured, and that she threw off the monastic dress; 2. that they commemorated her in the church as tsaritsa through *fear of her*, as she often threatened them; and in particular, when the treasurer had said something to her of her casting off the monastic dress, and of her immodest life, because Stephen Gleboff came to her at improper hours, she said, 'All that relates to us is a state matter,' &c. And the protopope Simeon she for that *ordered to be tonsured against his will*; and they threatened him even with death; and for that fear they no longer dared to find fault with her or to inform.

And in that inquest the nun Kaptelina was questioned about the unseasonable visits of Gleboff by day and by night (p. 1374).

And Stephen Gleboff was taken, and confessed, &c. . . . during two years . . . and he signed his own written confession, 20th Feb., &c. (see p. 1376).

And the late tsaritsa also confessed, both orally and in writing, 21st Feb., &c. (see p. 1376).

And there were taken from Gleboff letters written from her to him; and rings of hers were found with him, and rings of his with her.

And in those letters from the late tsaritsa taken from Gleboff there was written thus:

[And then, with amazing shamelessness, and as if quite unconscious how he was pillorying himself before the whole world for ever, he caused to be read out, and afterwards to be printed, three of the nine passionate love-letters of his unhappy wife, as if all the sin or fault (for of *sin* Peter nowhere shows that he had so

much as the idea) was with her, and none of it belonged to himself, or to Anna Mons, to say nothing of Catherine or other mistresses, 'known and unknown.' See p. 1121.]

And from him, Gleboff, there were taken also letters tending to *excite* the people *against* the tsar's majesty.

And after her confession the same persons as above were questioned (17th Feb.): Why she threw off the monastic dress? To which they said that there used to come to her the bishop of Rostoff, Dositheus, when he was hegoumen of the Snovidsky monastery, &c., and from that time she threw it off, &c.

And she, being questioned as to this, admitted the same to be so; and she stated that after he was bishop he came to her to the monastery, and celebrated there the liturgy, and commemorated her as the tsaritsa Eudocia, and said that he heard voices from the Saints, from the icons, that in that same year in which he was speaking to her she should be tsaritsa as before. But when the year had passed, and she asked him, the bishop, why it had not come to pass, he said: 'For the sins of thy father' (see p. 1122).

And Ivan Poustinni said: Once in time past the former metropolitan of Souzdal said to Dositheus, when Dositheus had gone to visit him: 'Why do you go to her, the late tsaritsa? So you are taking her part! You are still a young man, and you don't know all the things that may happen: take care that you don't bring yourself into trouble by that: you had better cease going to her.'

And the bishop Dositheus to all that gave to the tsar an autograph letter of confession, and he denied having told her that he had seen her father freed first as far as the waist, and then as far as the knees,[21] or had taken money for his prediction. He had not said anything to her about the secular dress, nor informed, because he was not her confessor: that was the responsibility of her confessor and of the bishop of Souzdal: it *was for them* to *reprove* her or *inform against her*. The tsarevich wrote no letters to him from the dominions of the emperor. He was in the Pokrovsky monastery four years ago, when he went from the Rojdestvennoy monastery of Vladimir; and the deacon then, and he too, commemorated the late tsaritsa as the tsaritsa Eudocia, according to the tablet shown him, which was there

[21] But later, after being confronted with Ivan Poustinni and with Kaptelina, he confessed to this.

in the church. He told the princess Anastasia Golitsin that the late tsaritsa wore a secular dress, in reply to a question. That was in the winter, when the tsarevna Theodosia Alexievna died.[22] He did not inform the tsar, because he supposed she would, as she was living in the household of her majesty the tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna. . . . . When he was an archimandrite, Athanasius Sourmin said to him: 'Why do you not speak to the late tsaritsa about Stephen Gleboff going to her at unseasonable hours?' And he did speak to her, but she did not listen to him.

*Sourmin*, the intendant, had heard of it from the protopope Simeon (who was tonsured); and after the archimandrite Dositheus had spoken to her, the late tsaritsa called him, Sourmin, to her, and scolded him, saying: 'What do you mean, you thief, by speaking such words? Do you know that I have a son alive who will pay you off?' And for that they dismissed him from being intendant.

The protopope *Simeon*, who had been there twenty years, was, in consequence of what he had said to Sourmin, sent away and tonsured.

Being confronted with Ivan Poustinni and Kaptelina, he at length confessed to having said and written those statements about the soul of the father of the late tsaritsa which he had previously denied.

And of that his deceiving prophecy and all his roguery *notification was made* to the Russian and Greek bishops *synodically*. And they, *having heard that his wicked roguery*, degraded him from the episcopal dignity, and delivered him over to the civil jurisdiction.

And after his degradation he was still farther convicted (that is, by the examination of the tsarevna Maria, respecting the account given by the tsarevich of a conversation held with her near Libau).

And he wrote a letter about visions and prophecies to the tsarevna Maria, which was found in her room and taken thence, as follows (and this letter, which is very long and enigmatical, is inserted at length). In one passage of the letter it is written: 'There are many who cry out, O Lord, avenge, and give completion and an end to the business!' (*i.e.* may the tsar soon die).

[22] She died 13th Dec. A.D. 1713.

In another: 'And the hermits greatly wish for him, that the Lord should grant him grace to reform his life' (*i.e.* the late tsaritsa wished that the tsar should take her back to himself, as before).

Theodore *Jouravsky* said that he heard about Bessarion from the ex-clerk who lived in a wall at Yaroslaff, and had a vision of the destruction of Petersburg.

And against the tsarevna Michael Bosoi stated that she, after her return from Carlsbad, sent him to the late tsaritsa with presents of secular clothing, and bade her not to grieve that the tsarevich had gone away into the dominions of the emperor: in that he had done well. And to all that she confessed. (Printed at St. Petersburg in March A.D. 1718.)

Respecting the Souzdal branch of the inquests caused by the return of the tsarevich, Pogodin remarks thus: 'From first to last we do not find in it a single word about the tsarevich, nor about the existence of relations between him and the so-called criminals who were punished. There were chosen for their condemnation entirely different grounds, as the casting off on the part of the tsaritsa of the monastic dress, her being named in the *ectenias*, and her liaison with Gleboff. All these charges were of a kind which could not properly be made grounds of capital condemnation for any one (they were all probably known before, and had been left unnoticed); the more so, as Peter's own moral conduct had not been very remarkable for correctness. That they were now made matters for judicial inquest, and held to deserve such terrible punishment, was the effect of some other consideration, and at the same time of a most arbitrary will—an additional and striking proof of the *artifice* and *dishonesty* of the whole process respecting the tsarevich.

'If Peter had determined to end matters with his wife and with his son by himself alone, without any trial, without manifestoes, without extracts from the holy scriptures, from the canons, and from the Code, it would have been much easier for the impartial investigator and truthful historian, if not to justify him, at least to find palliations (*des circonstances attenuantes*) in his favour than it is now.'

'Two days before I left for Petersburg'—so the resident Pleyer wrote on the 18th Apr. o.s. to the emperor—'there were

at Moscow executions. Major Stephen Gleboff (who had before been frightfully tortured, with the knout, hot iron, and live coals, and had been three days and nights bound to a pillar on a plank with wooden pegs, and with all that had confessed to nothing) on the 15th March o.s. was broken on the wheel three hours before dark, and died early on the next morning. On Monday the 17th March the bishop of Rostoff was broken on the wheel; . . . afterwards he was beheaded, his body burned, and his head stuck on a spike. Alexander Kikin, in time past a favourite of the tsar, was also broken on the wheel: his tortures were slow, with intervals, that he might feel them the more. The next day the tsar rode past: Kikin was still alive on the wheel: he begged that the tsar would spare him, and let him be tonsured in a monastery.[23] The tsar ordered his head to be cut off and fixed on a spike. A third person was the former confessor of the tsaritsa, who had brought her and Gleboff together: he also was broken on the wheel, his head fixed on a spike, and his body burned. A fourth was a common writer (a *pisar*), who publicly in the church reproached the tsar for having disinherited the tsarevich, and gave a written protest:[24] he too was broken on the wheel.'

[This was a podiak of the Artillery prikaz, named Larion Dokoukin. When all were required to swear to the disinheritance of the tsarevich Alexis and the transfer of the succession to the child Peter Petrovich, Dokoukin wrote under the oath: 'To the unjustifiable deprivation and exclusion of the tsarevich Alexis I, in the conscience of a Christian and by the judgment of God and by the holy gospel, do *not* swear, and with my hand I do *not* subscribe. Farther, I add a short extract from the book of St. Gregory Nazianzene, as an apposite testimony, for such as can understand; though for that the tsar's wrath may be poured out upon me. As for that, the will of my Lord and God Jesus Christ be done. For his holy will and for

[23] *i.e.* some words passed. Another and a more probable account of them is this: The tsar asked Kikin how he who had so much *mind* came to act as he had acted. 'Don't speak of *mind*,' he replied: 'mind loves freedom; but with you a man could not even breathe.'

[24] Oustrialoff, in a note, observes that 'of this occurrence there is no other mention: there is no trace of it in the *Acts*.' There would not be, as it did not belong to the inquest: it would have belonged rather to the *report* of those appointed to administer the oath in the church. Still it may well have been true,

the truth I, the servant of Christ, Larion Dokoukin, am ready to suffer. Amen, Amen, Amen.'

This paper, with the extract from St. Gregory Nazianzene, Dokoukin gave to Peter himself in the church on the 2d of March (the Sunday of Orthodoxy). In 'Misery' (so he called the prison at Preobrajensk) he explained that he had written as above 'out of sympathy for the tsarevich Alexis, because he was the legitimate son, born of the real wife; but the tsarevich Peter Petrovich he did not regard as a true (*i.e.* legitimate) heir, &c. He had acted alone, and had come on purpose to expose himself to suffer for the word of Christ.' After being three times tortured he was broken on the wheel. Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xvii. p. 212.]

'Besides those who were put to death, others were knouted, others beaten with rods, and with their noses cut off sent to Siberia. A noble lady of the Troekouroff family was knouted; another, of the Golitsin family, was beaten with rods. After the public executions a princess, who for some years had had the greatest influence at the court, the wife of prince Golitsin and daughter of the old prince and stats-meister Prozorofsky, was taken to Preobrajensk: there in the house of torture, in the midst of a circle of a hundred soldiers, she was laid on the ground, with her back bared, and unmercifully beaten with rods: after that she was sent to her husband, who sent her to the house of (her) father.

'In the city, on the *great place before the palace* (the Krasnoi ploshchad), *where the executions took place*, there was erected a quadrangular pillar of white stone, about six cubits high, with iron spikes projecting from the sides, on which the heads of the persons executed were stuck. On the top of the pillar there was a square stone, a cubit high: on it were placed the bodies of the persons executed, among which was to be seen the body of Gleboff, as if sitting and surrounded by the rest.' And Pleyer adds some of the details of the inquest.

The Moscow inquest was finished, and the tsar was anxious to return to Petersburg, in order to be as near as possible, to receive and answer communications from Oland, where conferences for peace were soon to be opened. On the 11th March Catherine wrote from Preobrajensk to Petersburg to Menshikoff: 'I beg you to give orders to clean up for the tsarevich the dvor

which was Shilting's, where the Swedish rear-admiral was; and cause anything which needs it to be mended or repaired, and have the floors washed and cleaned. Also give orders to inspect the dvor and clean out the rooms of the tsarevna Maria.' The most illustrious prince must have been greatly pleased with the course that matters had taken at Moscow: his enemies, Kikin and Dolgorouky, had come to grief. The tsar, enraged against the enemies of Menshikoff, would naturally be more gracious towards him. One thing only disturbed Menshikoff: What a deep impression all this affair must make on the tsar? and it was well known how these impressions affected his health, already broken. Or it may be Menshikoff feared lest Catherine should use her influence to dissuade Peter from his horrible purpose. At any rate, Menshikoff wrote to Catherine thus:

'Though I confidently trust that your majesty desires to divert his majesty the tsar from the grief that has befallen him (owing to the permission of God, through traitors and children of the devil), still I write this to beg with tears of you, our most gracious mother and hossoudarina, to divert his majesty the tsar from that great affliction from which, as your majesty must sufficiently understand, no sort of good could be caused, but only very undesirable and serious damage *to the health* of his majesty the tsar. So also as regards yourself, I will beg you not to allow yourself in any kind of doubt about that, but of your high good sense to suppress such doubts altogether. God be thanked that that smouldering fire, of His our Creator's loving-kindness and mercy *to your majesty*, was clearly detected, so that now by God's help it may be *eradicated*, and that destructive conflagration be *altogether quenched and put out*. About which again I most humbly beseech your majesty, our most gracious hossoudarina and mother, that you will try not to allow either his majesty the tsar or yourself not only to give way to any overwhelming affliction, but not either to foster any misgiving, but to leave it to God's holy will' (*Collection*, &c., p. 308).

On the 18th March the tsar left Moscow for Petersburg, after giving orders to transport thither the tsarevich, Abram Lopouchin, the prince Basil Dolgorouky, Ivan Athanasieff, Theodore Doubrovsky, and others, to be put afresh to the question.

In advance of this mournful convoy of prisoners, once of the

highest rank, there goes—we are extracting from Mr. Semevsky—the tsar; and he writes a note thus:

'Katerinushka, my heart's friend, health to you! I wish you to know that you should on no account travel by that road by which I went on from Novgorod, because the ice is bad, and we had great difficulty in getting along, and one night we were forced to stop. Therefore I wrote, when I was twenty versts out from Novgorod, to the commandant, to order relays to be stationed for you along the old road. Peter. 23d March A.D. 1718.'

The tsar arrived at Petersburg on the 24th March, and Catherine on the 26th.

The tsarevich, on his arrival, was placed in a house near the tsar's palace. Pleyer wrote on the 18th April that there was a general rumour that the mind of the tsarevich was affected, and that he drank immoderately. Of the other prisoners (for the tsarevich also was *really* all this time a prisoner), who all arrived at Petersburg at 9 A.M. on the 6th Apr. (Palm Sunday), nine, viz. Nikiphor Viazemsky, Basil Gleboff, the podiak Protopopoff of Riga, Ivan Athanasieff minor, the denshchik Ivan Orloff, the confessor Yakoff Ignatieff, the diak Michael Voinoff, Athanasius Temireff, and Peter Meyer, were kept in the Fortress under charge of the commandant, captain Bachmetieff; others were left on the other side of the Neva, under guard, viz. prince Basil Vlad. Dolgorouky, Abram Lopouchin, Theodore Everlakoff, Theodore Voronoff, Ivan Athanasieff major, Theodore Doubrovsky, prince Theodore Tscherbatoy.

'On the 10th Apr. the *Cesar of Moscow*, prince Ivan Theod. Romodanofsky, arrived at Petersburg at the beginning of the eighth hour P.M.; and when he came to the winter palace, on a signal given thence by a rocket, the Fortress fired a salute of twenty-one guns, and the week-day flag was hoisted.' And the next day there was given him a guard of honour, consisting of an *ouriadnik* and twelve privates.

On the 13th (Easter Sunday) the diak Volkoff, who had been imprisoned in the Fortress since the 21st Feb., was brought before the tsar at the house of prince Menshikoff, and set at liberty. That morning the tsar and Catherine, with all the ministers, had attended the early matins and liturgy in the church of the Trinity. Pleyer writes that on this Easter Sun-

day, when saluting the tsaritsa Catherine according to the custom, the tsarevich fell at her feet, and, remaining long without rising, entreated her to obtain for him from his father permission now to marry Euphrosyne, as had been promised him. His petition had no success. Euphrosyne, after her arrival at Petersburg, was placed in the Fortress, together with her brother and the two other servants of the tsarevich who were with her; and there, after her delivery, when she had sufficiently recovered, she was subjected to an examination, and made once more to contribute materially towards the destruction of the tsarevich, who had sacrificed his only chance of safety for her sake. At the same time with Euphrosyne (viz. on the Sunday of St. Thomas, 20th Apr.) those prisoners who had hitherto been left on the other side the Neva were also all placed in the Fortress. Euphrosyne and her three companions were put under charge of the lieutenant Albrecht.

Meanwhile the letters written to the senate and to two bishops, on the 8th May A.D. 1717, from Naples, 'under compulsion,' as the tsarevich stated, of count Schönborn's secretary Keil, were urgently demanded by the resident at Vienna, Veselovsky: and at the same time there was sent to the emperor a letter demanding the recall of his resident Pleyer, for having made false reports to his court concerning the tsarevich. This is a curious episode in the history of the affair.

'Our son Alexis'—so Peter wrote on the 18th March in his letter to the emperor—'has shown us the copy of a report of your resident Pleyer to your majesty, communicated to him, our son, by your vice-chancellor count Schönborn, in which he reported to your majesty many lies about our empire and many calumnies about our person and our consort, and of certain conspiracies of our troops, and of the consent and fellowship with them of some of our subjects, a copy of which report is inclosed. Though he, by communicating matters of such gravity, has violated the *Law of Nations*, still we, of friendship for your majesty, have *done nothing to him*. We only ask that you would order him as soon as possible to be recalled from our court: for we henceforth will not treat with him on any matters whatever.'

And on the 21st March the tsar thanks the emperor for sending back his son Alexis: 'Our envoys have reported that

your majesty not only consented to let him go back, but also, through your admonitions to him, and the *persuasion* of your viceroy at Naples, assisted very much towards that his return, and softened (or broke down) his obstinacy.'

On the 23d Apr. Veselovsky wrote from Vienna that three days back he had delivered the tsar's letter at Laxenburg, thanking the emperor also verbally in obliging terms, and stating at the same time that 'the vice-chancellor Schönborn had sent his secretary to the tsarevich, *requiring from him* letters to the senate and to bishops of your majesty; and that he gave to the secretary three letters, written by him against his own will, to the prejudice of your majesty; and those letters were in the hands of the vice-chancellor.' I asked the emperor to give up to me those letters, to be sent to your majesty. The emperor, having received your majesty's letter with all politeness, answered with surprise that he had never given order to demand of the tsarevich any such letters, and without an order the vice-chancellor could not do it, and that he would inquire of the vice-chancellor and give me an answer. Then I went to prince Eugene and count Zinzendorf, who both swore that the thing was impossible. I answered that the tsarevich *could have no reason*[23] to invent against the vice-chancellor such a story. Then they went to the emperor, and promised me that about this matter and the recall of Pleyer there should be a conference at the end of this week.'

On the 30th April Veselovsky writes that he has been twice to Laxenburg. 'Prince Eugene wondered why the tsar blames Pleyer for reporting what he heard said; by doing which he violated in nothing the *law of nations*. I replied that Pleyer must either have invented those stories himself, or else have had relations with *traitorous* subjects of your majesty, to the prejudice of your majesty's glory and interest. In conclusion, I made known your *ukaz*: that if the emperor does not recall him, you will be obliged to send him away yourself. This he took to report of with no small discomposure.'

May 3. He cannot yet get an answer.

May 7. This morning prince Eugene has told him from the emperor that 'he sees nothing in Pleyer's report contrary to international right: he merely reported, according to his duty,

[23] The poor wretch *thought* he had a reason.

what he heard. The emperor cannot recall him for that, and is not willing to be obliged by a foreign power to change his ministers; for one power cannot so prescribe laws to another: in this he will be justified by all the world. About the three letters of the tsarevich the vice-chancellor Schönborn was questioned before all the ministers; and the fact was shown to be that the tsarevich had of himself sent those letters to be forwarded to Poland, to give intelligence about his own person; only those letters were *not* actually forwarded, but retained here, whence one may see the good friendship of the emperor for your majesty. And he showed me those three letters, holding them at a distance, sealed and undirected, so that he could not tell for whom they were. I represented that your majesty cannot have any openness or confidence towards Pleyer, and that you feel very sensibly this wrong, and I asked the prince to report this to the emperor. "That would be labour lost," he said; "the emperor will certainly give no other answer." I asked to have the letters given up to me, according to your oukaz. He replied that he could not do this; I might talk to the vice-chancellor, who had orders to prepare the emperor's letter of answer (to the tsar). To-morrow I will ask the emperor himself.'

*Report of the Conference of the Ministers to the emperor Charles VI., 29th April* (18*th* O.S.) A.D. 1718.

The Muscovite resident verbally notified to the privy councillors, prince Eugene and the chancellor count Zinzendorf, that he had two letters from the tsar to present to your majesty: one of thanks respecting the tsarevich; the other expressing the tsar's wish that the resident Pleyer, for his report communicated in extract to the tsarevich by count Schönborn, should be recalled. Both the privy councillors, especially prince Eugene, emphatically replied that your majesty, without some grave reason, could not possibly recall Pleyer merely because he, in the performance of his duty, *like every other resident*, informed his court of what he saw and heard. If there were any other better reasons than that in the tsar's letter, Veselovsky should communicate them to the vice-chancellor Schönborn, to whose department those matters belonged. Veselovsky on that declared that he was ordered to have nothing to do with count Schönborn, who, by his letters given up to the tsar by his son (and soon to

be sent hither), had moved the tsarevich to the stirring up of a rebellion at Moscow. Both the councillors tried to make Veselovsky see how impossible it was to imagine that the count, with his caution, should have done anything of the kind without command of your majesty: besides, no sovereign whatever can allow to a foreign court an arbitrary choice, to dictate with what particular minister they will have dealings. Notwithstanding all this, Veselovsky did not go to count Schönborn.

Your majesty ordered both the letters of the tsar to be considered in a conference, which consisted, under the presidency of prince Eugene, of prince Trautzen, count Zinzendorf, count Windishgrentz, and the vice-chancellor count Schönborn. After verbal exposition of all the circumstances of the tsarevich's stay here, and after reading both the former two letters of the tsar and the one recently received, the conference considered three points: 1. How to regard the refusal of Veselovsky to hold communication with the vice-chancellor? 2. Is it proper to recall Pleyer? 3. What answer is to be made in writing to the tsar, and what verbally to Veselovsky?

But first the vice-chancellor communicated copies of his own three letters to the tsarevich; also copies from the letters of the tsarevich to the Muscovite bishops and senators, which he sent from the Tyrol[26] [from Naples] to be forwarded, but which were *not* forwarded, and the originals of which are still in his, the vice-chancellor's, hands. In the letters of the vice-chancellor nothing was found to give occasion to the complaints of the tsar, except only that there was mentioned a report current among the people and derived from foreign newspapers, as if the tsar were seeking to kill his son; least of all anything which looked to the stirring up of rebellion. On the contrary, count Schönborn advised the tsarevich to be quiet and patient; and besides that he detained here the letters of the tsarevich (though in them he only informed his good friends of his health and safety, and asked them not to give him up,—in which, perhaps, the tsar, violently wresting the words, discovers some bad design). Thus the vice-chancellor repelled the imputation of having had

[26] So at least Oustrialoff has printed: the copies here mentioned are the foul copies, or translations of the first copies, written at Naples (when the tsarevich shut himself up with only the secretary or courier *Potskai*, according to his own account) and not given back to him.

any thought of an instigation to rebellion. So the conference proposes that your majesty should suggest to Veselovsky to receive the answer to the three letters in suchwise as shall be stated under the third head.

2. As regards the recall of Pleyer: The conference can find in the extract communicated no cause whatever for blaming him, and it does not think it necessary to recall him. But as he will now probably be hated at the Muscovite court, he should be directed, after some months, of himself to ask to be recalled. To provide against the chance of any affront being offered him, Veselovsky should not be allowed to leave Vienna till Pleyer is in safety.

3. To the tsar's letter of the 17th March, in which he lays on his son all the blame of the discourtesy shown towards the court here, and justifies Tolstoy, the conference thinks it best that there should be no farther answer: else, as the tsar asks your majesty to disapprove the conduct of count Colloredo, it would be necessary to call upon the count for explanations. To the tsar's letter of the 18th March answer should be made briefly: That your majesty, having carefully considered the extract, has not found in it any cause for blaming Pleyer, who, *like other residents*, wrote as it was his duty to write; therefore you request the tsar to keep him in his good graces as before. But the tsar's letter of the 21st March contains strange expressions, as if here they had persuaded the tsarevich to return to his father. The conference, fearing lest the opinion that the court here had *coöperated*[17] to bring about the misfortune of the tsarevich should take deep root in the public mind, proposes to answer at once in this way; and some days before sending off the answer to the tsar to communicate it to all the imperial residents at foreign courts, with orders by indirect means to cause it to be talked about.

Farther, the conference proposes that your majesty should commission prince Eugene, or some one else, to call to him Veselovsky, and signify to him that, as no sovereign at his own court allows any one to dictate to him what minister he is to appoint to this or that duty, your majesty can in nowise allow this; and the less, as on careful examination it appears that the vice-chancellor advised the tsarevich to live quietly, and to give no occa-

[17] Unhappily it *had* coöperated.

sion to his father for dissatisfaction, still less (did he put him upon) any stirring up of rebellion; which is more particularly confirmed by the fact that the letters of the tsarevich to the senators and bishops, *though perfectly innocent*, were not forwarded (these letters may be shown to Veselovsky); consequently, he must receive the answer about Pleyer, &c., from the vice-chancellor.

On the original the emperor has written his resolution: '*Placet in toto, und dass der erste passus durch d. Prinz geschehe.*'

Charles VI. to Peter I., 8th May (28th Apr. o.s.) A.D. 1718, from Laxenburg (translation from the *Latin*): 'Of the special affection with which we cultivate the friendship of your serenity, and, so far as in us lies, desire always to preserve it, we were very much pleased to receive that testimony of your gratitude towards us for good done by us to your son the prince Alexis, which is more fully expressed in the letters of your serenity of the 12th of March last. But it was with a different feeling that we saw it both in those letters, and in the *Apology* (the manifesto) published by your serenity, to be everywhere, but incorrectly, stated, that the prince Alexis had been *moved* to return to his own country by our persuasion and exhortation, and even (as is implied, only in other words, in the said *Apology*) as it were by our *threats*. For we had so entirely left the whole matter to his own choice that, as on the one hand, when he was willing, we did not hinder him, so, on the other, if he had been unwilling to return, we, according to the right of nations and our just duty towards a prince who was our connection, would have continued to give him an asylum under our protection, till there should have been an opening for his reconciliation. We therefore have thought that this authentic information ought properly to be made known to your serenity, to which, for the rest, we wish all prosperous issues in your conduct. Laxenburg, 8th May 1718.'

From Veselovsky, dated Thursday 14th May (received on the 5th June):

'Two days ago, at Laxenburg, the vice-chancellor told me that he had an order to show me only one letter of the tsarevich (that to the senate), which the emperor, for his own satisfaction, had then opened, and after reading it to me he was to return it to the emperor. The tsarevich in it explains the reason of his

departure from his country in these terms: "They wished to put upon me a monk's habit against my will;" and he bids them not believe any report of his being dead, and tells them that he is under the protection of a high personage, &c. I asked: Why his majesty would not give up those letters to me to send to your majesty? He said his orders were only to show this one letter. Then I asked: Why only one, and not all the three? He replied, smiling: "I know nothing about the others." I, seeing such evasiveness, and almost insult, said that your majesty would take this as a great sign of unfriendliness, and would complain of such an open wrong to all the world; and that I would ask for an audience of the emperor. The vice-chancellor, after saying that I could not do better, went to the castle to the emperor. There was a conference. The emperor let me know that he will receive me next week, on Wednesday. From this I see that they are waiting for an answer from Pleyer; or else in the other two letters there is something to the effect that they were written at the instigation of the emperor. I shall have to wait seven days. I said to the vice-chancellor: Was it not a shame for them so to delay about a matter of the clearest right? He replied: "Why did you yourselves put off our resident, and not admit him to an audience? You yourselves have given us a reason for doing the like."'

May 21 (received 8th June): 'This morning the vice-chancellor said to me, by order of the emperor, that his majesty wishes nothing more than always to maintain friendship with your majesty; and his good-will you can see from this, that the privy councillor Tolstoy at Naples was admitted to see the tsarevich, and *every facility* in his business was afforded him; also the letters given by the tsarevich were not sent, and *they* had now been shown to me. Only his majesty had found it most proper to burn *them*, of which your majesty may be assured.[28] I protested strongly, and immediately asked for an audience of the emperor. He admitted me, and said that probably the vice-chancellor had already informed me of the decision, which he could not change: he thanked your majesty for your friendship, and so dismissed me. Then I asked the vice-chancellor: To whom

[28] Here the plural word '*letters*' is used equivocally for one only, viz. that one which the emperor had opened and shown; and this was really one of the two letters to bishops.

were the other two letters written? He replied that he did not know. I ventured to say, on purpose, that the tsarevich had already revealed all to your majesty, and that there was no use in making a mystery. He asked: "Are you quite sure of that?" Probably in those letters some persons are named.'

The emperor having called upon count Daun for a more detailed report of all that had taken place at Naples, the viceroy wrote, on the 17th of June o.s., thus:

'By command of your majesty, of the 8th May (27th Apr. o.s.), I received a manifesto of the tsar, in which it is said that the tsarevich "determined to return to Moscow *only at the urgent instigation*, and even in consequence of the *threats*, of your majesty." Your majesty had ordered me to give the tsarevich full liberty in his actions: and you require of me a circumstantial report, how it all was, and how it came about that he decided to go. I have the honour to report as follows:'

Then he relates that there was a special captain appointed at St. Elmo: all communications with people outside were cut off: 'only I or feldzeugmeister Wentsel or feldkriegsconcepist Weingardt could see him. Your instructions about the interviews were followed to the letter. *Who could advise*, still less *threaten*, so as to make the prince return, *when*[29] it was said expressly in the instructions that you, against his will, would not give him up? This was several times declared and repeated to the tsarevich. And *what man of honour would have* ventured to urge him to return, after hearing what he related more than once about his own unhappinesses, and about the character of his father? The matter was thus:

'Tolstoy at the first interview, at the very beginning, told him in Russ (exactly as is said in the present manifesto of the tsar) that your majesty "would not, against all right, support him and enter into a quarrel with his father." Having most hope of influencing by fear, he continued in the same tone: The tsar would regard him as a traitor if he did not return, and would never desist till he took him, alive or dead, whatever it might cost: that he, Tolstoy, had an order not to leave till he could bring him away; and if they removed him to any other place,

[29] Nevertheless, Weingardt *did advise*, and Daun *did threaten*; and the letters from the cabinet had been '*really admirable*,' in the opinion of Tolstoy and Roumiantsoff.

he was to follow him. Struck and disturbed by these words, the tsarevich turned to me, took me by the hand, and led me into another room, where he told me what Tolstoy had been saying (and the translator, who was present, confirmed the same); and then he asked me, in a tone of great distress (*ganz ängstig*): "If my father determines to demand me by force of arms (*armatâ manu*), can I reckon upon the protection of the emperor?" I replied that he must not pay attention to those threats; that though his majesty would be very glad to see them reconciled, still, if he thought it unsafe to return, he might reckon upon the protection of his majesty, who is powerful enough to protect those whom he has received under his protection in all cases. The tsarevich took courage, and declared to me positively that he could not return without manifest danger, and that he would not willingly, in any way whatever, fall into the hands of his father. But to Tolstoy he answered only that he could not yet resolve to return, and required a good deal of time to reflect upon it. So ended the first interview; and the second was of like form: both were in the palace, in my presence.

'Seeing that the matter was spun out, fearing also lest the Muscovites should do some violence to the tsarevich, and thinking it was unsuitable to bring him down to the palace under guard, I, for more security, and by his own wish and consent, caused the later conferences to be held in the castle, where, instead of me, frey-herr Von Wentsel was present. There, two days later, there was held a third colloquy, which ended, like the two earlier ones, without the tsarevich declaring to Tolstoy any definitive resolution. Meanwhile the tsarevich said to Wentsel *and Weingardt* that he could not go to his father; and that he intended to write his reasons for this to your majesty: but to Tolstoy he caused it to be signified that he could not receive him because he was unwell. In this sense I had already prepared a report and a courier for your majesty.

'However, on the following morning[30] he sent to *Weingardt* the autograph note which I inclose, stating that he wished to speak with Tolstoy, without Roumiantsoff, in his room. This note they took to Tolstoy, who at first showed[31] a disinclination

[30] He does not add here: 'After both Tolstoy and Weingardt had *advised* and frightened him;' nor below, 'and after I had *threatened*.'

[31] *i.e. pretended*, as if he were not conscious of anything having passed with himself, or with Weingardt.

(to go alone), but afterwards he *consented* to go. And when *Weingardt* told the tsarevich that Tolstoy would come at the appointed time, he not only became more calm and cheerful than he had been before, but he gave him to understand that he had taken a determination which would be agreeable to his father *and to your majesty*, and good also for himself.

'The explanation of this followed the same evening (in presence of Wentsel, Weingardt, and the translator). The tsarevich conversed long aside, mostly in a soft and under-tone of voice, inaudible to others. Having satisfied himself that he had *full powers*, he took the minister (Tolstoy) into a private room, *to the woman* whom he had with him in man's clothes; and, first to Tolstoy, *and then to the ordnance-master and the secretary*, altogether unexpectedly, but with quite a cheerful countenance, he announced that he had determined to give himself up absolutely to the will of his father, and to return into his hands and to his own country. He asked only that they would keep this secret till the next morning, when he would declare it to *both*[32] the Muscovite envoys. *All this* Tolstoy, when *he* came back *from the private chamber*, certified to the secretary (Weingardt), with the addition that he had promised to the tsarevich two things: the choice of his own place of residence, and permission to marry the aforesaid woman.[33] Immediately a report of this was made to me by the ordnance-master and the secretary. Astonished at so speedy and unexpected a resolution, I charged the ordnance-master to remind the tsarevich that if he did not wish to return, he might put full confidence in the protection of the emperor.[34] The tsarevich, *all the same*, remained still unchanged in his determination.

'The next morning the Muscovite envoys, the ordnance-

[32] *Very considerate* towards Roumiantsoff this! But Tolstoy understood that there was still something to be done, and that the *definitive resolution* was not to be given till the next morning. '*What man of honour* could think of *advising*, to say nothing of *threatening*, &c.?' But Daun supplied that which was still wanting; and it was even originally of his own gratuitous zeal, though done eventually at the last moment at Tolstoy's instance. But compare Tolstoy's own reports. In the last part of this report of the viceroy there is some confusion and inaccuracy, caused either by defective memory, or by conscience.

[33] So the tsarevich has already obtained from his father's plenipotentiary permission to marry Euphrosyne when the viceroy, *knowing this*, sends to take her away from him! '*What man of honour*,' &c.?

[34] But that he must at once part with Euphrosyne?

master, and the secretary came to the room of the tsarevich, and there, before them all, he made his formal declaration. At the same time he asked only to return through Venice to Vienna, in order personally to express to your majesty his gratitude, and to ask your most high mediation with his father. After that, during all the time of his stay in the royal palace, where I saw him daily, he showed himself so cheerful and contented as to make it clear that his intention of returning had come of his own good will, and not from any persuasion or admonition, *still less from any threats*, as is untruly stated in the tsar's manifesto. This contentment and cheerfulness he showed especially in presence of the captain of dragoons, count Esterhazy, acting here as adjutant-general, whom I appointed to accompany the tsarevich to see various objects of interest which he wished to see. I have already reported with what obliging expressions, when leaving, on the 26th (15th o.s.) Oct., he declined to take the escort appointed for him, in conformity with your majesty's commands, during the time of his journey, declaring that he would rather stay on here than take that suite: lastly, he said that only to content me he consented to be escorted as far as the frontier by one captain.

'It is manifest that he had no sort of fear or terror, and that his determination was voluntary, and *not* of any *force put upon him*: else he would have shown irresolution, or at least anxiety. Of this I make report to your majesty in sincerity and truth.'

But let us return to Russia.

After the declaration of count Schönborn that the emperor had ordered the letters of the tsarevich to be burned, Peter was forced to drop that subject.[35] Two letters, however, of the tsarevich, one to the senate and the other to some bishop, which have been given above, are still preserved in the archives at Vienna. Pleyer remained still as the imperial resident at St. Petersburg till the 4th Dec. A.D. 1718. On the eve of the tsar's birthday (*i.e.* on the 29th May) the vice-chancellor Shaphiroff notified to him, by order of the tsar, that he was not to appear at

[35] Two years afterwards Veselovsky absconded from Vienna, and, as was said, sought refuge in England. Peter (4th April 1720) offered 20,000 dollars for his capture. Yagoujinsky wrote from Vienna that 'nothing could be done through that court: count Schönborn did not even admit him, being conscious of *the intrigues he had had with him* (Veselovsky) at the time of the affair of the tsarevich.'

court. In Jan. A.D. 1719 he wrote to Vienna from Memel. His place at our (*i.e.* the Russian) court was taken by Hochholtzer, afterwards secretary of legation.

It must have been before the middle of April, and, seemingly, only just before her confinement, that the tsarevich's mistress, Euphrosyne, arrived at Petersburg, together with her brother and with the servants, Yakoff Nosoff, and Peter Soudakoff. It has been mentioned already how on Easter Sunday, the 13th of April, the tsarevich petitioned the tsaritsa Catherine (now that Euphrosyne was in Petersburg, and her child perhaps not yet born; and now that Easter was come, so that marriages could be solemnised) to obtain for him the fulfilment of the promise made by the tsar, that he should be allowed to marry Euphrosyne. Instead of becoming his wife, she was to be used as a witness against him, to bring upon him tortures and death. But in the meantime, while they were kept in the Fortress at Petersburg, and before Euphrosyne herself had recovered after her confinement, so as to be in a state to be examined, the servants who had been with her and with the tsarevich abroad were questioned; and, among other details of no importance, they stated as follows:

*Peter Meyer:* At Vienna I asked him, the tsarevich: Why have you come here? He replied: 'I have been sent for a certain affair to the emperor from batushka.' When he was under guard, I asked: Why so? He replied, to the same effect: 'When my father's business is finished I will go.' Letters were sent to him, mostly from the emperor; whether any came from Russia I know not. Euphrosyne said to me, after we had returned to Russia, that the tsarevich had said to her that he would not have returned if they had not sent after him. Also she told me that he wished to marry her.

*Yakoff Nosoff:* When we had come to Vienna he went on foot into the city, and sent me to Schönborn, &c. Afterwards he went out to his country house, six miles from Vienna, and was there a month: thence he went to the Tyrol: while he was there there were sent to him from the general two or three letters; about what I know not.

*Ivan Theodoroff:* At Ehrenberg the tsarevich tore up some letters; but how many, or what I know not: they were brought by the general himself. At Naples the tsarevich shut himself up with the secretary Krivoi (Keil) and wrote a letter in large

words: he sat at that three days, and gave it to the secretary. After that, a week before Peter A. Tolstoy came, the same secretary brought him a letter, and he wrote in answer to it a large letter, and gave it to him. Whether he wrote in cypher I know not. An alphabet lay in a box, of which the tsarevich had the key.

The podiak *Peter Soudakoff*: I gave the cypher alphabets by order of the tsarevich to Ivan Theodoroff: there were letters in the Tyrol; but I know not what.

On the 22d June the senate sentenced all these four servants to be sent to Siberia, 'for this reason, that for them to be here is *inconvenient* (or inopportune).' They were sent on the 7th Oct., and they were to be employed in such service as was suitable.

'On Friday the 2d May'—so it is entered in the minute-book of the Fortress at Petersburg—'his majesty the tsar was pleased to visit in the Fortress (lit. in the Garrison) the chamber of torture (*zastiçmok*) which has been made there in the Troubetskoy bastion, in a casemate.'

In the archives there are still preserved the '*Points of examination*' written by Peter and given to Euphrosyne at some date before the 10th of May, and her answers, written by herself in a very weak hand, as follows:

1. About letters: Who wrote, of Russians, and of foreigners; and how often, in the Tyrol and at Naples?

2. Of whom did he speak well, and in whom did he hope?

3. Of the bishops whom did he praise, and about whom did he say anything?

4. When he was with his mother, what did he say?

5. Did he tear up any letters?

In the answers of Euphrosyne the passages noticeable are these:

1. Also he wrote to the emperor with complaints against the hossoudar. . . . He told me that there was a mutiny in the army, and that from information in newspapers; but for what was near Moscow, that was from *direct letters*.[36] At Ehrenberg there came German letters, three times, through the general and the secretary. He wrote at Naples some Russian letters, to whom I know not: only I heard from him that he wrote to some bishops from the castle (of St. Elmo), but to whom I know not; and he wrote not long before the coming of Tolstoy.

[36] That is, from the letters of Pleyer.

To the emperor the tsarevich wrote complaints against his father many times: and when he heard of the mutiny in the territory of Mecklenburg he rejoiced at it: and he always desired the succession; and it was on that account that he went away: and in conversations he said to me that all acted villainously by him, except Shaphiroff and Tolstoy: 'Perhaps God will give us an opportunity to return with joy.'

From Naples he wrote to the emperor complaints against his father many times. And not long before hospodin Tolstoy came to us, in the middle of our stay in the castle, so that there might be an answer to that letter, the tsarevich wrote to a bishop a letter in Russian from the castle . . . He wrote that letter, not in the first days of our being there, but long after. Also at the same time at which he wrote that letter to the bishop, he wrote, I think, a letter with complaints to the emperor. But the first letters he wrote to two bishops, not in the castle, but before, when he was in quarters (in the palace); but to what bishops he did not say: and he so wrote long before that letter.

He spoke to me of a disturbance, as if there was a mutiny in the territory of Mecklenburg in the army, and that from newspapers; but afterwards as if near Moscow, from letters;[37] but from whom he did not say: and he *rejoiced at that*, and said: 'You see God does according to his own will.' And when he saw in the journals that the hossoudar's little son was ill, he said to me in the same way: 'You see what God does: Batushka does in his own way, and God in his!' And the succession he constantly desired: and he went away for this reason, as if the hossoudar were seeking by all means that he should not live. And Kikin said to him that he had heard that the prince Basil Dolgorouky had spoken to the tsar of that.

2. He said to me of the senators: 'Though batushka does what he wills, the senators also have wishes of their own: I expect that the senators will not follow out what batushka wishes.' And he had hope in the senators, but in whom in particular he did not say.

Of his flight there knew, as he himself told me, four persons: Kikin, Athanasieff, Doubrovsky, and the tsarevna Maria.

3. But of the bishops he spoke and praised one, but whom I do not remember. And about the letters which he wrote to

[37] The letters of Pleyer.

them he said to me that he wrote and sent those letters in order that at Petersburg they might drop (some of) them about, and give others to the bishops; but he did not say to whom.

He said to me: 'I will remove all the old people, and I will choose for myself new people according to my own will.' And when I asked him: Who are your friends? he said: 'Why should I tell you? You do not know them: you have always lived with the preceptor (Viazemsky), and of others you know none; and so there is no use in telling you.'

He said to me that he went away from his father because his father was cruel to him, and sought how he might shorten his life, and wished to deprive him of the succession. Also, whenever there was the launch of a new ship, they always forced him to drink till he was dead-drunk, and made him stand long in the frost: and to escape that also he went away, that he might be able to live in quiet, as long as his father should live. And the succession he, the tsarevich, very decidedly desired; and he by no means wished to become a monk.

And he said that when he was hossoudar he would live at Moscow, and leave Petersburg to be merely a town: so also he would give up the ships, and would not keep them: an army he would have only for defence; wars he would not have with any people; but would be content with the old dominions: and he would live in the winter at Moscow, in the summer at Yaroslaff. And when he heard of any visions, or read in the newspapers that at Petersburg all was still and quiet, he said that the vision and the quiet were not for nothing: 'It may be either my father will die, or there will be an insurrection: my father, I know not why, hates me, and wishes to make my brother his heir; but he is as yet a little child; and my father fancies that his wife, my stepmother, is a woman of mind! And when, after doing this, he dies, the empire will be in the hands of a peasant woman (*babie tsarstvo*)! and she will not be good, and there will be a disturbance: some will stand up for my brother, and others for me.' And I asked him: Who will stand up for you? and he said: 'Why should I tell you? You do not know them.' Sometimes he spoke of one man or another, and I began to ask him: Of what rank is he, and how do they call him? and he said: 'Why should I tell you, when you know nobody?'

He said to me at Ehrenberg that he wished to go to some free

cities: but whether that had been suggested to him by Doubrovsky or some one else I do not remember. When hospodin Tolstoy came to Naples the tsarevich wished to go away from the protection of the emperor to the Pope of Rome, but I kept him from doing so.

5. And when he had already determined to go to his father, on the same day on which he went out from the castle of St. Elmo, he gave me some foul copies of letters, such as he had written to the emperor with complaints against his father, and he had wished to show them to the viceroy of Naples; however, he told me to burn those letters, and I burned them. They were *all written in Russian;* and there were many of them; but whether they were all written to the emperor I know not, for I could not read them, because they were written illegibly; also there was too little time. And before those letters were burned there came to him, the tsarevich, the secretary of the viceroy of Naples; and the tsarevich out of those letters spoke to him some words in German, and the secretary wrote them, and covered one leaf; but of those letters there were in all six leaves.

All this I, Euphrosyne, daughter of Theodore, have written with my own hand.

Pleyer, on the 30th May N.S. or 19th O.S., which was a Monday, writes to Vienna thus: 'On the afternoon before *last* Sunday (he must mean Saturday the 10th May O.S.) the tsar went to his pleasure-palace of Peterhof, ten miles out, *with the tsarevich*, whom he never leaves far from himself, and ordered on the next day (*i.e.* on Sunday the 11th) his mistress to be brought from the Fortress in a covered barge. He examined *them* himself (on Sunday the 11th and Monday the 12th) privately, and then sent *her* back to the Fortress.'

On the 12th of May—Oustrialoff writes—the tsarevich was questioned about all the above (*i.e.* about the written answers and statements of Euphrosyne).

He said that he wrote to the emperor with complaints against his father, but he did *not* write so (*often*, or) *repeatedly*. He selected and read out to the secretary on what account he had gone away, and why he did not wish to return: and those letters do not exist; and all the foul copies he burned.

To bishops from the castle of St. Elmo he did not write. Of his letters to the bishops he did not speak *so;* but that they

should *drop* them at Petersburg *into the post*, that so the letters might reach those to whom they were written, and not deliver them personally.

Of visions and of his father he may have so spoken.

To free cities he had been advised to go by Doubrovsky and by Ivan Athanasieff.

He bade her burn the letters.

And about the above disputed words he was (Monday the 12th May?) confronted with Euphrosyne: and he still denied them. But she confuted him and held to what she had written.

And he, the tsarevich, that same day, after reconsideration, said to those points thus: To the emperor he wrote when he had gone away; and for what cause he was unwilling to return: more than that he does not remember.

To bishops from the castle he certainly did not write.

[*Of the senators he did say that they had still wishes of their own; but hope he has in no one, and is keeping back the name of no one.*[38]]

To the tsarevna he spoke of his flight thus: I wish to hide myself. That he did not mention this in his confessions he owns himself in fault.

About the letters to the bishops, he said that they were to be *dropped into the post* at Petersburg, that so they might come to the hands of those to whom they were written.

Of visions and newspapers, and of his father, he spoke from the words of the tsarevich of Siberia.

To go off to free cities was suggested to him by Doubrovsky and Athanasieff.

To the secretary of the viceroy of Naples he spoke those words, stating to escape what he went away, and why he was not willing to return.

More than this he knows not; nor is he screening anybody.

On the same day, the 12th May, there were proposed to the tsarevich the following *Points of questioning*, to each of which he wrote an answer.

The tsarevich in his confession has concealed some things, and of others he has written, but without writing all the circumstances.

1. To the *fourth* point, about letters, he wrote that there were from Schönborn only *two* letters, and also a copy from a

[38] This paragraph was *omitted* by Peter from the *printed* copy.

letter of Pleyer; but now there appear to have been *three* letters, and not two only: and in the *third* it is written: 'What they write *from Petersburg* is added herewith;' and that was not mentioned in the confession.

*Answer.* From Schönborn to himself there were *three* letters; and as regards that one of these in which it was written: 'What they write *from Moscow*,' &c., no such letter from Moscow, nor copy, was sent to him with that letter; but there was that which was from Petersburg from Pleyer, and that was sent in the letter of February, not in that of April.

2. To the sixth point, about the letters to the senate and the bishops, (he has written) that the secretary compelled him to write them; but he, as is plain, wrote them of himself, and not of compulsion; because in the letter to the senate there is added '*and irregularity*,' '*and without any crime*;' but in the confession there is nothing of that.

*Answer.* I certainly wrote of compulsion, and not of myself. Whether such words are in the letter I do not remember.

3. In the letter to the bishops it appears that there was added, '*the same people who did this also to my mother*;' but in the confession that again is not written.

*Answer.* In the letter, as written out fair, those words, 'the same people,' &c., certainly are not.

4. In the same letter there is added, after the words 'not to abandon him,' the word '*now*' twice, and it has been erased; but in the confession again there is no 'now.'

*Answer.* Why it was scratched out I do not remember.

5. About Doubrovsky, that he knew of his flight, and advised him to fly, is also concealed by him in his confession.

*Answer.* I was purposely silent about this, because I had spoken of that with him alone, and therefore also I did not write it in my confession.

6. About Simeon Narishkin, how, when he met him on the road, he said that he *might remain* (abroad) *long*, he has also been reticent in his confession.

*Answer.* I did not remember it when I was writing.

7. Of the dangerous illness of his father, Kikin said to him that *he is not really ill*, &c.: but in the confession he has not written about that, but he has written that he did not hear anything from anybody about that.

*Answer.* I did not mention it because I did not remember it when I was writing.

8. About the tsarevna Maria, it has now appeared that she knew of his flight: but he in his confession *had been reticent* about that; and afterwards he revealed how he had met her at Libau, and they had held a conversation: and in that he did not write of her *how* he had spoken to her of his flight.

*Answer.* I said to her thus: '*I wish to hide myself.*' But for this, that I did not write of this in my confession, but concealed it, I am in fault.

9. Athanasieff stated: 'When he was angry against Anisia Tolstoy and others, he promised to impale them, and said, "*I spit upon them all; only let the common people be safe for me.*"'

*Answer.* I so spoke when drunk.

10. *And when he has a time without batushka, then he will speak to the bishops, and they to the priests, and the priests to their parishioners, and then they will make him ruler even in spite of himself.*

*Answer.* Such words I certainly did not utter.

11 and 12. He, when he was in anger, said of Golovkin and his son, and of Troubetskoy, that he had been made to marry the crown-princess by them: 'They have hung to my neck a she-devil; if I only live, I will not forget it; the head of Golovkin's son shall be stuck on a spike.'

*Answer.* I said that.

13. Of Petersburg he said: '*It will not be long for us.*'

*Answer.* I said that from the words of the tsarevich of Siberia.

14. '*Batushka is a sharpwitted man, but the most illustrious prince is always taking him in.*'

*Answer.* Whether I said that I do not remember.

15. When they called him to a banquet or a launch, he would say: '*It were better for me to be in the galleys, or in bed sick of a fever, than to be there.*'

*Answer.* I may have said it.

16. About the archimandrite of the Nefsky he said: 'Unless, perhaps, it be for this that batushka likes him, that he introduces among the people Lutheran customs, and allows everything.

*Answer.* I said it, all but the words about Lutheran customs.

17. Everlakoff stated that the tsarevich himself said to him in A.D. 1715: 'It were better that I went away, or lived at Kieff in the Michaelovsky monastery, or were taken prisoner, rather than be here:' but in the confession there is nothing about this.

*Answer.* I said it; but I did not remember it when I was writing.

18. The tsarevich said: 'There are two men in the world as gods, the Pope of Rome and the tsar of Muscovy; they do what they will.'

*Answer.* About the Pope I so spoke; but as touching the sovereigns of Muscovy, I spoke of all, not of one only.

19. He took medicines, pretending to be ill, when there were military expeditions, that so he might avoid them.

*Answer.* I did so; and for that I am in fault.

May 14, the tsarevich presented to his father a fresh written confession,[39] as follows:

[From the tsarevna Maria I heard such words as these: 'With us they condemn your father, because he eats flesh meat in the fasts; but that is nothing: what is worse than that is, that he put away your mother. With us the bishops are blockheads: of this they make nothing; and they commemorate the present tsaritsa emphatically; yes, even Job of Novgorod of cowardice does this; but the foreigners (*i.e.* those bishops who are by origin from Little Russia) know the scriptures better, such as Demetrius,[40] and Ephrem, and the bishop of Riazan; also the present bishop of Souzdal is not good for him. The Russian is a blockhead, but Ephrem was good.'[41]]

Before the coming of Peter A. (Tolstoy) I sealed no letters, but the secretary of the viceroy sent to me a map and an account of the attack of Bielgorod, and desired me to seal it and send it back, that that captain who was with me might not know what they sent to me, because they were keeping me as if a prisoner: that map I so sealed and sent back. And a note was sent to the secretary, about what I do not remember; I think it was about some wants of my own. The captain himself showed me printed

[39] But if for a single duplicity or reticence he was to forfeit his life, he had already forfeited it; and the attempt to remember and write everything which bore upon his antagonism to his father was from the first hopeless.

[40] Demetrius, bishop of Rostoff, who had died in A.D. 1710.

[41] All that is thus bracketed was *omitted* from the printed documents of the inquest.

plans of many attacks; but that plan of the recent attack was a drawing.

[About the senators I spoke thus: As for what my batushka does now, whether it will hereafter be so or not, God knows. Now they fear him, but after his death they will no longer fear him; and I expect they will not leave me here. I so spoke not with reference to any person in particular: only I thought that not all were my enemies, nor all my well-wishers.]

[Ivan Athanasieff, when drunk, said to me, when I had ordered him to be arrested, at the time of the flight of Paul Bogdanoff: 'When you are tsar, will you do thus?' And I said to him: Pray for me that I may never be tsar. And he said to me: 'You will be, you will be.']

About the sermon of the bishop of Riazan, I did not know before how it had been worded, and at Moscow I had not been for a long time before it was preached. I heard of it in Pomerania, so far as I remember, from the prince Basil, or from Theodore Gleboff. He said: 'The bishop of Riazan preached a sermon at Moscow in which he spoke amiss of you, as if you had been driven out; and that sermon the senators took from him in MS.' [When I came to Petersburg, as I was conversing with Alexis Makaroff,[1] he said to me that he had that sermon in MS.; and I asked him to let me see it, and he showed it to me, and I took it from him and carried it home with me; and, if I remember, I took a copy of it, and returned to him the original.

Also, when the metropolitan of Riazan was at Petersburg, at the time of his answer about the synod which had been held, the same Makaroff showed me a copy of the letters written by him to my father, and those letters I read and returned to him.] But before that sermon the metropolitan of Riazan wrote sometimes to me and I to him, though not often, (not) except on matters of (official) importance. But after I had heard of that sermon I discontinued that correspondence, and did not visit him, nor receive visits from him.

[As I was coming from Carlsbad, I do not remember in what town of Brandenburg, near the sea, after drinking too much, I said to those who were with me that I should have to be tonsured; and if I were not tonsured of my own will, I should be tonsured against my will; but not those words: 'Now it is from my

[1] The tsar's cabinet secretary.

father; and after his death I may expect the same fate with Basil Shouisky; they will tonsure me, and give me up to some foreigners as a prisoner: my life is a wretched one.'

When I was at Ehrenberg there were printed announcements in newspapers that the Swedish fleet had gone to the coast of Livonia to transport thither troops: and, reading those papers, I spoke of them in conversation with my own people, saying that that would be a great mischief, if it were true: 'With us at Petersburg there is no harmony between the prince Menshikoff and the senators: and our main armies are far away: they are set against one another with anger, and will not help: the Swedes may do great mischief.'

Doubrovsky said to me, when my aunt the tsarevna Natalia died: 'Do you know that all the mischief done against you was from her? I heard that it was so from Abram (Lopouchin).'

When I read books I wrote out extracts of such things as struck me; and those extracts are in my house, in my library: also in my country house (*miza*) there are some books, and with them also some extracts.

From the Office of thanksgiving for Poltava there was an extract made of the verse (or troparion) in the *liteia* beginning '*The enemy of the Cross of Christ;*' and they sang this, applying it to the person of the archimandrite Theodosius, calling it a *pattern*[43] *troparion*, and said that when they consecrated him bishop, it would be well to sing that at the vesting. Nikiphor Viazemsky set that troparion to notes, and said, 'I would give five rubles to the singers to sing it,' because he does not venerate the icons. That verse was sung by him Nikiphor, and Theodore Everlakoff, and Nikiphor Bogdanoff, and by myself with them openly before all in our drinking bouts. Bitka too sang it with us.

From Peter Soudakoff I heard that when he was in the Preobrajenski prikaz he heard from Ivan Souvoroff that Talitsky was very sharp, and they would not have caught him if he had not given himself up: 'I saw' (he said) 'in the *potieshni dvor* a leaf of paper (on which there was written) in what year something was to happen; only they would not let me read it.'

From the tsarevna Maria I heard long ago that the hieromonach Joshua, who had been pope at the church of the

[43] Such as served the singers to sing others by, like the *irmi* (εἱρμοί) of the hymns in the kanons. These troparia were called *podobni* (παρόμοια).

Crucifixion sent her a message, that my mother should be taken out of the monastery at Souzdal, and that they should both visit him at Anzeri.

Other visions of the same Joshua were given me to read by the late monk Bogoliep, who was in the world the prince Boris Alexievich (Golitsin); only in that vision he writes the command of our Lady to him to establish a *silent* hermitage, without referring to anything else. Of the same vision I heard from the tsarevna Maria. Also Yakoff, my confessor, showed me that vision written in a cahier, saying: 'I think it must be from the devil that he has that, because it is written that he is to set up a church, and that nobody is to go into it.']

To Euphrosyne I said: I have written letters *at the instance*[14] of the secretary; only I have not written to people who had much to do with me; I think that the senators will make known my letter, and they, I expect, will not be examined and tortured, because they are many; but even if they were to be, they could say nothing against me, because I never spoke a word to them about flight. And as for the bishops, though they were to burn both of them, I have had no dealings with them. [And she said: 'But do they torture bishops?' And I said to her: What would there be so strange in that? With us that has been already done in the case of the bishop of Tamboff, who was tortured and banished.

The prince Dmitri Golitsin brought or sent to me many books from Kieff at my request, and some also of himself; and I said to him: Where do you get them? He replied: 'From the monks of Kieff; they are very obliging towards you, and have a great affection for you.'

The metropolitan of Riazan sent me a book entitled *Kamen Viери* (which he had composed) through Theodore Polycarpoff. The same book of his I had taken and read before, having seen it with Ivan Al. Mousin-Poushkin; and then I said to Theodore Polycarpoff that I wished him to get me such another; and he brought it me from the bishop, who was at that time at Petersburg, and said: 'The bishop has sent it you: I said to him that you wished to have it, and so he has sent it you.'

[14] A slighter departure from truth than 'under *compulsion*,' and even perhaps reconcilable with truth, if Keil said to him, as is likely enough: 'Now, if you have any letters to write, you had better write them, before I go back to Vienna.'

Also I heard from Doubrovsky, when he went from Moscow, and had been at Novgorod, that the bishop Job had spoken to him thus: 'Mischief is preparing for you at Petersburg; only I trust that God will deliver you: you will see what will happen there with you.' But what precisely it was to be he did not tell him.]

The above-mentioned letters I wrote to those bishops (though it would have been proper to write rather to the metropolitan of Riazan, since the secretary bade me write to the *chief* spiritual and secular dignitaries), because, if I had written to the metropolitan of Riazan, it might have been supposed that my flight had been concerted with him, since he had had more acquaintance with me; also in consequence of that former sermon of his there would have been more suspicion against me, and against him. [So also to the rest—the bishops of Bielgorod, Nijny, Vologda, Astrachan, and Souzdal—I did not write, because I had more personal acquaintance with them, to avoid occasioning suspicion.] But what there was in those letters about my return was written in this sense, that after the death, not during the life, of my father I might return. [And it was stated in those letters that I went away in consequence of persecution.

Boris Petrovich (Sheremetieff) said to me in Poland, at Ostrog, I do not remember at what time, before a few of my own and of his own people: 'You do ill not to keep some servant who is acquainted with those who are in the household of your father: so you would be informed of everything.'

Also the prince Boris Kourakin in Pomerania said to me: 'Is the stepmother good to you?' And I said: Yes, she is. And he to that replied: 'So long as she has no son of her own she may be; but whenever she has a son of her own she will be so no longer.'

With Simeon Narishkin I was once driving in a sledge—I do not remember at what time it was—in the back street; and as we were conversing together he said: 'We are in evil case. He (the tsar) says: "*What do you do in the house? I cannot endure to be in the house doing nothing.*" He does not know our needs. But if any one is to look well after his house, you will not find that there is any time unemployed.' And I said: That is true. And Simeon said again: 'If it were to happen to *him* to come home, and find one time no firewood, and every time something or other wanting, he would discover what we do in the

house.' And I said: For *him*, wherever he goes, everything is ready: that is why he does not know *our* needs.

On the names-day of my sister Anna, in your house, soon after you had left for Copenhagen, Ivan Al. Mousin-Poushkin whispered in my ear: 'Are you more at ease now?' And I said: Yes, I am. And he said: 'Will you ever be more at ease *down there* (*i.e.* in the other world, in *hell*)? It is time now that you should send away that girl that you keep: you see, God is *schooling* you.'[45] But what he meant by those words I know not.]

*Again, on the 16th of May, the tsarevich very hastily and illegibly wrote as follows:*

[Of the senators I had hope thus: If my father died before my brother was grown up, I expected that the regent would be the prince Menshikoff, and that that would be for the prince Yakoff Dolgorouky and the rest disagreeable.

And since he, the prince Yakoff, and the rest behaved courteously to me, I thought that when I returned to Russia they would be on my side.

Also I was confirmed in this expectation by the circumstance that when, as I was taking leave of the senate, I whispered to him, the prince Yakoff, into his ear, '*Pray do not give me up*,' he said: 'I shall be always glad (to serve you), only say no more; there are others looking at us.' And before that, when I said sometimes that I would pay him a visit, he would reply, 'Pray don't come to me: there are others watching me, to see who comes to my house.' More words than those in that sense I did not speak with him.

The above-mentioned future disagreement I anticipated from their manifest disagreement with prince Menshikoff. But of this my thought I did not say anything to him; but I hoped that all the Dolgoroukys would side with him.

Of the other senators and ministers, Gabriel Iv. (Golovkin), Peter Paul (Shaphiroff), Peter Andr. (Tolstoy), Theodore Matv. (Apraxin) and his brother, Ivan Alex. (Mousin-Poushkin), Tichon

[45] Your father is like a fiend tormenting you here on earth, and you feel more at ease now that he has left. Is there any such intermission of torment in hell? God is schooling you; break off from your sins, that you may not be tormented without intermission in hell. So, like Balaam's ass, this boyar—who was no saint—prophesied to him, better than those ecclesiastical friends of himself and his mother who were, with the tsarevich and for the tsarevich, to be punished by God, being tortured or broken on the wheel and beheaded.

Nik.' (Streshneff), and the rest, I had hope, because if prince Menshikoff, or even any other, were regent for any long time, it could not be but he would offend somebody, and they would prefer to be under me to being under one of their own equals.

And, besides, they were all friendly to me. And though they might not receive me, all of them, as full sovereign, on account of their promise and oath (and I think that I also, on account of my oath and abdication of the succession in my first letter, would not have accepted the crown), still they would certainly all receive me as regent for my brother till he should be grown up, which might be for ten years or more, if it so pleased God; and that is a longer time than some crowned kings reign. But after that, when my brother should be grown, I might resign (since then I should no longer either be young), and either live on so, or go into a monastery; or it might be that I should before then have died.

But of the prince Dmitri Mich. Golitsin I had hopes, because he was a faithful friend to me, and he used to say: 'I shall always be your faithful servant.' And the prince Michael Mich. Golitsin was also a friend to me.]

And when I had fled, *Bauer* was in Poland with his corps. He also was a friend to me. And after the death of my father (which I expected to be soon, because I heard that when he was dangerously ill he had epileptic seizures; and they said that when people of mature age have such fits they do not live long; so I thought that he would scarcely live more than two years) I thought that I might go from the emperor's dominions into Poland, and from Poland, with Bauer, to the Oukraine, [and there I should find the prince Dmitri, and the archimandrite of the Pechersky, who was his and my confessor and friend. But in the archimandrite of the Pechersky and in that monastery all the Oukraine believes as in God. Also the bishop of Kieff was known to me.] So all would join me.

And at Moscow the tsarevna Maria and the bishops, though not all, yet I think the greater part, would have taken my side.

[But in the Finland corps the prince Michael Mich. (Golitsin), and at Riga the prince Peter Alexievich were also friends to me, and they would not have separated from their relations.

And so all the frontier towards Europe would have been mine, and all would have received me without much opposition, though not as full sovereign, yet certainly as regent.

In the main army Boris Petrovich (Sheremetieff), and many of the other officers were also friends to me.]

About the common people I heard from many, that they had much affection for me.

[The tsaritsa Prascovia Theodorovna too, since I knew her to be very friendly to me, though she did not show me much confidence, would, I thought, be favourably disposed.

I had hopes too of the Kniaz-Tsesar and the Kniaz-Papa, both now deceased, as of friends.]

But during the life of my father I had no thought at all of returning in any other way than that in which I have returned now, that is, in consequence of a message from him.

[And of that I had not so much as a thought, because I know that nobody would have received me.]

But with none of those who have been named above did I speak of flight, nor write to them, nor did any one of them learn from me anything about this.

About them I may have said to Euphrosyne that this one or that of them was a friend to me; and she asked me about them, and I said to her: You do not know them.

As regards the letter which she mentioned, and *which I denied* having written, that letter was written to the bishop of Kieff,[46] not long before Peter Andreyevich came: in what sense is written below.

In giving my first written statement, I entirely forgot *both* this, and that I had given a hint of my intended flight to the tsarevna Maria; and afterwards, when I remembered, I feared to mention them [for fear of *death*].

About the other words of the tsarevna, about visions, I did not make statement in the first writing for this reason: out of feeling for her [and still more for myself; if she were to deny it, *I feared I might be tortured*, because I did not know the state of her affairs; and she was in good favour.

But when her having got into trouble was manifest, then I, without any fear, wrote what I had heard from her.

As I sat in the carriage with her, I said to her: I am going

[46] Seemingly because he had more personal acquaintance with the metropolitan of Kieff than with the two bishops whom he had named he had been purposely reticent about this letter, and so now on this count also he forfeits his life, and—*through Euphrosyne.*

to my father (to *batushka*). And she said: 'That is well; you ought to try to please your father; that is agreeable too to God. What advantage either would it have been that you should go into a monastery?' And to that I said: I know not whether I shall please him now or not; I am now almost beside myself with distress. I should be glad to be able to hide myself somewhere (and as I said those words, if I remember, I wept). And she to that said: 'Where can you go so as to get away from your father? Wherever you are they will find you out.' And I did not prolong the conversation about that. And then she spoke of my father's (bigamous) marriage, and said: 'The bishop of Riazan and the prince Theodore Yourievich (the Kniaz-Tsesar), when she was proclaimed Tsaritsa (in A.D. 1711), did not like it: they are well-disposed towards you.' Also she praised her confessor, the bishop of Rostoff, saying: 'He is a good man.' And there was more said about the death of my aunt, and about my mother, of which statement has been made by me already. She herself had said to me often before that: 'I love you, and I am always glad at anything falling out well for you: we have not a number of you: only you should try to please.']

But as for what Ivan Athanasieff wrote that I said to him when drunk, I do not deny that, though I do not remember exactly what I said word by word: however, when drunk I was ever uttering all sorts of words, and was open-mouthed, and with such words, as if with a plague, I used to rave to my people.

The substance of the letter to the bishop of Kieff: 'Your holiness would be in ignorance of my departure from Russia, because I had not for a long time written to your holiness: but now I let you know that this my departure has been occasioned by the circumstance that they were forcing me to become a monk. On that account I have been obliged to go away and to come hither. But whenever it pleases God that I may be able to leave the safe-keeping of my benefactors, and to return to Russia and to you, I beg you to receive me. But now, whoever wishes to know about me, pray say that I am in good health, and explain why I have gone away.'

And this letter I sent to be forwarded through Vienna, through the secretary of the viceroy of Naples: but whether it

reached its destination (as also of the other letters written earlier and sent through the secretary of count Schönborn) I know not, because I received no acknowledgment from Vienna of their having been received.

[The bishop of Riazan at times said to me: 'You must take care of yourself: if anything happens to you they will not give your father another wife: the only thing would be to take your mother back out of the convent: there is only his life; and that cannot be: but an heir is necessary.'

And when he was at Petersburg to answer for himself about the synod, I counselled him, through the archimandrite of the Zlatooust monastery, to do all he possibly could to reconcile himself with my father, saying: What good is it that there should be a misunderstanding between them? and that he should strive all he could for this, 'because, if they set him aside, there will not be another such as he is.'[47]]

The above-mentioned words about epilepsy and the prognostic I heard from Doubrovsky.

*Points of questioning for the tsarevich Alexis, written by Peter's own hand, with the autograph answers of the tsarevich to the same,* 16*th May* A.D. 1718.

1. Who, of lay people, knew of thy purpose and disposition to antagonism (lit. to contrarinesses); and what words were there said by thee to them or by them to thee? *Answer.* As for any one having known of any bad intention of mine, except those whom I have already named, I know not anybody, nor any one who spoke to me in such sort: [except it be that I spoke with the same people as have been named, the prince Yakoff (Dolgorouky) and the prince Dmitri (Golitsin), of the burdens pressing upon the people; but as for any words about insurrection, there were none.[48]]

2. What Ivan Athanasieff said about insurrection — was that connected in any way with the succession? *Answer.* As for what passed with Ivan Athanasieff, that I said when drunk, expecting that there would be some insurrection [with reference

[47] *i.e.* put in his place. Against these words Peter has written, '*Question* him,' *i.e.* 'In what sense "*such* as he is"?'

[48] All those parts of the tsarevich's answers which were omitted in the printed case of the inquest, and which we have inclosed in brackets, are printed in italics by Oustrialoff.

to the burdens of the people, thinking that they, not enduring them, would do something: and, besides that, I heard the tsarevich of Siberia say: 'How can the people endure their burdens?'

3. About the Kieff confessor (*i.e.* the metropolitan)[49] and the confessor Igor? *Answer.* What I have stated: I know of nothing more.]

4. '*Now*' (in the foul copy or first draft of the letters to the senators and the two bishops) twice? (*i.e.* written twice, and erased: in what sense was this done?) *Answer.* In putting the word 'now' twice I blundered in writing: but for writing it once the sense was, that these letters might be shown among the people, and thereby *perhaps* that they might stand more for me[50] among the people, thinking of the printed newspapers: but afterwards I thought, on reflection, that that was bad, and I erased it.

When you learned by the letter of Pleyer that there was said to be a mutiny in the territory of Mecklenburg in the army, you were glad, and said: 'God does not as my father wishes.' And when you were glad, that, I suspect, was not without a *purpose:* if that had been a certain fact, then I suspect you would have sided with those mutineers, even in my lifetime? *Answer.* When I heard of the mutiny in Mecklenburg I was glad, and said: God does not as my father wishes; and if that had been really so, and they had sent for me, I might have gone to them; but, without being sent for, whether I should have gone or not I had for certain no purpose; but rather I should have feared, without being sent for, to go: but if they had sent, I might have gone. But I expected to be sent for *after your death*, because it was written in that letter that they wished to kill you; and that they would dethrone you alive

[49] On the 19th May Peter sent Skorniakoff-Pisareff to arrest the metropolitan of Kieff Krakovsky, and bring him, with all his papers, to Petersburg. The metropolitan was old and infirm, and unable to stand on his feet, when he was arrested; but they carried him off all the same, and he died on the road, at Novgorod.

[50] *i.e.* not giving me up in their minds *now* as dead or lost. The 'perhaps' is his own admission: the words 'that they might *stand more for* me' admitted with this qualification are rather those of his questioner, who verbally asked: '*Was it not that*, &c.?' The truth was that, whether with or without the 'now,' the request 'not to abandon him or give him up might be *strained* to a bad sense, as was observed at Vienna also, and so one might hesitate and vacillate about putting the 'now' in or leaving it out.

I did not expect. But if they had sent for me, even while you were living, if they had been strong enough, I might perhaps have gone to them.

On Wednesday the 21st May, the eve of the Ascension, there were brought as prisoners to the Fortress the princes Simeon Kozloff and Ivan Lvoff; and on Sunday the 25th the tsarevna Maria was brought in from Schlüsselburg for re-examination, and was lodged in the Fortress *between eleven and twelve o'clock at night*. On the 26th the prince Yakoff Lvoff was set free.

Also, on the 26th May, the tsarevich wrote another answer to a fresh question of his father, thus:

By your ookaz Messrs. Tolstoy and Boutourlin questioned me as to that which I wrote in my confession, that I wrote to the senate and to the (two) bishops, asking them not to give me up *now*: In what sense did I write that word '*now*'? But *since* in my last confession (that of the 16th May) it is written that if the mutineers had at any time (though it had been in your lifetime) called me, I might perhaps have gone to them, I *may have* written that '*now*' with the intent that when those letters were made known they should in some way or other, whether by petition or by threats, interfere in my behalf.

'This,' remarks the atheist and court historian Voltaire, 'was to question the prince about his secret thoughts. A son may confess his thoughts to a father whose counsels correct, or conceal them from a judge whose province is to pronounce only on proved facts. The secret thoughts of the heart are not the proper object of a criminal process. Alexis might have denied having any such thoughts, or he might have disguised them without difficulty. However, he *wrote* in answer: "If the mutineers had called for me, even during your lifetime, I should perhaps have gone to them, supposing they had been strong enough."

'It is *inconceivable*,' continues Voltaire, 'that he should have made this answer *of himself*; and even if he had, it would be also a most extraordinary thing, *at least according to the manners of Europe*, for them to have condemned him on the acknowledgment that he *might have* had such and such an idea some day or other in a certain case which had not actually arisen!'

But the strange confessions obtained from the tsarevich on the 12th, 14th, and 16th of May, and thus commented upon by

Voltaire, may be accounted for by the help of the following extract from an article of Mr. Kostomaroff, which has already been quoted above:

'The tsarevich,' he writes, 'had not as yet been arrested and confined in the Fortress (that was not till the 14th June); but there are some testimonies that, even while still nominally at liberty, he was subjected to tortures. After his death a peasant, named Andrew Roubtseff, belonging to Mousin-Poushkin, was sentenced to the galleys for having mentioned that he had seen how at the *miza* (*i.e.* the country-house, seemingly at Peterhof) where the tsarevich was, after the tsar had come, they brought the tsarevich under a sarai (a barn, or outhouse), and thence there were heard groans and cries. And two other persons, named Poroshileff and Leontieff, who heard of this from Roubtseff, were capitally punished for *bold* reflections on this occurrence. These notices make it intelligible how the tsarevich could write statements manifestly (worded more or less by others, and) written by him under the influence of terror.'

*Statement or summary of reflections (written by Peter with his own hand, after the 26th of May, for communication to those persons, spiritual and secular, to whom he purposed to refer the affair of the tsarevich Alexis, in order to prepare them for the charges to be addressed to them on the 13th of June):*

'How many times the tsarevich was exhorted by his father to make himself a competent heir, but showed himself in that respect disobedient to his father, has been in the former manifesto, on his arrival at Moscow, set forth, and appears also from those letters written to him on the subject by the tsar's majesty which have been published above.

'And when he replied to the letter of his majesty given to him at the funeral of his wife, he in that his answer gave no reason for being unwilling to make himself, as his father wished, worthy of the succession, but only, having a treacherous purpose, he with an oath renounced the succession; and that oath he was so far from keeping, that he afterwards with extensive and treacherous schemes sought to obtain the succession.

'And the tsar's majesty, having seen through that his treachery, a second time by a letter insisted that he should reform, so as to be fit to govern as heir, and make himself worthy of it, or else, if

he were quite unable to do so, become a monk; wishing thereby to frighten him, in order to induce him to conduct himself according to his will, so as to be a worthy heir; for he saw that that his abdication was only to gain time, and insincere, as has appeared plainly since: after which, he by his answer, again purposing treachery, wrote nothing distinct, but only briefly, with an oath, he made a vow of abdication, and begged to be allowed, as if he wished it, to enter at once the monastic state.

'Whereupon his majesty, at taking leave of him, when he was about to go from Petersburg to foreign parts, desired of him that he should not hastily enter the monastic state, since that is a difficult life for a young man to undertake, and gave him for consideration the space of half a year, and desired him then to write him an answer and inform him of his choice (and this he did with the intention and hope that he at length on better consideration should give up his bad courses, and do according to his will, and learn, so as to become a competent heir and successor); but he, not wishing then either to make any answer to his father, feigned himself sick, and soon after the departure of his majesty he went off on a visit to Michael Voinoff. And thereto he, the tsarevich, even when the half year had expired, made still no answer to his majesty.

'And his majesty, seeing his intention to deceive, insisted again by his letter, written from Copenhagen, that he should reform himself, so as to be fit to be heir, and come to Copenhagen, to learn with him military operations; but, if he preferred to enter the monastic state, that he should choose a place for himself, and fix a time, and write word of his having done so to his majesty. But to decide for him himself he did not choose even then.

'And from all those three letters of his majesty, and from the verbal command given him at parting, it is manifest that his majesty wished that he should reform, so as to be fit for the succession, and did *not compel* him to become a monk, but rather put him off from that, and left all to his own free will. And he made as if he chose the monastic state of his own free will.

'And those his promises and oaths were clearly shown to have been fraudulent: since it was revealed in fact, as has been written above, that he greatly desired the succession; of which his majesty not only did not deprive him, but he even compelled him

to it, enjoining on him only that he should make himself fit for it. But he, disregarding all that, went away to the emperor, asking for himself in that matter assistance and protection, *even by armed force*:[51] and he said that the vice-chancellor count Schönborn told him from the emperor that the emperor promised to obtain for him the crown of Russia, not only by good means, but even by force of arms; and on that account he not only waited for his father's death, and rejoiced at (the thought of) it, but also *sought* it. And when he heard of mutinies, he thereat also rejoiced; and he would have gone to the insurgents, if they had called him, not only after his father's death, but even during his life.

'But as for what he wrote in his letters of answer, to deceive his father, as if he did not wish for the succession, on account of his weakness, that also was plainly shown to be a falsehood by his own words: since, when it occurred that he had to go on expeditions, he, not wishing to go according to his father's wish, purposely took such medicines as might apparently weaken him, but he was not really weak in his health.

'And from all this one may see that he did not wish to obtain the succession, according to the will of his father, in a good manner; but he wished to obtain it according to his own will, through foreign help, or through the force of rebels, even during the lifetime of his father.

'But as for this, that in his last written confession he has written that he had forgotten that he wrote to the metropolitan of Kieff from Naples, in that also he has manifested his falsehood: because he remembered quite well trivial matters of some years past, what words he had spoken, and with whom; and how then could he have forgotten so grave a matter as this, that he had written to the metropolitan of Kieff?

'But that his falsehood, in that he was silent about that letter from very decided evil purpose, and not from forgetfulness, is clear from this: When the girl Euphrosyne had deposed against him that he wrote from the castle (of St. Elmo) to a bishop, and sealed that letter before her, he, to conceal the truth, explained it away, as if he had written and sealed a letter in returning a plan of the attack on Bielgorod to the secretary of the viceroy of Naples, but not the letter to a bishop of which she had spoken.

[51] A malicious distortion, or rather a murderous falsehood.

But afterwards he himself confessed that what he had sealed up was not the plan, but the aforesaid letter to the bishop of Kieff.

'So also about the tsarevna Maria, and about Doubrovsky, and about Everlakoff, he excused himself, as if in his first written confession he had *forgotten* to write that they knew of his flight. But that his falsehood is manifest from this, that afterwards he himself said that he had *sought to spare* the tsarevna Maria. Also he was not in truth *compelled* by the servants of the emperor to write letters to the senate and to the bishops, as has been ascertained distinctly through the reports of the resident Veselovsky.

'But whereas his majesty the tsar had been pleased to write to him to Naples, promising him a gracious pardon *only*[a] for his flight, if he would return, his majesty, when he did return, not only was pleased graciously to pardon him for the single offence of his flight (or for the flight alone), but he *also added* this, that, *if* he made a *sincere and full confession* of *all that he had done*, and concealed no person or thing, he would pardon him *also* of *that* (*i.e.* which he confessed to, besides the mere act of flight); but if he concealed any person or anything, then he warned him that *the pardon would be no pardon*. But how he, the tsarevich, *disregarding* such mercy and pardon of his father, attempted of set purpose to conceal many persons, as well as letters also and things, and his *intention of joining insurgents*, has been clearly shown above.

'And so it is manifest that he not only had no intention of offering for that a sincere *repentance* and conversion, but that he made those concealments clearly with a view to similar acts and intentions hereafter.'

Here we will pause, and before going on to the last act of the tragedy which we are following out, and showing in it a punishment of the public sin of the tsar Alexis, we will revert to another private, and even secret, sin, which was now punished conjointly with the public sin, and with a striking parallelism of retaliation. The incident to which we allude has been mentioned already (vol. iii. p. 532), but we will relate it now more at full.

In Feb. A.D. 1660, when the tsar Alexis Michaelovich was

[a] Another murderous equivocation; as if there would have been any chance of catching him if *that* had been said or implied!

assembling his first pseudo-synod against Nicon, he had a servant of great ability and fidelity, moral, incorrupt, religious, whose only fault seemed to be this, that he served the tsar first, even before God, and, in comparison with the tsar and his service, regarded not the rights of the patriarch and the Church. This minister, Nashchokin, had an only son, a young man of the highest promise, already in favour with the tsar, who had more than once sent him with confidential communications on business of state to his father. But this young man, seeing both his father and the tsar and many others 'looking to the West,' and being himself brought by them into communication with some people of the West who were neither Protestants nor profane scoffers and materialists, discovered that true civilisation could not be developed from an isolated Byzantine or Eastern hierarchy, nor—still less—from a newly-instituted Muscovite State-Church acting under the tsar's supremacy: and since to utter such a conviction, or to act upon it in his own country, would be regarded as treason and heresy, he availed himself of an opportunity, when he had been sent by the tsar from Moscow to his father to Livonia, and, instead of going to Livonia, he went to *Dantzig*, to the king of Poland, who sent him on *to the emperor*; and from him he went to France, and became a Catholic. The father heard of this in Feb. A.D. 1660, just as he had arranged that there should be conferences held with the Swedes in March to convert the existing truce into a peace. In despair he wrote to the tsar, as if he had become himself a traitor, desiring to resign all his employments. But the tsar wrote him a letter full of religious unction, to console him.

'We have learned'—he wrote, among other things—'that thy son, by the permission of God, and by his own folly, has found his way to Dantzig, and has caused thee extreme grief. And to cause that thy grief *Satan himself*, I think, and *all the powers of hell* have sent forth this storm, and have darkened the air, and have violently separated and torn away this *good lamb* from thee its father and *pastor*. And we, the Great Hossoudar, ourselves grieve much for thee, our faithful servant, in this thy bitter affliction: yea, verily, we grieve too for thy wife, left in thy house solitary and desolate: we grieve for her double bereavement: first, that she has not the sight of thee; secondly, that her only chick, born of her womb for sorrow, has been

snatched away from her by *the fierce and cruel wild beast*. O what a *bad violence* is this that has been done you by the *dark wild beast*, by the permission of God, and for your sins! In truth it is a sorrow beyond consolation (except for hope in God) for both of you, both husband and wife, to be deprived of *such* an heir and only-begotten son of your loins, who ought to have been the comforter and helper of your age, the crown of your honourable gray hairs, and after your departure the pious commemorator of your souls. Thou beggest us to accept thy resignation. What has put it into thy head to ask any such thing? I think thou must be beside thyself with grief. Hast thou been *disgraced?* but look to the glory which is laid up in heaven for *patience*. Hast thou suffered a loss? but look to the heavenly wealth and treasure which thou hast hidden away and laid up for thyself in reward for thy good works. Hast thou fallen from thy country (*otechestva*, patria, country)? but we have a "country in heaven" —*Jerusalem!* Hast thou lost a child? but thou hast angels with whom to sing praises before the throne of God, and to rejoice with everlasting joy. It is not so cruel a thing to fall: the cruellest thing is, when fallen, not to rise. So also oughtest thou, after thy *present fall in the sight of God*, to rise up quickly, and stand manfully, and trust, and bear up under his dispensation courageously, and against thine own boundless sorrow boldly, without any sort of misgiving. In truth God is with thee, and will be with thee for ever and ever. May He turn this sorrow for you into joy, and comfort you speedily. And though it be true that thy son has *simply become a traitor*, yet we, the Great Hossoudar, regard *not at all* his treason; and we know perfectly well that he did it against thy will, and thereby has caused to thee a cruel sorrow, and to himself an everlasting prevarication. And if any should impute to thee, Christ's faithful servant and ours, the *folly* of thy son, as if thou must have been aware of it and a party to it, he had been also with us ourselves, the Great Hossoudar, in private, and we repeatedly sent by him on many matters to thee, and we no more discovered the *poison of treachery under his lips* than thou didst. And we do not marvel so much at this, that he, thy son, has *played the fool:* it is plain that he did it from *cowardice*. He is a young man, he wishes to see the Lord's creations, and the works of his hands in this world. As a bird which flies hither and thither, and when it has tired itself

flies back to its nest, so also your son will remember his bodily nest, and still more his spiritual bond from the Holy Ghost in the holy font, and will soon return to you. And thou, God's faithful servant and ours, seeing God's mercy to thee and our great fatherly grace, lay aside thy grief, and do *God's work and ours*, looking to what you have there before you to be done. We have not a word nor thought of anger towards thee on account of the folly of thy son. This corruptible world and the *storms caused by bad men* cannot be prevented; for they are everywhere in all the world: the *only thing of essential importance is, that a man's soul should not sin before God:* but as for evil storms that come upon us from men, without the will of God, what can they do? Our trust is God, our refuge is Christ, our protector is the Holy Ghost.'

With this letter, and with directions to persuade Nashchokin not to give way to his sorrow, there was sent a podiak of the prikaz of secret service named Youry Nikiphoroff, to whom a minute of instructions was given to bid Athanasius not grieve about his son's having gone off, and to comfort him by all means in that his grief, and to assure him of the tsar's grace: but as for what they may say in the world about his son, that he is a traitor, and may impute his treason to him, the father, he was to bid him put away that thought, and trust in all on the all-merciful God, and in the tsar's just beneficence to him for his sincere honesty and service and zeal.

About his son the tsar would use all endeavours to *take him*, and *bring him back to him:* for that end he proposed to expend 5000, 6000, or, if there be need, 10,000 rubles: and if so it should not be possible to take him, and *if Athanasius thought proper*, he would cause his son *to be made away with* in the place where he might be, *because* he had been sent from the Great Hossoudar to his father with many orders and informations about affairs of state. About putting him out of the world he was to say nothing till he had first heard all the father had to say, and then he was to suit what he himself said to that. He was to say to Athanasius: 'Remember that there is no merchant, so long as he has not expended and lost quite all his capital, but may recover his former importance: and thou, who art a doumni dvorianin, hast no prospect of suffering any calamity greater than this: greater than this there is none in the world.'

Nashchokin answered: 'Thy unspeakable grace, Great Hossoudar, has lightened with a heavenly ray my darkened soul. What return shall I make to my Lord? Have pity on me; give orders to seek out the stray sheep on the mountains of *vain thought!* I petitioned thee to dismiss me from the embassy from the affliction of my soul, lest, having become an object of suspicion and reproach to all people, I might be weakened for action, and thence thy service should suffer. It is not of mere sorrow that I would give up thy service: if I loved wife or child above thy service I should not be worthy of thy grace: now I am judged and chastised of the Lord, that I may not be condemned with the world.' The podiak reported that Nashchokin read the tsar's letter with tears, and said: 'My grief is not for my son; it is not for him that I sorrow; but I sorrow for the service; and I grieve for this, that my son, disregarding the unspeakable grace of the Great Hossoudar, has acted as a bandit; but I of that had not the least idea: I should be worthy of capital punishment if I had known anything of it. . . . About my son'—Nashchokin said again to the tsar's messenger—'I do not grieve: I have committed that matter to the judgment of God. But to be at pains to *take him*, and to expend money for that, *is of no use*, because he without that will be lost, and will rot, and will be *slain* by the judgment of God' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xi. p. 97).

Certainly the air *had* been darkened in Muscovy, and there had been a storm. There was one too who, under the influence of the enemy and of evil men, had perjured himself, had become a traitor and a rebel against the Tsar of tsars, and against the Church; who had gone off of his folly and his cowardice from his true country, Jerusalem, to Babylon. There was one who, in the spiritual darkness and storm, as a fierce and cruel wild-beast, as a ravening wolf, had invaded the flock, had sprung at the throat of the good shepherd, and had carried off the lambs from their mother the Church. This was the tsar Alexis himself. Nay, he had even changed the whole fold of the Russian Church into an *apostasy*. Yet, as if quite unconscious of all this, and not yet anticipating the terrors of his deathbed, he preached like a bishop to his servants that the only thing of importance is this, that one's soul should not sin before God. And when the son of Nashchokin prefers to this earthly god the King of heaven,

to this tsar-bishop the successor of St. Peter, to his earthly country the New Jerusalem, the only way in which the pious tsar can account for such unparalleled perjury, rebellion, and folly is by imputing it to the devil himself and all the powers of hell leagued together.

However, the services of Nashchokin (who was beyond all suspicion of Romanising or even of Niconising) were still much wanted: so the tsar consoles him with a tender and unctuous homily: he even extends his sympathy to the bereaved mother: he extenuates the crime: The son has become a traitor certainly; the poison of treachery has been under his lips; he has played the fool; but then he is only a young man; he has been deceived; it is plain that he has acted only from cowardice; perhaps even like a young bird which flies hither and thither till it has tired itself, and then it returns to the nest, so he too may have had a curiosity to see the world: he will soon return to comfort his disconsolate parents, and much more to his spiritual mother the Church of his baptism (*i.e.* the national or State-Church of the tsar and Paisius Ligarides), and to his spiritual pastors and teachers (that is, his father according to the flesh and the tsar). And as for himself, instead of being deeply offended, the tsar declares that, though certainly there has been treason, he does not mind that in the least—he does not give it a thought. *Only*, if the father will ask for this, or assents to the *offer*, the tsar, *since the fugitive is a traitor*, proposes to go to the expense of 5000, 6000, or 10,000 rubles to *take* the son, to get him again *into the power of his* father, *or* to *make away with him* wherever he may be.

This sin of Alexis was in a manner secret: the main part of it, the thought and intention to pursue, trap, and murder his fugitive subject Voin through Voin's own father, was never carried outwardly into effect; and the proposal itself was known perhaps only to the messenger and to the father of the fugitive. But the name of God is not taken in vain with impunity. He punishes even secret sins not only on the living offender, but sometimes also even in the third and fourth generation. So He said to David by the prophet: 'For this the sword shall never depart from thy house.' And that sin of David had been secret. So here too, above half a century after the flight of the son of Nashchokin, there was exhibited in the family of the tsar Alexis a

terrible retribution. Alexis and Nashchokin were both long since dead: the earthly god and tsar-bishop or sacristan had been succeeded by another earthly god, 'a son better than his father,' a son who went greater lengths than his father in perjuries, treacheries, and cruelties, who sinned with a strong instead of a weak will, who hated and despised bishops and priests and monks and nuns, and openly mocked ecclesiastical ceremonies. From the tyranny of this tsar Peter the grandson and namesake of the tsar Alexis, the only legitimate male heir of his dynasty, flies in the same way as the son of Nashchokin had fled from the tyranny of Alexis. He flies too nearly by the same route, going to Dantzig, and from Dantzig to the emperor. He too is accused of perjury, treason, and rebellion, only he is not 'a good lamb,' as the tsar Alexis calls the son of Nashchokin, but such a one as the tsar Alexis himself might have been if he had been bred up in the same way with his grandson: not flying because he preferred the King of kings to an earthly god, or the prince of the Apostles to a tsar-bishop, or the Catholic Church to a national or State Church, or the New Jerusalem to an earthly country, but because he resembled in character and sympathy his grandfather rather than his father: this was his treason and rebellion. And for this, without needing any one to suggest it, his own father, the son of the tsar Alexis, does that which the tsar Alexis sought in vain to induce Nashchokin to do, or to ask to have done, to his son Voin: that is, he spends money, and sends bloodhounds to pursue and trap his own son, or to make away with him, if he cannot be taken; and, like the tsar Alexis, he affects to forgive the treason; and the son returns, as the tsar Alexis hypocritically bade Nashchokin to expect his son Voin to return for his consolation; and as soon as he has returned, the father, the tsar Peter, having by treachery and perjury got the victim into his power, tortures and murders him, and extinguishes in him the dynasty of the grandfather the tsar Alexis. And the tsar Alexis indeed, like David, did that thing secretly; but the tsar Peter executed the secret murderous thought of his father against the son of Nashchokin publicly against his own son, the grandson of his father, before Russia and all Europe, 'before the sun.' But let us return from this digression or episode to our main theme of public punishments for the public sin committed against the Church.

'Friday the 30th May A.D. 1718, the commemoration of St. Isaac of Dalmatia, being the tsar's birthday, his majesty was present at the vigil service in his own house; and for the liturgy and moleben both he and the tsaritsa went to the church of St. Isaac. After that he gave a banquet in the winter palace; and after the banquet they all went to the summer palace and garden, and made merry: and at five o'clock P.M. the two regiments of the guards were regaled from the cellar. The standard was hoisted.'

'On Thursday in the week of Pentecost, 5th June, at ten o'clock A.M., in the government house in the Fortress there was held a chancery of secret (inquisitorial) affairs: and there met at it the senators and the ministers, viz. the most illustrious prince (Menshikoff), Yakoff Theod. (Dolgorouky), Theodore Matv. (Apraxin), Peter Matv. (Apraxin), Gabriel Iv. (Golovkin), Peter Andr. (Tolstoy), Ivan Alex. (Mousin-Poushkin), Dmitri Mich. (Golitsin), Michael Mich. (Golitsin), Peter Shaphiroff, and the rest; and having remained till the eleventh hour, they then broke up. His majesty was not there.

'At night on the same day there was brought into the Fortress, as a prisoner, the prince Nicholas Tscherbatoff, lieutenant of the grenadier company of the Preobrajensky guards. On the 6th there was an order, under the signature of the most illustrious prince, to set at liberty the podpolkovnik Kozloff, to be in his regiment as before.'

'On Thursday the 12th his majesty came to the Fortress at nine o'clock A.M., and was in the chancery of secret affairs of state till the eleventh hour, and then left.

'The same day, after being in the said chancery, his majesty made order by special oukaz to send messengers to summon all the bishops now in Petersburg to come to the senate on Friday the 13th of this present month of June, at seven o'clock A.M., viz. the bishop of Riazan (Stephen Yavorsky), of Souzdal (Ignatius), of Tver (Barlaam), the Greek bishop, the bishop of Kroutitz (Alexis), of Pskoff (Theophanes Procopovich), and of Ladoga (Aaron), and the archimandrite of the Nefsky (Theodosius Yanovsky).'

'On Friday the 13th his majesty came to the Fortress at ten o'clock A.M. With him were the ministers and the senators, Gabriel Ivanovich, Theodore Matveyevich, Ivan Alexievich,

Peter Andreyevich, Peter Paulovich, and the rest: and they stayed till the second hour after noon, and then separated.'

*Two manifestoes (or charges) of 13th June* A.D. 1718, *respecting the judgment of the tsarevich* (the first seemingly read in the tsar's name to the clergy when they met, according to his summons, in the hall of the senate at seven o'clock A.M.; the second read by the tsar himself, or for him in his presence, in the government house of the Fortress at ten o'clock of the same day, to those secular persons whom he constituted a high court of judicature, to pass sentence on the tsarevich).

*No.* 1. *At seven o'clock* A.M. *in the hall of the senate.*

'To the most reverend metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, and the rest of the spiritualty: Since you *have now heard enough* about the crime of my son—a crime almost unparalleled in the world—against me as his father and sovereign, and though I have sufficient power over him by divine and civil rights, and especially by Russian rights (which altogether disallow the judgment of any other tribunal between a father and his children, even in the case of private persons), to punish the offence according to my own will, without consulting others, still I fear God, lest I should do amiss. For it is natural that people should see less clearly for themselves in their own matters than others can see for them. So also physicians: though any one may be more skilful than all the rest, he will not venture to treat himself his own sickness, but he calls in others. In like manner I also commit this my disease to you, asking you to treat it, and fearing eternal death if I were to treat it of myself alone, as I might perhaps not rightly understand the force of the disease; but more especially for this reason, that I with an oath by God's judgment, and in writing, promised to him, my son, pardon, and afterwards verbally confirmed[53] the same, *if he should* speak the truth. But though *he* has nullified this promise by reticence on matters of the greatest gravity, and especially on his design of rebellion against me his father and sovereign, nevertheless, that I may not sin in this, and though this matter is not of the spiritual but of the civil jurisdiction, to which I have now at the same time committed it for impartial judgment by a special manifesto, still I,

[53] *i.e. retracted*, by inserting a condition neither thought of nor possible to think of when the promise was first given and sworn to.

wishing to have all possible information about this, and remembering the word of God where He directs us in such matters to ask also the spiritual order about the law of God, as is written in ch. xvii. of Deuteronomy, I desire of you bishops also, and of all the spiritual order, as of teachers of the word of God, not that you should emit any decree on this subject, but that you should seek out and set forth to us on this subject from the sacred scripture a true instruction and judgment; of what punishment is this ungodly intention of our son, an intention abominable before God and like to the example of Absalom, deserving according to the divine commandments, and the other examples of sacred scripture, and according to the laws? And this you are to give us under the subscription of your hands in writing, that we thence, considering the matter, may not feel our conscience in this matter burdened. And for this we trust to you as worthy guardians, according to your dignity, of the divine commandments, and faithful pastors of Christ's flock, and well-wishers to your country, and we adjure you by the judgment of God and by your priesthood to proceed in this matter without any hypocrisy or partiality.'

*No. 2. At ten o'clock* A.M. *in the government house of the Fortress.*

'To our well-beloved gentlemen ministers, the senate, and our military and civil court (*stánou*, castrum): Since you have now *heard enough*,' &c. (and so on, as in the manifesto to the clergy, to the words, 'especially his design of rebellion against us as his father and sovereign;' and then the manifesto to the ministers, the senate, &c., continues thus): 'Nevertheless, that I may not sin in this, I ask you to judge of this crime (lit. affair) according to truth, as it deserves, not flattering me or not fawning (*ne flatirouya, ili ne pokliebouya*) upon me, nor fearing lest, if this crime (lit. affair) deserves a light punishment, and you act accordingly in your condemnation of it, this will be an offence to me: of this I swear to you, by God Himself and by His judgment,[54] that in so doing you have nothing whatever to fear.

'Also consider not this, that this your judgment which you have to pass is upon the son of me, your sovereign, but without

[54] As I swore to my son; and this present oath too like that is put in writing.

respecting the person, do justice, and destroy not your own souls and my soul; that so our consciences may be clear at the day of the terrible ordeal, *and our country incur no harm.*'

'On the next day, Saturday the 14th of June, the tsarevich Alexis was taken under guard into the Fortress, and set in the Troubetskoy bastion, in a *pakata* (room or apartment) in which there was made (or held *ouchinilos*) a *zastienok.*'[55] Such is the entry in the minute-book of the chancery of the Fortress.

Voltaire quotes from the memoirs of Bassevich a passage to show that Catherine about this time, instead of seeking to secure as far as possible the future interests of herself and her children, and those of Menshikoff, by the destruction of the tsarevich, even interceded with the tsar that he should spare his son's life. 'I have before me,' he writes, 'the memoirs of a public minister, in which I find written these words: "I was present when the tsar said (probably in A.D. 1724) to the duke of Holstein that Catherine had begged him *to prevent* their pronouncing on the tsarevich a sentence of death: Content yourself, she said to me, with making him become a monk, because this reproach of a formal condemnation to death will *affect* your *grandson.*" The tsar did not yield to the intercession of Catherine. He thought it necessary that the sentence should be publicly passed upon the prince his son.'

In this, at least, Voltaire was right, though Catherine's idea of merely setting aside the tsarevich or making him become a monk had formerly been Peter's own, and it was not till after his son's flight that he formed the horrible design of taking his life. But one thing leads to another: and as soon as he had publicly disinherited his son, perhaps even before, he felt that no disinheritance, however solemn, nor any oaths or vows taken by compulsion of his present power, could be a security to him for the future. All his arbitrary dispositions might be reversed, even by public acclamation, on his own death. The only way

[55] *i.e.* either a *chamber* for inquests with torture, lit. 'a place behind the wall,' or an *inquest with torture*, or in presence of the rack. In other entries the words '*ouchinilos zastienok*' mean plainly 'there was made an inquest with torture.' But as here it is not said *who* were present, and the words are of themselves ambiguous, they may be translated 'in which there had been previously made or prepared a chamber for inquests with torture—a *zastienok*.' This had been already mentioned as made, and as inspected by the tsar on the 2d of May; but the verb there is *ouchrejdilos*—had been appointed, arranged, set up, or instituted.

in which his present power could with *certainty* affect the future course of events was by cutting off from the future that will which he had failed to persuade or to force into conformity with his own. Long ago, at the funeral sermon preached over Lefort's body by the pastor Stumphius, Peter had been told that no tyrant has power over the *will* even of the meanest slave: still less has he power over the course of things future. But the blind wilfulness of Peter had attempted that which was, in the nature of things, beyond his power; the attempt led him on, by an apparent necessity, to cruelty, to treachery and hypocrisy, to perjury, and at last to the deliberate murder of his own son, without obtaining for himself any other certainty or security for the future than this, that, whatever happened to Russia after his own death, at least his son Alexis could not reign there. So he was not likely to listen to the intercession of Catherine. And she must have known well enough that she was only suggesting a plan which had once been Peter's own, but which he had since deliberately rejected.

It was, however, reported afterwards among some of the Russian people that the disinheritance and the tragical end of the tsarevich had been brought about by the management of Catherine and Menshikoff. It was said that Catherine bore ill-will to the tsarevich; that she and Menshikoff set the tsar more and more against his son; that Catherine complained that their lives were safe only so long as Peter lived, but if anything happened to him the tsarevich would bring his mother out of her exile and confinement, and make an end of her and of her children; that Peter, on this, knouted his son with his own hands; and after that nobody knows what was done; and so he died. This was said by an old woman of Menshikoff's household, who added, however, of Catherine, that 'nevertheless she *did* shed tears for the tsarevich, only they were not *such* tears as a *real mother* would have shed.'

This story of the old woman, and others like it, are sufficiently accounted for by this, that since there was no plot nor rebellion, nor anything else to account for the horrible and strange events which took place, it was natural for the people to put things together in their own way, and to surmise that a stepmother's hatred (since Catherine, after her marriage in A.D. 1712, might be called a stepmother, and after A.D. 1715 she had

also a son of her own, born after her marriage) and her interest in her own son, as well as fear for herself and her children and for Menshikoff, in case of Peter's death, were at the bottom of what had occurred. The stories of Peter's knouting his son with his own hands (a thing not impossible in itself), and even of his beheading him, were suggested, no doubt, by the older stories of his having with his own hands tortured the uncle of his wife, the boyar Peter Lopouchin, and of his having knouted and beheaded some of the streltsi; together with the reflection that for a subject, even if commanded to do so, to examine with torture, or with the threat of torture, the tsarevich, much more to inflict on him death, seemed unsuitable, and even dangerous. But about Menshikoff there is more to be said.

That the tsarevich and his 'compania,' even many years before A.D. 1718, were no friends to Menshikoff, and would have been glad at any time to hear of his 'having perished,' or of his having been disgraced—and after A.D. 1711 he was at times in great danger, and never quite secure—may be taken for granted. On the other hand, Menshikoff, being a 'man of unbounded ambition and a cunning intriguer,' could not but feel that, though Catherine's friendship and gratitude to him were valuable advantages during Peter's life, they would avail nothing to save him from total ruin on the accession of the tsarevich Alexis. On the contrary, if the tsarevich were to be disinherited or to die without heirs, and if the tsar left the succession to his children by Catherine, there would be a prospect before him of an indefinite continuance and increase of power. Manifestly, therefore, he would do nothing to *check*, but everything to help forward the resolutions forming or formed by Peter against his son. However, the position of Menshikoff himself and his relations to Peter in A.D. 1717 and 1718 were not such as to make it probable that he would *obtrude* any suggestions of his own, plainly based on motives of self-interest; and even if he had been Peter's 'favourite' to the same extent as he had been before A.D. 1711, still Peter needed no incitement from others; and those whose interests were most served by the destruction of the tsarevich had only to look on: it would have been want of tact in them—it might even have had a contrary effect to what they designed—if they had unbidden shown any zeal or forwardness of their own against the tsarevich.

On Sunday the 15th June there was the launch at 6 o'clock P.M. of a new seventy-gun ship, which was named the Neptune, and Peter made merry afterwards according to his wont on such occasions in the fortress of the Admiralty.

On both Monday the 16th and Tuesday the 17th June there were meetings of the senators and the ministers, as also of the bishops, in the palata of the senate.

The ministers, senators, military and civil dignitaries thought it necessary in the first instance to question the tsarevich himself: and on Tuesday the 17th June they ordered him to be brought *from* the fortress—so Oustrialoff writes—to the senate. Here he stated[56] that,

The imperial resident Pleyer wrote to the vice-chancellor Schönborn thus: 'Abram Lopouchin invited him, Pleyer, at Petersburg to come and see him, and asked him, Pleyer: "Where is now the tsarevich? and are there any news of him?" And withal he told him that there they "side with the tsarevich, and are already in a ferment around Moscow because there are many reports about him, the tsarevich; but I wish to learn for certain whether the tsarevich is now with you?"' And that (extract from the) letter of Pleyer was inclosed with a letter of count Schönborn, which he, Schönborn, wrote to him, the tsarevich, in April. And he, the tsarevich, after reading that inclosure, burned it. And when he, the tsarevich, said to the girl Euphrosyne that there was a disturbance near Moscow, he got that from the above-mentioned source. But that Pleyer had named Abram Lopouchin in writing to Schönborn, that he did not mention to the girl. The tsarevich said that as touching that which Ivan Athanasieff stated of him respecting the common people, that was as has been explained in the authenticated extracts; and he, the tsarevich, hoped in the common people, because he heard from many that among the people they love him, the tsarevich; especially from the tsarevich of Siberia, and from Doubrovsky, and from Nikiphor Viazemsky, and from his confessor the protopope Yakoff, who used to say to him: That among the people they love me and drink to my health, and call me *the hope of Russia*.

[56] The statement which follows, with the exception of some lines added by the tsarevich, is in the handwriting of Tolstoy, and signed by the tsarevich.

And afterwards, taking aside[57] the most illustrious prince (Menshikoff), Peter Paulovich (Shaphiroff), Peter Andreyevich (Tolstoy), and Ivan Ivan. (Boutourlin), he said to them: 'Also (*i.e.* besides the common people) I had hope in those people who love the old manners [in like manner as Tichon Nikitich Streshneff];[58] and I knew them from their conversation, when I conversed with them, and they praised the old customs:[59] and especially such hope was given me by the words of the prince Basil Dolgorouky, when he said to me: "Give your father as many letters renouncing the succession as he pleases," of which there is a clear statement in my (the tsarevich's) first written confession. Also he said to me that I have *more sense* than my father: and that my father, though he is sharpwitted enough (in other respects), does not know his men. But of me he said: "You will distinguish men of intelligence better than he does." (Signed) *Alexis.*

*Appended, all in the tsarevich's own handwriting:*

'About the prince Basil, that he spoke abusively of my father, vilifying his mother, I did not myself hear any such words from him, but I heard it from others; from whom I do not remember.'

*Undated, but all in the tsarevich's writing, and written by him before the senators, probably on the 17th June:*

'About the other words all is clearly explained in the first writing. But I had hope from the words of many people, and in particular from my confessor Yakoff, Nikiphor Viazemsky, the tsarevich of Siberia, Doubrovsky, and Ivan Athanasieff, that among the people they loved me. Yakoff (the confessor) said that they even drank 'to the health of *the Hope* of Russia.' And I had hope in the people always for all times. And in the bishop of Riazan I had hope after his sermon, seeing his inclination in my favour: on that account I had hope in him, although I had had no conversation with him, except that which I have stated. But about Petersburg I spoke when I was drunk, in this sense: When they have gone to such a distance, to Copenhagen, let them take care that they do not lose it (Petersburg) as they lost Azoff. But what exact words I used I do not remember.'

[57] Or being taken aside by them.

[58] Passages thus bracketed were *omitted* in the Acts published officially.

[59] Here the official publication *interpolates* the words 'and spoke of his father's doings in (a spirit of) opposition,' which are not in the original.

In consequence of this statement, there were examined before the senate (on the same day, the 17th), *some of them with torture*, in presence of the tsarevich, Abram Lopouchin, Theodore Doubrovsky, Nikiphor Viazemsky, the prince Basil Dolgorouky, and the protopope Yakoff Ignatieff. They stated as follows:

1. *Abram Lopouchin:* 'I never invited Pleyer to come to me, nor asked him anything about the tsarevich, nor held conversation with him, nor wrote to him.'

Being taken to the chamber of torture (the *zastienok*), at the hauling up (*ou dibi*, à l'estrapade) he said: They met Pleyer one day in autumn, as they were going to the quay of baron Shaphiroff, in what year[60] he does not remember; only it was before the return of the tsar from the campaign. Abram asked him: 'Where is the tsarevich now? is he not with you?' Pleyer replied: 'He is in the emperor's dominions, with us.' Abram: 'I expect they will not leave the tsarevich there: among us many grieve for him, and there will not fail to be some disturbance among the people.' But such words as, '*Here they side with the tsarevich, and are already in a ferment round about Moscow*,' he did not utter. And those words which he did utter were from what he had heard from Kanbar Acynthieff,[61] with whom he had talked in his own house, saying that the tsarevich was with the emperor, and they were glad that he was in safe keeping. Kanbar said: 'It may be that the emperor will not abandon him; among the people many grieve for him, and in truth with us in the *Lower* parts there will not fail to be among the people some disturbance.'

From the tsarevich of Siberia he had heard those words: 'After the tsarevich had gone away from hence to foreign parts there were here very great lamentations. The prince Yakoff Theod. Dolgorouky lamented for him to such a degree that he quite forgot himself.' When Abram was in the house of the viceadmiral Kreutz, at the time that the news came that the tsarevich was with the emperor, the viceadmiral, squeezing Abram's hand, said: 'There he will not be ill off.' The prince Ivan Lvoff, being with Abram in his house, was glad that the tsarevich had gone off to the emperor: 'There he had got himself an excellent place (to stay in), and the emperor will

[60] *i.e.* in what year A.M., before or after 1st Sept. in A.D. 1716.

[61] Landrath of Kazan, and uncle to prince Semen Tscherbatoff.

not abandon him; if any chance called for me to go away from hence, I would find him out there.'

2. *The prince Ivan Lvoff* said: In the house of Abram Lopouchin I was by invitation five or six times, and we conversed about the tsarevich, before there was any rumour of his having gone off to the emperor. Abram said: 'The tsarevich has gone to his father: what will his father do with him?' Lvoff replied: 'What will he do with him? He will be as before in the regiment as a lieutenant.' Abram asked: 'Won't they tonsure him there?' Lvoff smiled, and said: 'Who is there there to tonsure him? there are no such things there as monasteries.' Abram: 'Might not they kill him; he travels with no people about him.' Lvoff: 'There not only (is there no danger) for a person of such mark, but when I used to go post alone there was nothing at all to fear.' The words imputed to him he did in truth utter, but only as fawning upon Lopouchin, and fearing his old malice.

On Tuesday the 17th June Peter Tolstoy wrote (to the metropolitan of Riazan seemingly) as follows:

'Most reverend Vladiko! On the 14th day of this month of June, after a declaration had been made publicly to your holiness and to all the administration in the governing senate respecting the offences of the tsarevich Alexis, his most gracious majesty the hossoudar the tsar was pleased with his own hands to deliver to you a writing, according to which your holiness was required to declare in writing your opinion on that matter. And now be pleased to subscribe that opinion, and give it in to the governing senate, to all the assembly, immediately, inasmuch as now they all want it soon. St. Petersburg, 17th June A.D. 1718.'

Accordingly, on Wednesday, 18th June, the clergy presented (through Tolstoy to the tsar) in writing their opinion or judgment as to the guilt of the tsarevich and the punishment which it deserved. This was made known in the hall (of the senate, probably, to the secular members of the tsar's high court or commission of judicature) on Saturday the 21st, by Peter Tolstoy, and shall be given below at that date.

On Thursday the 19th his majesty the tsar and the rest of the gentlemen senators and ministers came to the Fortress at the twelfth hour after midnight at the beginning of it (*i.e.* at

eleven o'clock A.M.); viz. the most illustrious prince, the admiral, the prince Yakoff Theodorovich, general Boutourlin, Tolstoy, Shaphiroff, and the rest: and there was a chamber of torture (a *zastienok*); and at one o'clock they separated.

Of what was done in the zastienok we learn, not from the same minute-book of the Fortress, but from other sources, that

Theodore Doubrovsky, being questioned *before the senate* on the 19th June, stated thus: He asked the tsarevich: 'Has your father the hossoudar had an attack of epilepsy?' The tsarevich said: 'I do not know.' Doubrovsky: 'They say that he has had epilepsy; and such people do not live long.' He had heard of that from the bishop of Novgorod Job. Of going away to free cities, and of the love of the common people, he did not speak; but he said that the tsarevich had living upon his estates in the country raskolniks, and *they* all love him. When examined with torture, he said the same. There were given him thirteen blows.

The confessor of the tsarevich, the protopope of the Verchospasski sobor (*i.e.* of the church of the Saviour in the palace *above*), *Yakoff Ignatieff*, being questioned as to the statement of the tsarevich, that 'he heard from his confessor that among the people they love him, and drink to his health, calling him the *Hope of Russia*,' on the 19th of June, declared that he spoke of the tsarevich such words as those without any thought or purpose. At the same time the tsarevich stated that in confession to his spiritual father he had said that he wished his father the hossoudar to die. Yakoff answered: 'God will forgive you; we all wish him to die.' (The confessor admitted the truth of this also.) The same day Yakoff was secularised.[62]

The statements of the other persons mentioned by the tsarevich before the senate, viz. the prince Basil Dolgorouky, Nikiphor Viazemsky, and Ivan Athanasieff, have been already given above, and need not be repeated here. But we will insert some remarks of Voltaire.

'The prince,' he writes, 'overwhelmed, having lost his senses, seeking within himself *with the ingenuity of fear* all that could *serve* to destroy him, acknowledged at last that in *confes-*

[62] He '*was* secularised' without any ecclesiastical trial, by order simply of the tsar, or upon an 'extract' read by the tsar's bloodhound Tolstoy, in order that so he might be tortured without prejudice to the *immunities* of the clergy.

*sion* he had accused himself (as of a sin), before God and his confessor the protopope Yakoff Ignatieff, of having wished for the death of his father, &c. (as above):

'But all proofs which can be taken from sacramental confession are inadmissible (in a court of human justice) according to the canons of *our* Church: they are secrets between God and the penitent. The Greek Church does not believe any more than the Latin that this intimate and secret correspondence between a sinner and the Deity is subject to the cognisance of human justice. But there was concerned here the *state*, and a *sovereign*. The protopope Yakoff was examined and tortured, and he acknowledged the truth of the tsarevich's revelation. They were strange incidents, these, in this trial, to see a confessor accused by his penitent, and the penitent accused by his mistress. One may add another strange circumstance. The metropolitan of Riazan had been compromised himself in the accusation, he having some years before preached a sermon too favourable to the tsarevich, and the tsarevich, in answering the questions put to him, having confessed that he had reckoned upon that prelate as being friendly to him: and yet we find this same metropolitan of Riazan at the head of the ecclesiastical assembly consulted by the tsar in this criminal process (and made to prepare or instruct the secular judges to pronounce a sentence of death). But let us return to what was passing on the 19th of June.

On that same day (the 19th June), at six o'clock P.M., the tsar came again to the Fortress (having considered in the meantime the results obtained by the morning's work), with general Boutourlin, Peter Tolstoy, and the rest; and there was (again) a chamber of torture (a *zastienok*), and they stayed till the middle of the ninth hour (*i.e.* till half-past eight P.M.).

It was the tsarevich himself who was now put to the question. The paper of questions put to him is preserved in the imperial archives. It is unsigned, but unquestionably the original. Against twelve of its points there is marked a cross (+). As a heading there are prefixed the words: '*About the Tsarevich.*' We give it, writes Oustrialoff, word for word:

i. To ask the tsarevich:

In his confessions which he gave in at Moscow and Petersburg, in answer to the questions put to him, he uttered by word

of mouth or wrote with his own hand various things of many persons: Is all that truth, and has he not imputed anything falsely to any one?

In particular you have written (various things) of the persons undermentioned:

Of the teacher Viazemsky: that he advised you to send for your confessor and tell him why you were going into a monastery? Also that he said that the hossoudar will not live more than five years, nor your brother more than seven; and that among the people they love you, and the rest of what you wrote about him, is it all true?

Of the prince Basil Dolgorouky: that he promised to advise your father about depriving you of the succession, and said: 'Give your father a thousand letters (if he likes to have them), but when something happens,' &c.; and that he had a wish to desert and go into Stettin; and that you had more sense than your father, and the rest?

+Of your confessor Igor: that you called him to you, and told him of your being about to be tonsured against your will, that he might tell this to the bishops; and afterwards you told him not (to tell it)?

+Of Simeon Narishkin: about the succession; and on the road to Memel the words: 'It is no good your going (back to Russia). You might have tarried in those parts even a long time, as we who are your true friends thought, and as Kikin advised?

Of the tsarevna Maria: that she knew of your flight; and said that they condemned your father *as if* he ate flesh-meat on the fasts, and cast off your mother? and about visions, that they will be at Anzer, and the rest?

Of the bishop of Riazan: of his sending to you the book *Kamen Véri*, and that you should take care of yourself: for they will not give your father another wife; (there is nothing else for him) except to take back your mother from the monastery—there is only for him to die; and an heir is necessary, and the rest? and had you not any deeper understanding with him than what you had declared previously, since you yourself said (afterwards) that after his sermon you had hope in him?

+And about that sermon, had he not with him, the bishop of Riazan, any conversations, directly with himself, or through

others, before he preached it, or afterwards, when he had preached it?

+Of the fieldmarshal Sheremetieff: 'Why don't you keep a servant (or page) who should be acquainted with those who are at your father's court, in order to know all that is going on?'

+Of the prince Boris Kourakin: that 'your stepmother may be good to you so long as she has no son of her own; but whenever she has a son of her own she will be so no longer?'

+Of Ivan Mousin-Poushkin: that he said: 'Do you feel more at your ease?' and, 'It is time for you to put away the girl that you keep?'

+Of the prince Yakoff Dolgorouky: that when you were taking leave, in the senate, he said that he should always be glad to serve you; 'only say no more, because all are looking at you;' and about the burdens of the people?

+Of the prince Dmitri Golitsin: that he was 'always his faithful servant;' and that he spoke of the burdens of the people, and brought him books from Kieff?

+Of the tsarevich of Siberia: about the dream, and the letters which Makaroff brought from the hossoudar; and about the people, that they love him, the tsarevich, on which account he had hope in the common people?

+Of the prince Youry Troubetskoy: 'It would be well to be deprived of the succession, only think what tears flow through gold?'

Of the metropolitan of Kieff: that you wrote and sent to him a letter from the castle (at Naples)? And what more did you with him?

Of Abram Lopouchin: Is that all? or do you know something more? Reveal it, and conceal nothing.

Also what you wrote of yourself, that you wished the death of your father and sovereign; and that you told your confessor of this in confession; and that he said to that: We all desire the death of your father: also *that you desired to make a rebellion*,[63] and to go to those rebels, even during the life of your father; and the rest which *you have revealed yourself*[64] and written with your

[63] How could he correct or disavow such misstatements, while his shoulders were being put out, or he was receiving blows of the knout?

[64] First he says to his victim: 'Reveal all, as if in confession to God, *or* your life is forfeited!' Then, when the poor wretch strains himself to comply, as if

own hand, and have said the same before the senate: is all that truth, and have you not either calumniated or screened any one?

When you had hope in the common people, did you not send secretly any one to speak to the common people about that disturbance, or did you not hear from any one that the common people were inclined to rebel?

During your flight were there not letters to you from any one from Russia, or from any other quarter, especially from your relations, as the prince Boris Iv. Kourakin,[65] and from the rest?

ii. A.D. 1718, June 19, the tsarevich Alexis, while he was being tortured, said: What he had written of any one in his former confessions and had said before the senators was all true, and he had neither calumniated nor screened anybody.

He also made a supplementary statement, thus: In time past, when his confessor Yakoff Ignatieff was with him, the tsarevich, at Petersburg, he, the tsarevich, confessed to him, and in that confession said: 'I wish death to my father;' and he said: 'God will forgive you; we all wish death to him.'

Also, while now (recently) at Moscow, when he was confessing, he said, *in confession*[66] to his confessor Barlaam, that he in his confessions had not said to his father *all*, but had kept back something; and that he wished to his father death: but in what respect he had not said all, but had kept back something, he did not tell him distinctly; and he, Barlaam, said to him: 'God will forgive you; but you ought to tell your father the truth.'

There were given him twenty-five blows.

And the same day his former confessor, the ex-priest Yakoff Ignatieff, while under torture,[67] and when confronted with the tsarevich, said: 'Those words which the tsarevich Alexis spoke to him, Yakoff, in confession, viz. that he wished his father to die, were spoken by him in answer to a question from him,

hoping so to save his life, the torturer condemns him for what he has revealed. 'Confess, *or* you shall *not live*:' 'You have confessed, and *therefore* you shall *die!*'

[65] Whose first wife (A.D. 1699) was Xenia Theod. Lopouchin.

[66] So the confessor had been examined by 'the earthly god' as to what he had heard from the tsarevich in confession, and had revealed it.

[67] He was tortured three times, on the 19th and 24th June and on the 5th of August, and was beheaded on the 8th Dec., together with Abram Lopouchin, Ivan Athanasieff major, and Theodore Doubrovsky. Their heads were stuck on iron spikes on a stone pillar, and their bodies placed on wheels, close to the winter provision market: there they remained till the 21st of March in A.D. 1719.

Yakoff, he having asked him: 'Dost thou not wish thy father to die?' And he said to him: 'I do.' And he, Yakoff, said to him, the tsarevich: 'We all wish him to die, because the people are much oppressed.' But who besides himself wished him to die, or with whom he had spoken of oppression, he said he did not remember. In like manner as to this, that among the people they loved the tsarevich, and drank to his health, calling him the *Hope of Russia*, he, Yakoff, said that; and he had heard it from some people, but from whom he could not say; and he had spoken not with any design, but with simplicity.

There were given him twenty-five blows.

Again, on Friday the 20th, at eight o'clock A.M., the gentlemen ministers and senators assembled in the Fortress, viz. the most illustrious prince (Menshikoff), the admiral, the prince Yakoff Theodorovich, Gabriel Ivanovich, general Boutourlin, prince Dmitri Michaelovich, Peter Tolstoy, Peter Shaphiroff, Ivan Alexievich, and the rest. At eleven o'clock there was a chamber of torture (a *zastienok*), and then they separated. His majesty was not there. The same day there were sent letters of great urgency from the chancellor Golovkin to Finland.

It was on this day that Abram Lopouchin was again questioned on written heads in the chamber of torture. To the question, Who were the advisers of the tsarevich in his flight? he replied that he knew none: he had no correspondence with him. About any rising or disturbance he neither spoke with Kanbar, nor with others, nor thought of any such thing: only they thought that the people there were simple and ignorant. In the reëxamination with torture (the *rozisk*) there were given him twenty-one blows: he still said the same.

[Kanbar Acynthieff, being afterwards taken and brought (on the 28th June), stated that Abram Lopouchin said to him: 'The tsarevich, after meeting Kikin on the road, went to Silesia.' After that he said that he was in the Tyrol: 'Would he not go to the emperor? and might not there be a breach between the emperor and the tsar?' Kanbar answered: 'There would be danger, if war were to break out, of a rising with us of the people.' Abram rejoiced that the tsarevich was with the emperor, who would not abandon him; and among the people many, he said, grieved for him. Abram sent him, Kanbar, to Pleyer, to ask him, Where was the tsarevich? Pleyer answered that he did not

know. When confronted, on the 29th June, Abram retracted the words about a rising being to be apprehended in the Lower parts, explaining that he spoke such words before from the great fear he was in, and from the intolerable pain of the torture. Kanbar also said that he spoke without thought, as one out of his mind for terror. On the 9th Aug. they were cross-examined before the senate. Lopouchin said that he had spoken to Kanbar only about the meeting of the tsarevich with Kikin, from whom he learned it after his return: he said nothing besides, neither of any rising, nor of the army. . . . On the 12th Aug. they were examined separately before the senate, and said the same as before. The senate ordered Kanbar to be tortured, to make him say in what sense they had rejoiced because the tsarevich was in safe keeping with the emperor; and on what he went when he said, Would there not be a rising among the people in case of a rupture? On the 16th Aug. Kanbar was brought into the chamber of torture, and stripped, and questioned as he stood ready to be hauled up. He said the same as before; but he was not then tortured, as he asked for a term to think and write a statement.

In his written statement, or confession, it was said: 'We rejoiced together with Abram, on account of our connection, at the tsarevich being in safe keeping with the emperor in this sense, that we hoped the emperor might reconcile him with his father.' Of the prospect of a breach ensuing he spoke as he did to Lopouchin, because there was an army of the tsar's stationed near to the emperor's frontier (in Mecklenburg): he spoke of apprehending disturbances only from the weakness of the people: in that he had been culpable. The words imputed to him about disturbances in the Lower districts he had not uttered; they had been imputed to him by Abram wrongfully.

On the 21st Aug. Kanbar was tortured; there were given him fifteen blows: he said the same as he had written; but he had said all that he had said when drunk, simply, and of no set purpose. On the 28th Oct. the senate made order to call for Abram Lopouchin, and to question him about his words with Pleyer; because he had about those words been tortured only once. Lopouchin was questioned before the senate, and would confess to nothing. And on that he was tortured before them, the Governing Senate; and in the chamber of torture, when

questioned, and when on the rack, he said the same, that he had never spoken the above-mentioned words to Pleyer, but had accused himself of them falsely, from fear, and from not enduring the tortures. There were given him twenty-five blows. Nov. 1, the senate decreed: That Abram, for his variation in his words, should be tortured again. He was tortured in presence of the senate; there were given him twenty-three blows: the words with Pleyer he still denied. On the 19th Nov. A.D. 1718 the senate gave sentence that: 'Whereas Abram, with evil intention, wished the death of his majesty the tsar, and asked the late bishop of Rostoff, Dositheus, the question, "Will my sister, with her son, the tsarevich, reign?" and he answered, "She will;" and Abram exclaimed, "God grant that, though it be after the death of the Hossoudar, she may be Tsaritsa with her son!" He also, on hearing from Ivan Athanasieff that the tsarevich had fled, said: "The tsarevich has done well; and he will be now for this present time free from all disturbances. God be thanked that he has taken him out of the way!" And he (Abram) gave no information about that to the tsar's majesty. Also he had a secret *suspicious* correspondence with his sister the late tsaritsa, and with the tsarevna Maria Alexievna, uttering views adverse to the power of the monarch and to the acts of his majesty. For these and for his other offences, which have been published to all in the *Manifestoes*, the senate passes sentence, that he is to be punished with death; and that his property, personal and real, is all to be confiscated.'

He was executed on the 19th (8th O.S.) Dec. A.D. 1718, together with the confessor of the tsarevich, as was learned by Pleyer after he had left Russia, when he was at Riga (see his report from Memel, 16th Jan. N.S. A.D. 1719). His widow, according to Hochholtzer, in his report from Petersburg, dated 17th Feb. N.S. A.D. 1719, for grief attempted to destroy herself, in a stove and in a bath; but she was taken out of the stove by a woman-servant, and the next day she died. All the same, in an original report of the senate of 31st July A.D. 1728, she appears among those who were petitioning for the restitution of the derevnias and houses which, in A.D. 1718, had been taken from them: 'The wife of Abram Lopouchin petitions for the derevnias which her relations, by way of securing them to her, secured in the deeds in the name of her husband.' Kanbar Acynthieff was sentenced

by the senate to be knouted, and banished to some distant town; but the tsar ordered him to be banished, without other punishment.] Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. p. 269.

On Saturday the 21st June Peter Tolstoy communicated to the members of the high court of commission in the hall (of the senate) the opinion of the clergy, dated on the 18th preceding. It was as follows:

'Looking at the grave offence of the son, like to that of Absalom, who rose up against his father; looking also to the person wronged, who is a father and sovereign, possessing full power over his son,—we dare not touch this affair by any definitive judgment of ours. For this affair belongs altogether to the civil jurisdiction, and not to the spiritual; and the most supreme authority, especially in a state which is a monarchy, is not amenable to the judgment of its subjects, but it does what it pleases, according to its own will, without any counsel of inferior orders. Nevertheless, since we have been commanded, not for a decree, but for information, to seek out from the sacred scriptures examples and passages bearing upon this affair, obeying the command of our monarch, we, all of the spiritualty who are now here present in this capital, and who have subscribed below, have sought out from the sacred scriptures what seemed to us to bear upon this frightful and unparalleled affair:

'1. The son of Noah, who mocked his father, was cursed by his father, and condemned to be a servant to his brethren (*Gen.* ix.).

'2. The commandment of God: Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee, and that thy days may be long in the land (*Exod.* xx.).

'Thou shalt not speak evil of the prince of thy people (*Exod.* xxii.).

'3. If any one curseth his father or his mother, he shall surely die (*Exod.* xxi.).

'The same is written also in the Book of Leviticus (ch. xx.).

'The same is rehearsed also by Christ himself (*Matt.* xv. and *Mark* vii.).

'4. If a man shall have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father and the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him will not hearken unto them, then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and

bring him out before the elders of his city, and before the gate of his place, and they shall say to the men of his city: This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, he is a glutton and a drunkard: And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die. So shall ye yourselves put evil away from among you, that others also hearing may fear (*Deut.* xxi.).

'5. He who revileth father or mother, his lamp shall be put out (*Proverbs*, ch. xx.).

'6. Honour thy father in word and in deed, that blessing may come to thee from him: for a father's blessing establishes the houses of children, but a mother's curse uprooteth foundations (*Sirach*, ch. iii.).

'And in the same chapter below: My son, support the age of thy father, and grieve him not while he lives.

'7. The people of Israel who were in the Babylonish captivity collected silver, and sent it to Jerusalem to Joachim the high priest and to all the people, and said: Behold, we have sent to you silver that you may buy with it whole burnt-offerings for sins, and incense, and make a propitiation, and offer upon the altar of propitiation of the Lord our God, and may pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and for the life of Belshazzar, his son, that their days may be as the days of heaven (*Baruch*, ch. i.).

'8. Mardochai, when he had overheard the designs of the king's eunuchs who kept the door, and understood that they were preparing their hands to kill the king Artaxerxes, thereupon told the king what they were plotting, and the king put them to the question, and they confessed, and were hanged (*Esther*, ch. ii. 21).

'9. About Absalom the history is well known (in the *Second Book of the Kings*, ch. xv.-xviii.).

'And these are the examples which we have been able to find recorded in the sacred scriptures of the Old Testament.

'*From the New Testament.*

'1. Christ himself was obedient to his reputed father Joseph, and to his mother (*Luke*, ch. i.).

'2. And he commanded to pay tribute to Cæsar (*Matt.* ch. xxii. and xvii.).

'3. If thou wouldst enter into life, keep the commandments: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not bear false witness, honour thy father and mother, and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself (*Matt.* ch. xix.).

'4. As servants of God, honour all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, honour the king. Servants, be obedient with all fear to your masters, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward: for this is well-pleasing before God (1 *Pet.* ch. ii.).

'5. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: for there is no power which is not of God: the powers that be are ordained of God: therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist receive to themselves condemnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil. Wouldst thou then not be afraid of the power? Do good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou doest evil, be afraid: for he beareth not in vain (lit. without sense) the sword. For he is the minister of God, a revenger for wrath upon him that doeth evil (*Rom.* xiii. 1-4).

'6. Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honour thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise, that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayst live long on the earth. *And ye, fathers, provoke not your children to wrath*; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition *of the Lord*. Servants, be obedient to your masters after the flesh with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men (*Eph.* ch. vi. 1-7).

'7. Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, and to be ready to every good work (*Tit.* iii. 1).

'*Canon xiv. of the local synod of Gangra*: "If any children, leaving their parents, especially if they be believing, go off on pretext of piety, and give not due honour to their parents, preferring their own pretended piety, let them be accursed."

'*St. John Chrysostom, in his Serm.* i. *about Anna the prophetess, the mother of Samuel, speaks thus*: "It is not only begetting that makes a father, but it is also the bringing up or-

derly; nor is it only bearing, but nursing duly, that makes a mother. And that this is so, that it is not the nature but the virtue of parents that makes them parents indeed, is confessed by parents themselves.

"For in truth often, if they see their sons to be of evil manners and sprouting, as from a false birth, to malice, they reject them from the number of their relations, disown them, and adopt others, even such as were by no sort of affinity connected with themselves. And what can be more marvellous than this, that they reject those whom they have begotten, and take to themselves those whom they have not begotten? It is not without a reason that we have made these observations, but that you may know that *will* is of more importance than nature, and that it has more to do with making fathers than nature has. For this is the work of the providence of God, that neither should children who are alienated from natural love be (generally speaking) abandoned, nor, on the other hand, all of them allowed. For if fathers loved their children not from any natural instinct, but only for good manners and acts, very many would, for their unpromising nature or bad manners, be cast out, and the whole human race would be scattered and wasted. Or if, on the other hand, He had left virtue to take care of itself, and had not willed men to hate transgressors, but parents, though dishonoured by them and suffering many evils from them, nevertheless, from a natural compulsion, ceased not to be indulgent to froward sons who go contrary to them and dishonour them, and are, as it were, possessed by some evil spirit, the human race would have come to the last degree of insanity. For if even now, when sons cannot reckon too much upon nature, but see many bad children deprived of the inheritance of their fathers' house and property, still, often, trusting to parental affection, they dishonour their parents, how would it be if it had not been the will of God that they should stigmatise such, and take vengeance upon them, and reject and disinherit those who are maliciously perverse? What transgressions would they not be emboldened to commit?

"For this cause God has willed that paternal affection should be based at once upon natural bias and upon the manners and behaviour of the children: that, if children sin in any limited and small degree, their fathers may through natural affection forgive them; but, if they are quite evil and diseased with some

incurable plague, they may punish them, lest, by their undue indulgence they should teach them all vice. How great is the care of God's providence, both in ordaining that parents shall love their children, and in setting limits to that love!"

'These extracts we of the spiritualty have made from the sacred scriptures by order of the sovereign, but not for a sentence, nor for the issuing of a decree, as has been said before. For this affair belongs not to our jurisdiction. For who has set us for judges over them who are our rulers? How can the *members* teach the *head* by which they are themselves taught and ruled? Besides this, our spiritual judgment (or jurisdiction) ought to be according to the spirit, and not according to flesh and blood: nor has God to the spiritual order committed the iron sword, but the power of the spiritual sword, which is the word of God. Christ himself forbade the prince of the Apostles to use the sword.[68] "Put up," he said, "thy sword into his sheath." And again he forbade other Apostles to *call down fire from heaven*[69] to consume the Samaritans. By these examples Christ desired to teach us that spiritual persons ought not to act in a spirit of wrath, but in a spirit of meekness; nor to demand the death of anybody, nor to seek blood, but to seek only true repentance and spiritual death; that is, to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, according to the words of the Apostle (*Rom.* vi. 11).

'All this we with due obedience submit to the most supreme discretion of our sovereign. Let the *Lord* do what seemeth good in his sight. If it is his will to punish him who has fallen according to his *deed*,[70] and according to the gravity of his crime, he has examples which we have adduced above from the Old Testament: if he is graciously disposed to show mercy, he has the example of Christ himself, who received back the repentant

[68] Thus, like him whose name was *Legion*, the pseudo-Peter makes his clergy hint that all this is done against the Apostle of Christ, Peter, against the Pope, and against Nicon. They would not sit at the feet of such teachers, after being exorcised and brought to a right mind: so they go on howling among the tombs, snapping the bonds with which men like themselves would wish to bind them, and tearing their clothes and *their own flesh*.

[69] It was *very wrong* of Nicon no doubt! But the fire has come; and these priests of Jeroboam and of Baal, who are thus crying out and *cutting themselves*, are already struck by it.

[70] What *act* of rebellion or treason had he committed, or what word or thought? unless it be a crime in the eyes of a cat, when it is tormenting a mouse, that the mouse should try to run away from it, or should wish the cat to die?

prodigal when he returned, and let go free the woman taken in adultery, who deserved by the law to have been stoned to death, and exalted mercy above sacrifice. "I will have mercy," he said, "and not sacrifice." And by the lips of his Apostle he has said: "Mercy rejoiceth against judgment."[71] He has the example also of David, who wished to spare his persecutor, his son Absalom. For when his captains were going out to fight against Absalom he spake to them, saying: Spare for my sake my son Absalom (2 *Kings* xviii. 5). The father wished to spare him, but the just judgment of God did not spare him. To say all in brief: The heart of the tsar is in the hand of God: let him choose that course to which the hand of God inclines him. A.D. 1718, June 18.

'The humble Stephen, metropolitan of Riazan.

'The humble Theophanes, *bishop* of Pskoff.

'The humble Alexis, *bishop* of Sarai (*i.e.* of Kroutitz).

'The humble Ignatius, bishop of Souzdal.

'The humble Barlaam, bishop of Tver.

'The humble Aaron, bishop of Korel.

'The humble metropolitan of Stauropolis Joannicius (in Greek).

'The humble metropolitan of Thebes Arsenius (in Greek).

'Theodosius, archimandrite of the Alexandro-Nefsky monastery of the Trinity.

'Joachim, archimandrite of the monastery of St. Antony the Roman (at Novgorod).

'Joannicius, archimandrite of the Derevianidsky monastery of the Resurrection.

'The archimandrite of the Kyrilloff monastery, Irenarchus has set to his hand.

'The hieromonach Gabriel, prefect, and preacher of the word of God.

'The hieromonach Marcellus, teacher.'

At the bottom there is a note thus: 'This Opinion was made known in the palata (of the senate, to the lay members of the high court of judicature) by the privy councillor Peter Andr.

[71] So in the same breath they falsely impute rebellion and parricide, and plead for mercy to the victim whom they of cowardice and adulation calumniate. But Peter, having obtained from them what he wanted, might then reply: It is all very well to recommend me mercy, but unless I put him, your 'only hope,' to death, there is no security that you, the clergy, and the senate too, on my death may not revoke the disinheritance. And he was right: there *was* no security.

Tolstoy, and the senators heard it read, on the 21st day of June A.D. 1718.'

On Sunday the 22d the tsar gave to Peter Tolstoy the following autograph note of instruction, and *Points of examination*:

'To-day, after the liturgy, go and question (my son), and put the answers in writing; not for an inquest (with torture), but for information.

'1. What was the reason that he never listened to me, and never in anything showed the least disposition to do that which I wanted, nor in anything wished to please me? But he knew that this is not what people expect; and, besides, that it is a sin, and shame.

'2. Whence was it that he was so void of fear, and did not fear to be punished for his disobedience?

'3. Wherefore did he desire to obtain the inheritance (as I said to him myself) by some other way, and not by obedience? And of all that concerns this point, question him.'

*Answer of the tsarevich, in his own handwriting.*

'A.D. 1718, June 22. To those points on which hospodin Tolstoy has questioned me I answer:

'1. Of my disobedience to my father, and of my not being inclined to do what was agreeable to him, though I knew that this is not what people expect, and that it is sin and shame,[72] the cause was this: that from my childhood I lived for some time with my nurse (*mama*) and the maid-servants, learning nothing but childish in-door play, or rather learning to be a superstitious hypocrite (*khanjit*), to which I was naturally inclined: and then, when they took me from the nurse, it was the same with those people who were about me, viz. Nikiphor Viazemsky, and Alexis and Basil Narishkin. And my father, desiring for me that I should learn such things as were suitable for a king's son, ordered me to learn the German language, and other sciences, which was very contrary to my inclination. And I did that with great remissness, only so far as to get through the time, and I took no interest in it. And since my father was then frequently absent from me on military campaigns, he

[72] This exact repetition of the words of the question is a natural introduction to answers the spirit and even wording of which is clearly rather from Peter than from his son.

ordered that the most illustrious prince Menshikoff should have the charge of me. And when I was with him, I was obliged to learn well; but when I was away from him, then the above-mentioned Viazemsky and the Narishkins, seeing that I had no inclination for anything else, but liked only to practise narrow-minded superstition (*khanjit*), and to converse with popes and monks, and to go often to them and drink with them, not only did not dissuade or hinder me, but they themselves did the same with me heartily. And since they had been with me from my childhood, and I had been used to listen to them and to fear them, and always to do what pleased them, it came to pass that they alienated me still more from my father, and amused me with the above-mentioned pastimes; and gradually not only military exercises and studies, and all the other works of my father, but also his person became very loathsome to me; and on that account I always sought to be away from him. But when at length I had been ordered to superintend at Moscow the administration of the state in my father's absence, then I, having obtained my liberty (though I knew that my father had committed to me that administration in order to prepare me to be his successor), fell into idle pastimes more than before, with popes and monks and with other people. Also towards that unprofitable formation of my character one great contributor was Alexander Kikin,[73] when he happened to be with me. And then my father, of his gracious interest in me, and wishing to make me worthy of my calling, sent me to foreign parts: but there also I, being then grown up, did not change my habits; and though my residence abroad did me some good, it could by no means eradicate those above-mentioned bad habits which were rooted in me.

'2. But that I was without fear, and did not fear to be punished by my father for my disobedience, this came from nothing else but only from my own evil disposition (as I myself sincerely acknowledge); because, though I was afraid of my

[73] In these answers, at any rate, the tsarevich seems very anxious 'to do his father's will,' and to write 'what he wishes'—*too* anxious, as Voltaire observes on other similar answers. All reads as if *suggested to* the tsarevich, and said or written by him as if from suggestion or dictation: for instance, the word *khanjit*, which he uses of himself more than once, is manifestly the word of his father and of Tolstoy, not his own. Kikin too does not seem to have had anything to do with him till after he had left Moscow to live at Petersburg.

father, it was not with such fear as a son ought to have, but a fear prompting me only to get away from him, and to avoid doing his will, of which I here adduce a clear example: When I had come from foreign parts to my father, to St. Petersburg, he received me graciously, and he asked me: Had I not forgotten what I had learned? To which I said that I had not. And he bade me bring him some drawings of my work. But I, fearing lest he should set me to draw in his own presence, in which case I should not have been able, determined to disable my right hand, so that it should be impossible for me to do anything with it; and having loaded a pistol, I took it with my left hand and fired it at the palm of my right hand, meaning that the bullet should go through it; and though the bullet missed the hand, it was scorched by the powder so as to be painful. The bullet struck the wall in my room, where the mark is still visible. And my father then saw my scorched hand, and asked me what had been the cause. But I told him then some other story, and not the truth. Hence one may see that, though I feared him, it was not with the fear of a son.

'3. But wherefore I desired to obtain the inheritance by some other way, and not by obedience, every one can easily understand; for when I had altogether renounced the straight road, and was unwilling to follow my father in anything, what other way was there for me to seek the inheritance but by doing as I did, *and wishing to obtain it through foreign aid?* And if it had come to pass that the emperor had begun to carry that into effect, *as he had promised me*,[71] and to seek to put me by armed force in possession of the Russian crown, I should probably in that case have spared nothing in order to obtain the inheritance. For instance: If the emperor, in return for that, had desired to have Russian forces to assist him against any enemy of his whatever, or if he had demanded a great sum of money, I should probably have done all according to his will; also I should probably have given to his ministers and generals great presents. And as for his troops which he might have given me, to help me to obtain the Russian crown, I should probably have taken the

[71] Not only this direct falsehood, but the whole is manifestly worded by Peter and Tolstoy (that is, so as to follow their lead, and accept and reproduce their suggestions), though *written* by the tsarevich. Though it was '*only for information*,' the tsarevich probably hoped to avoid being tortured again by his full compliance; but he was to be tortured again all the same.

maintenance of them at my own cost; and in one word: I should have spared nothing, but should have sought only in that matter to obtain my will.'

'This last statement of the tsarevich'—observes Voltaire—'seems *very forced*. He seems to be *straining* to make it believed that he is guilty. What he says is even *contrary to the truth in an essential point*. He says that the emperor had promised *to obtain for him the crown by force of arms*. That was *false*. The count Schönborn had encouraged him to hope that some day, "*after the death of his father*," the emperor might help him to maintain his birthright; but the emperor had promised him nothing. Besides, there had been no question of rebelling against his father, but only of succeeding him after his death.

'He states in this last examination what he thought that he would have done if he had had to contend for his right of inheritance, a right which he had not legally renounced before his flight to Vienna and Naples. So we have him here before us a second time confessing not to something which he has done, and which may incur punishment by the rigour of the laws, but to something which he imagines that he might have done some day or other, and which consequently does not seem to be matter of cognisance for any tribunal. And we have now had him twice before us accusing himself of secret thoughts which he may have entertained with regard to the future. There had never been seen before in the whole world a single instance of a man being tried and condemned to death for abortive ideas which had come into his head, but which he had never even communicated to anybody. There is no tribunal in Europe which would have listened to a man accusing himself of a criminal thought; and it is even held that God himself does not punish such thoughts, except when they are accompanied by a deliberate intention.

'In these last confessions the tsarevich accuses himself of having been a "*bigot*" in his early youth, of having *frequented the society of priests and monks*, of having *drunk* with *them*, of having received from them impressions which inspired him with an aversion for the *duties* of his station, and even for the person of his father.

'*If* he made this acknowledgment *of himself*,' Voltaire observes sarcastically, 'he must clearly have been ignorant of that friendly recommendation to mercy which had just then been pre-

sented in his favour by the clergy whom he thus (ungratefully?) accused.' Voltaire's language about the *opinion* of the clergy is very indulgent: but, under the circumstances, considering that they were made to lead the way towards the verdict of the lay judges, their utterance directly or by implication of false accusations against the tsarevich, and their unanimous opinion that by these crimes falsely charged by them against him he had incurred the penalty of death, was scarcely redeemed by a faint hint at the end that they hoped their opinion might not be acted upon by their '*Lord*' and '*Head*.' Their opinion holds much the same importance in the case of the tsarevich Alexis as the patriarchal answers of A.D. 1663-1664 had held in the case of the patriarch Nicon.

Voltaire continues: 'It is in these same last confessions that the tsarevich states, as has been noticed above, that he sought to obtain the succession in the only other way which was possible after he had altogether renounced the right way (viz. by seeking foreign aid and designing rebellion).

'It seemed by this last confession as if *he* feared that he had not accused himself enough, or incriminated himself enough[75] in his former confessions; and as if by giving *to himself* the titles of a "*mauvais caractère*" and a "*méchant esprit*," and by imagining what he might have done if he had had the opportunity, *he* was *seeking, with a painful effort, to justify the sentence of death about* to be pronounced against him.'

On Tuesday the 24th, according to the entry in the minute-book of the Fortress, his majesty came to the Fortress at ten o'clock A.M., and with him general Boutourlin, Peter Tolstoy, and the rest; and there was a chamber of torture (was made a *zastienok*); and at twelve o'clock they separated.

And again the same day at six o'clock P.M. his majesty came to the Fortress; with him there were the most illustrious prince, Gabriel Ivanovich, Peter Tolstoy, Peter Shaphiroff; and there was a chamber of torture; and afterwards at ten o'clock P.M. they separated.

In a day-book kept in Menshikoff's house it is written that on the 24th of June his splendour was in the senate till twelve o'clock: they dined with the two Apraxins at the house of the general-admiral; after dinner they amused themselves till five

[75] To suit *his own* purpose of putting himself to death?

o'clock, and then separated. His splendour, having gone home, did business. Presently there came to him from the Fortress, from the tsar, a sergeant of the guards to bid him go to the Fortress; whereupon he went thither immediately, and joined the tsar; and after a little conversation they were present at an examination with torture (a rozisk): after that, at eleven o'clock, they separated. His splendour went to bed at one o'clock A.M.

On this day (seemingly in the morning) the tsarevich Alexis was questioned in the chamber of torture about all his doings, about what he had written of different persons with his own hand, and had said when questioned orally at different times, and from the rack. All that was read over to him, and he was asked: Was all that which he had written true? and had he not calumniated any one or screened any one? And to this he, the tsarevich Alexis, having heard through all, said that all that which he had written and said in examinations was the exact truth, and that he had neither calumniated nor screened anybody. Also he added as a supplement this:

The teacher Viazemsky, in conversations with him, the tsarevich, said: 'Stephen Bielaieff and the singers who are with your father sing: "*Where God wills it, the order of nature is overcome*," and other like verses. But that they all sing, applying it indirectly to your father; and that pleases him, that they equal him with God.'

And of the (metropolitan) of Riazan he heard from many, and Theodore Doubrovsky said to him, that he, the metropolitan of Riazan, 'is good towards thee, and is on thy side, and he is altogether thine.'

To the metropolitan of Kieff he wrote in order thereby to *bring the people of those parts to make a disturbance*:[76] but whether that letter came to hand or not he knows not: but there were no letters from him, the metropolitan, to him, the tsarevich, during his flight; and he wrote no more than that one letter to him, the metropolitan, during his flight, nor did he write to any other, nor were there letters to him from any one.

Besides this, he knows not anything respecting anybody, and he is neither screening anybody, nor calumniating anybody.

And of that he, the tsarevich, was reëxamined with torture,

[76] Another complete falsehood, which the tsarevich is made to utter against himself.

that he should speak the exact truth: Was all true? and was he not calumniating any one? was he not screening any one? and has he not still something more to say? and what is it?

And from the rack he said the same as above; and besides that he knows nothing, and he is screening no one, nor calumniating any one.

There were given him fifteen blows.

The same day Theodore Doubrovsky was brought into the chamber of torture: and being confronted with the tsarevich, and questioned about the above-mentioned words respecting the metropolitan of Riazan, he said that he, Doubrovsky, said to the tsarevich such words as these: 'The metropolitan of Riazan is good towards thee, and is on thy side; and he is altogether thine,' in consequence of what he had heard about his sermon; viz. that he had preached a sermon in which he spoke about him, the tsarevich: and he made mention of it seeking also to please the tsarevich, because he at that time already knew that there was a contrariety between him and his father.

And about this he was reëxamined with torture, and he was asked: In what sense had he said to him, the tsarevich, that he 'was on his side'?

And from the rack he said the same words as above, and more than that he knows not.

There were given him twenty-five blows.

And the same day the ex-priest Yakoff Ignatieff was reexamined with torture as to his statements written above, and he was asked: With whom had they all wished death to the hossoudar? and for what cause? And from the rack he said the same as when he was reëxamined and tortured before. There were given him nine blows.

The high court of judicature, consisting of 127 persons, appointed to judge the tsarevich, presented on this day, the 24th of June, to the tsar its written judgment, *unanimously* condemning the tsarevich to death.

*Sentence of the ministers, senators, military and civil persons of rank, under their autograph subscriptions, in the affair of the tsarevich Alexis, 24th June* A.D. 1718.

'A.D. 1718, June 24. In virtue of the special oukaz of the 13th of this month of June for the judgment of the tsarevich

Alexis Petrovich for his contrarieties and crimes against his father and sovereign, we, the undersigned ministers and senators and officers of the military and civil professions, after divers meetings in the hall of the Governing Senate at St. Petersburg, having heard read more than once both extracts, and original letters, communicated to us[77] as evidence, letters of exhortation from the tsar to the tsarevich Alexis, and the answers of the tsarevich written with his own hand to the tsar, and the rest of the documents appertaining to the evidential proof of that affair, and the minutes, or extracts from the minutes of inquests, and his, the tsarevich's, autograph confessions, and his statements made orally both to the hossoudar his father and also before us[78] as constituted by his majesty's command judges (though for us, as natural subjects belonging to the autocracy of the tsar's majesty, by the rights of the Russian empire it would have been by no means competent to do this, but that whole matter properly belongs to the autocratic power and will of the tsar's majesty, which depends upon none but Almighty God alone, and is circumscribed and *limited by no rights* or laws—nevertheless, of submission to the above-mentioned command of our tsar and sovereign, we have taken upon ourselves that boldness), after sound reflection, and *with Christian conscientiousness*, *not* conspiring (of fear), *not* currying favour, nor respecting persons,[79] but going upon the previously-declared commandments of God of the Old and New Testaments applicable to this case, the sacred scriptures of the Gospels and of the Apostles, and extracts besides from the canons and constitutions of the councils of the holy fathers and doctors of the Church (having also taken to our assistance an opinion obtained from the bishops and others of the spiritual order assembled at St. Petersburg, by

[77] So neither was the lay court or assembly, any more than the spiritual, really empowered and called upon to *try* the criminal; but only, accepting from the chancery of secret inquests the accusation and the documents furnished as proofs, to *name* and to *adjudge* the penalty due to such a crime—exactly as in the case of Nicon in A.D. 1660 (and in A.D. 1667 all was really based upon that which had been done in 1660).

[78] So Nicon too, after his cause had really been prejudged, was brought before the mixed council of Dec. A.D. 1666, and was questioned.

[79] Such professions, when made unnecessarily, as here, and as before the condemnation of Nicon, *mean* the exact contrary of what is said: it is only because they *know* that they are acting from these bad motives, and fear to have them imputed, that they thus hasten so emphatically to disclaim them.

command of the tsar's majesty, set forth and prefixed above), and conforming ourselves to the law (lit. *rights*) of all Russia, and in particular to the *Code*, and to the articles of the *Military Statute*,[80] according to the passages above recited in the act (which law agrees with that of many states, and especially with that of the old Roman and Greek emperors and of the other Christian sovereigns), in accordance with the sentiments previously uttered and with the votes given, we have unanimously and without any sort of contradiction agreed and given sentence, that he, the tsarevich Alexis, for all his above-declared capital offences and transgressions against his sovereign and father, as the son and subject of his majesty, is deserving of death.

'For though the tsar's majesty, in his letter written on the 10th July A.D. 1717 from Spa, and sent by the privy-councillor hospodin Tolstoy and the captain of the guards Roumiantsoff, promised[81] to pardon him, the tsarevich, for his flight if he *voluntarily* returned (and he, the tsarevich himself, also in his reply, written from Naples on the 4th of October of that same year 1717, while thanking his father, shows that he is thanking him for a pardon granted *only* for his wilful flight), nevertheless the fact that at that same time he rendered himself unworthy of this pardon has, together with his other offences and contrarieties committed by him against the hossoudar his father, been amply set forth in the manifesto issued on this subject by the tsar's majesty on the 3d of February of this present year,[82] where in particular it is stated that he did *not* come *voluntarily*.[83]

'And though his majesty the tsar, having compassion on him, his son, as was natural for a parent, when, on his arrival at Moscow with his confession, *audience was given him* in the

[80] In art. xx. of the *Military Statute* there are these words: 'Whoever shall offend against the person of his majesty by words of reproach, or shall despise his acts and designs, and discourse in an *unbecoming* manner on that subject, he shall incur the penalty of death by *decapitation*.' And in the gloss the same is extended to the tsar's consort, and to his heirs.

[81] And repeated the same at different times and to different persons afterwards. Here Peter puts it upon his assembly to defend his perjury, and to make themselves parties to it, as the synods of A.D. 1660 and 1666 made themselves parties to the perjury of the tsar Alexis against Nicon.

[82] See above, at p. 1329.

[83] Both at Naples and at Vienna and at Brunn there had been no doubt *something* not *quite* voluntary. And on the 3d of Feb. A.D. 1718, and subsequently in his answers, there was a *good deal more* not quite voluntary.

stolovaia palata, on the 3d of February, promised to pardon him *also* for *all* his offences, nevertheless he did this publicly before all, with the distinct announcement that if he, the tsarevich, made revelation, without any reticence whatever, of all that he to that date had done or thought to do in opposition to his majesty, and respecting all the persons who therein had been his advisers and partners, or who had known of the same, he should be pardoned; but if he sought to conceal any person or any thing, then the pardon promised him should be no pardon. And this he then, to all appearance,[84] received with tears of gratitude, and he promised on oath to *declare all* without reserve: and that promise he also afterwards, by kissing the cross and the holy Gospel in the cathedral, confirmed.

'But though his majesty the tsar the following day, for farther confirmation, declared to him the same over again in his own handwriting, in connection with those his heads of interrogation from which extracts[85] have been communicated to us: and at the beginning of those *heads* or *points of interrogation* he wrote to this effect: Since the day before he had received pardon *on condition* of giving information of all the circumstances of his flight, and of *all the rest that was of like nature*, but if anything were kept back and concealed he was to lose his life, whereupon on some points he had answered by word of mouth, now, for the better fulfilment of that condition, in order to make a clean breast of it, he was required to reply in writing to the points subjoined, &c.: and at the end his majesty wrote in the *seventh head*: "Whatever has any bearing on this affair, though it be not here written about, disclose it all and make a clean breast of it, as if you were in real (*i.e.* in sacramental) confession: but if you keep back anything which afterwards is discovered, then do not blame me, since yesterday it was declared publicly before all that in such case the pardon should be no pardon."

'Nevertheless, he, the tsarevich, replied to that in his written answers and confession very dishonestly, and not only kept back the names of many persons, but also some most capital acts and crimes, especially his rebellious design (or thought) against his father and sovereign, and his deliberate underhand intrigue

[84] That is, he had not the courage to say anything aloud, either against the perjury already committed, or against the trap then set for him.

[85] Or rather 'which, with *extracts* from the answers written to them,' &c.

for many years past, and preparation,[86] to obtain his father's throne, *even in his lifetime*, through various dishonest devices and hypocritical pretences, and his hope in the common people, and his wish that his father and sovereign might soon die, about all which discovery was afterwards made, by inquests accompanied with torture (by *rozïski*), as has been communicated in an extract hereto prefixed above.

'And from all this conduct of him, the tsarevich, and from his own oral and written statements, and from his latest statement of the 22d of this present month, written with his own hand, it is plain that he, the tsarevich, did not choose to obtain the succession with the will of his father, by the right and divinely-appointed way and means, after his father's death; but, doing everything in opposition to him, he intended, against the will of his majesty, according to his own hope, not only through rebels, but even through the foreign help and forces of the emperor, which he counted upon, and with the ruin of the whole empire, and with the severance from it of whatever they might desire of him in return for their assistance,[87] given even during the lifetime of the hossoudar his father, to obtain for him the throne.

'It is plain too that the reason for which he concealed that his design and the names of many persons consentient with him therein, till his last examination with torture (*rozïsk*), and his clear conviction, was this, that he intended still, on the first sufficient opportunity which should offer hereafter, to carry that abominable and ungodly design against the hossoudar his father and all the empire into effect.

'And by all this the tsarevich has rendered himself altogether undeserving of that mercy and pardon of the hossoudar his father which had been promised him. And this he himself also, in presence of his father the hossoudar, together with all the above-mentioned assembly of all ranks, spiritual and temporal, and of all the people, has confessed to be so; and afterwards, before the judges appointed by his majesty, who have hereunto subscribed their names, he has, both orally and in writing, acknowledged that all that has been herein above stated has been actually proved.

[86] Or attempt (as if canvassing) to make interest in order to this.

[87] Note how exactly all this falsehood corresponds with the written confessions extorted to justify it, especially with the latest, which was probably dictated so as to suit this document after the sentence had been already drawn up.

'And so, according to the above-written divine and ecclesiastical and civil and military laws (lit. rights), of which the last two, viz. the civil and military laws, not only for such attempts made by letters and by acts against his father and sovereign, but if it had been only against his sovereign, for a single insurrectionary or homicidal thought, or for seeking indirectly the throne, decree capital punishment, to be inflicted without any mercy; but how much more has this more than rebellious, this scarcely to be paralleled in the world, this abominable before God, doubly parricidal design, that is, first against his sovereign as the father of his country, and then against him who was by nature his own most gracious parent (who from his, the tsarevich's, early years, with more than parental care and affection, had striven with unheard-of pains to breed him up *in all virtues*, and to teach him the arts of government and of war, and to bring him forward and render him worthy of the inheritance of such a great empire), how much more has this execrable design deserved that same punishment of death?[88]

'Though it is with anguish of heart and with tears that we, as servants and subjects, utter this sentence, considering that for us, as subjects of the autocratic authority, it would not have been competent to enter upon such a high trial, especially to pass sentence upon the son of our autocratic most gracious tsar and hossoudar, nevertheless, in obedience to his will, we hereby declare this our true opinion and judgment of condemnation with that sincerity of Christian conscience with which we trust to stand unshamed before the terrible, just, and impartial tribunal of Almighty God, submitting, however, this our sentence and judgment of condemnation to the autocratic power, will, and merciful revision of his majesty the tsar, our most superlatively gracious monarch.

'Alexander [prince[89]] Menshikoff.

'General-admiral count Apraxin.

'Chancellor count Gabriel Golovkin.

'Privy-councillor prince Yakoff Dolgorouky.

'Privy-councillor count Ivan Mousin-Poushkin.

[88] If the thoughts in this document are Peter's, the *style* is here very like that of Menshikoff, more involved and ungrammatical than Peter's own.

[89] In the original act he has signed simply 'Alexander Menshikoff,' but in the published act of A.D. 1718, his name is printed with a *K* for *Kniaz* (*prince*) inserted after '*Alexander*.'

'Privy-councillor Tichon Streshneff.

'Senator count Peter Apraxin.

'Vice-chancellor and privy-councillor baron Peter Shaphiroff.

'Privy-councillor and captain of the body-guards Peter Tolstoy.

'Senator prince Dmitri Golitsin.

'General Adam Weyde.

'Lieutenant-general Ivan Boutourlin.

'Privy-councillor count Andrew Matveyeff.

'Senator prince Peter Golitsin.

'Senator Michaelo Samarin.

'Major-general Gregory Chernisheff.

'Major-general Ivan Golovin.

'Major-general prince Peter Golitsin.

'Blijni stolnik prince Ivan Romodanofsky.

'Boyar Alexis Soltikoff.

'Governor of Siberia prince Matthew Gagarin.

'Boyar Peter Boutourlin.

'Governor of Moscow Cyril Narishkin.

'Brigadier and major of the guards Michaelo Volkoff.

'Major of the Preobrajensky regiment of the guards prince Gregory Yousoupoff.

'Major-general and captain of the guards Paul Yagoujinsky.

'Major of the guards Simeon Soltikoff.

'Major of the guards Dmitreyeff-Mamonoff.

'Major of the Preobrajensky regiment of the guards Basil Korchmin.

'Brigadier and revisor-general Basil Zotoff.

'Colonel Gerasimus Kasheleff.

'Stolnik Theodore Boutourlin.

'Colonel Gabrilo Noroff.

'Okolnik prince Youria Tscherbatoy.

'Vice-governor of St. Petersburg Stephen Klokochoff.

'Major of the body-guards Oushakoff.

'Lieutenant-captain of bombardiers Skorniakoff-Pisareff.

'Captain of the body-guards prince Boris Cherkasky.

'Vice-governor of Archangel-gorod Peter Lodijensky.

'Colonel Ivan Strekaloff.

'Vice-governor of the government of Azoff Stephen Kolichoff.

'Captain of the guards Petroff-Solovoff.

'Captain of the guards Alexander Roumiantsoff.

'Captain of the guards Semen Thedoroff.

'General politz-meister and adjutant-general to H.M. the tsar Anton Devier.

'Captain of the guards Leo Izmaeloff.

'Captain of the guards prince Ivan Shakhovskoy.

'Captain of the guards Veliaminoff-Zernoff.

'Colonel Peter Saveloff.

'Captain of the guards Ivan Lichareff.

'Captain of the guards Ivan Zacharoff.

'Captain of the guards Alexis Baskakoff.

'Stolnik Dmitri Bestoujeff-Riumine.

'Colonel prince Basil Viazemsky.

'Lieutenant of the navy Ivan Sheremetieff.

'Prince Sergius Golitsin, son of prince Boris.

'Stolnik prince Simeon Sontsoff-Zasiekin.

'Captain of the body-guards prince Gregory Ourousoff.

'Stolnik prince Alexis Cherkasky.

'Stolnik Matthew Golovin.

'Colonel Dolgorouky.

'Stolnik Leonti Michaeloffsin Gleboff.

'Colonel prince Ivan Boriatinsky.

'Stolnik Boris Neronoff.

'Stepan Neledinsky-Meletskoy.

'Lieutenant of the navy Basil Sheremetieff.

'Stolnik Basil Rjevsky.

'Colonel and captain of the body-guards Konshin.

'Lieutenant-captain of the guards Alexander Loukin.

'Sub-lieutenant of the guards Stepan Saphonoff.

'Lieutenant of the guards Theodore Polonsky.

'Adjutant Michaelo Chebisheff.

'Lieutenant-captain of the guards Droumant.

'Golianisheheff-Koutouzoff.

'Sub-colonel Ivan Boucholtz.

'Captain of the guards Theodore Metrophanoff.

'Captain of the guards Ivan Karpoff.

'Sub-colonel of infantry Ste[illegible] Kazadavleff.

'Colonel Ivan Koltovskoy.

'Colonel and commandant of St. Petersburg (*i.e.* of the Fortress), captain of the body-guards Yakoff Bachmetieff.

'Colonel Elia Loutkofskoy.

'Colonel prince Michaelo Tscherbatoy.

'Colonel Artemius Zagriaskoy.

'Lieutenant of the guards Ivan Kozloff.

'Lieutenant of the guards Ivan Bachmetieff.

'Captain of the guards Alexis Panin.

'Captain of the guards Basil Porosoukoff.

'Lieutenant of the guards Theodore Volkoff.

'Lieutenant of the guards Abram Shamordin.

'Adjutant-general Ivan Polianskoy.

'Ensign of the guards Ivan Verevkin.

'Sub-lieutenant of the guards Alexander Taneyeff.

'Sub-lieut. of the guards and of the bombardiers Basil Yazikoff.

'Lieutenant-captain of the body-guards Egor Pashkoff.

'Ober-komisar Alexis Zibin.

'Judge of the pomiestni prikaz Cyril Chicherin.

'Quartermeister-general and ober-krieg's-komisar Michaelo Argamakoff.

'Lieutenant-captain of the guards Alexis Bibikoff.

'Sub-colonel Basil Titoff.

'Sub-colonel Gabrilo Kozloff.

'Platz-sub-colonel Alexis Kisseleff.

'Sub-colonel Michaelo Anitchkoff.

'Sub-colonel Naoum Choglokoff.

'Sub-colonel Basil Batourin.

'Major Nikita Skoulskoy.

'Major of the battalion of the Admiralty Kyrillo Poushchin.

'Prince Theodore Golitsin.

'Sub-lieutenant of bombardiers Novokshtshenoff.

'Sub-lieutenant of the guards Basil Ivanoff. I have also subscribed for the sub-lieutenant of the same regiment Basil Korosteteff at his request, because he cannot write.

'Basil Novotsiltsoff, ober-krieg's-komisar.

'Ober-krieg's-komisar prince Michaelo Badbalskoy, son of prince Ivan.

'Stolnik prince Athanasius Boriatinsky.

'Stolnik Andrew Kolichoff.

'Ensign of the body-guards Dorotheus Ivashkin.

'Sub-lieutenant of the guards Michaelo Khrousheheff; and for the ensign Athanasius Vladichin.

'Sub-lieutenant of the guards prince Alexis Shakhovskoy; and for the lieutenant-captain Devesiloff.

'Ober-sekretar Onesim Shtshoukin.

'Diak Ivan Molchanoff.

'Diak Semen Ivanoff.

'Captain of the guards Emilian Maurin.

'Judge of the *raspravnaia palata* Athanasius Kouzmin-Karavaeff, son of Andrew.

'Vice-governor of the government of Moscow Basil Ershoff.'

On examination of the above list of 124 names, it appears that Old Russia is represented in it by two *boyars*, one okolnik, fourteen stolniks, two presidents of prikazes, and one diak, in all twenty signatures; but the New Russia of Peter is represented, first, by the most illustrious prince Menshikoff, and then by twelve other senators and privy-councillors, six governors and vice-governors, one ober-sekretar, and lastly by eighty-four military officers, chiefly of the two regiments of the guards. One may say then that virtually the assembly was a court-martial; and that the tsarevich was condemned, and the *coup de grace* given to old Muscovy, by the officers of the guards, of the two regiments of Peter's own creation. Also, instead of an exclusively Orthodox assembly like those of A.D. 1660 and 1666, there are four foreigners, the Dutchman Adam Weyde, Menshikoff's brother-in-law Devier, a lieutenant Droumant, and a lieutenant-colonel Boucholtz, who are joined with the Orthodox Russians in following the opinion of the bishops, and the testimonies, precedents, and extracts collected from holy scripture, from the canons and the holy fathers and the imperial laws, and from the Code and the Military Statute, in giving their unanimous verdict with the same Christian conscientiousness as the rest, and in making the same confident appeal to the terrible day of the last judgment.

Voltaire observes that, 'after having set forth all the charges against the tsarevich, the judges express themselves thus: "What is to be thought of his design of rebellion, a design such as has scarcely ever been heard of in the world, joined with that of a horrible and double parricide against his sovereign; first, as father of his country, and then as his own father by the order of nature?"

'*Perhaps* these words have been *ill translated* from the criminal process printed by order of the tsar: for assuredly there *have*

been *greater* rebellions in the world; and one does not see by his acts that the tsarevich had ever *conceived* the *design* of *killing* his father. *Perhaps* they meant by the word *parricide* the acknowledgment which the prince had made that he had once accused himself *in confession* of having *desired* the death of his father and his sovereign: but the *secret* acknowledgment *in confession* of a *secret thought* is not a *double parricide* (nor is it a *design* at all).

'However this may be, he was condemned to death *unanimously*, without there being in the sentence any specification of the *form* of its execution. Of a hundred and forty-four judges there was not even *one* who *so much as imagined* any punishment less than that of death. In an English publication which made a good deal of noise at that time it is observed that if such a cause had been tried and judged in the parliament of England, there would not have been found among a hundred and forty-four judges even a single one to give his judgment for any punishment at all.'

The irony of Voltaire is withering enough, but still, within the limits which his *amour propre* prescribed, partly because he was what he was, partly because he leaned as far as he could, without damaging himself, to the court which flattered him, he is far from hinting all the truth; and even, on the ground of state policy, he excuses and justifies what was done; or at least he mixes with his own slightly dissembled sarcasms those justifying pleas with which he was furnished from Petersburg. So he writes: 'It was better—so it was said—to punish one criminal than to risk the whole empire: the *rigidity of justice agreed with state policy*.' 'It was necessary to choose between the *interests* of all the inhabitants of Russia and a single individual, who was not capable of governing them.' 'Manlius would have been himself condemned to death by the laws of England for having killed his son, but he was respected by the severe Romans. The English laws enact no punishment for a Prince of Wales who goes away; as a peer of the kingdom he has a right to go where he likes: the laws of Russia do not allow the son of the sovereign to go out of the empire against the will of his father. A criminal thought, without any act in consequence, cannot be punished either in England or France: *it can in Russia*. A long, formal, and repeated course of disobedience is among us

only blamable misconduct, to be checked; but it was a capital crime in the heir of a vast empire, *of which this disobedience might have caused the ruin.* Finally, the tsarevich was guilty towards *the whole* nation, of wishing to replunge it in that *darkness* from which his father *had brought it out.*'

And again: 'If Alexis had reigned, all would have been destroyed. To conclude: when one considers this tragedy, sensitive hearts shudder, and severe *approve.*'

'Such was the acknowledged power of the tsar, that he could put his disobedient son to death without consulting anybody; nevertheless he devolved the *trial*[w] of him upon all those who represented the nation: so it was the nation itself which condemned the tsarevich; and Peter had such confidence in the *equity* of his conduct, that, by causing the trial to be printed and translated, he submitted himself to the judgment of all the nations of the world.'

But we must pass from the remarks of Voltaire to those of Pogodin, which have been given above, and say with him that it would have been less difficult to make some excuse for Peter if he had simply put his son to death for a motive, however mistaken, akin to that of Brutus and of Manlius, even though in doing so he broke his own promise and oath. To have had to relate such an act as this of an uneducated bogatir or hero-savage of the old pagan kind, would have been less humiliating for human nature. But pride and wilfulness and irreligious *greatness* are joined in practice with that which is foul and mean and contemptible. As Nicon quoted from the scripture to the tsar Alexis: 'The beginning of pride is when a man departs from God, and he that has it shall vomit forth filthiness.' And as Nicon also told the same tsar in his mixed council: 'He who is being unjustly judged did whatever he did privately; but you, by this assembly and trial, have published your own shame to all the universe.' It needs no microscope to see adhering to the patriotism of Brutus or Manlius in this act of Peter the foul and mean adjuncts of low cunning, treachery, and falsehood, besides unnatural cruelty and impious hypocrisy and perjury.

But when Voltaire reproduces without any remark, and even seems to make his own, Peter's main motive, that of state policy,

[w] Not really the *trial*, in the ordinary sense of the word: see the note above, at p. 1468.

he shows too great a complaisance towards those who flattered him, and who, since the death of Peter, had mounted the throne of Russia, without any fixed law of succession, only by a series of revolutions. For though we were to accept in the fullest sense and even to exaggerate Peter's idea of patriotism, and were to sympathize with him in his anger and disappointment at seeing his son and heir unwilling to become a soldier or sailor, and favourable to old national manners and to darkness and superstition rather than to foreign innovations, enlightenment, and irreverence; still the idea that, by simply destroying such an heir—even if he had only put to death the tsarevich Alexis, without also disinheriting the child Peter Alexievich—he could obtain comparative security for the continuance of his own spirit and policy, and the development of his own commencements, would have been a gross blunder: much more when he not only disinherited the individual heir, but also by the same act disinherited his grandson the heir presumptive, and made the succession to depend absolutely on the will of the living autocrat. But on this—since Russia has now again a settled law of succession, and common sense, having no motive of fear or adulation to stifle it, and having besides the retrospect of a series of revolutions between the death of Peter I. and the accession of Paul, may be left to judge for itself—there is no need for us to enlarge.

On (Wednesday) the 25th of June (6th July N.S.)—so writes the Hanoverian resident Weber, who had been at Petersburg since A.D. 1714—the tsarevich was brought out from the Fortress by four under-officers to the senate, and there they read through to him the sentence of death: and after that he was led back into the Fortress (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. p. 286).

'On' (the evening of that same Wednesday) 'the 25th of June the lieutenant-captain from the Preobrajensky regiment of the body-guards and from the bombardiers Gregory Skorniakoff-Pisareff was sent to the tsarevich Alexis with certain MS. cahiers which had been taken from his, the tsarevich's, house; these he was ordered to show to the tsarevich, and to question him:[91] Whence and for what purpose did he write out those extracts?'

[91] Mr. Kostomaroff observes: 'It is *curious* that this question was put *after all was finished*.' *All* was not yet *quite finished*, but was to be finished in the Fortress on the following morning. And this renewed verbal examination was with a view to a renewed *rozisk*, which should also, and as it were accidentally,

and did he not mean through some one or other to disperse them among the people? In answer to which he, the tsarevich Alexis, said to him, Gregory: That he, the tsarevich, had written out in those cahiers passages from the Annals of Baronius, applicable to himself, and to his father, and to others, at the time when he went to Carlsbad; and all those extracts he showed to the teacher Nikiphor Viazemsky, except some few passages which he did not see: he wrote them out in this sense, that things are not now as they were in time past. But he had no idea of disseminating them among the people: and the teacher Viazemsky expressed no opinion of his own about them.'

This document is from the *Secret Archives of the Foreign Office*. It has joined with it the following separate contemporary note: 'This was minuted from the words of Gregory Gregorievich: there is no original.' That is: The order was given, and the first report of its execution made only by word of mouth. (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. p. 536.)

In the minute-book of the chancery of the Fortress of St. Petersburg there is an entry thus: 'On the 26th, at 8 o'clock, there began to come to the Fortress and to assemble there His Majesty, the Most Illustrious Prince (Menshikoff), Yakoff Theodorovich (Dolgorouky), Gabriel Ivanovich (Golovkin), Theodore Matveyevich (Apraxin), Ivan Alexeyevich (Mousin-Poushkin), Tichon Nikitich (Streshneff), Peter Andreyevich (Tolstoy), Peter Shaphiroff, general Boutourlin. *And there was a chamber of torture.* And then, having remained in the Fortress till 11 o'clock, they separated.

'The same day at 6 o'clock P.M. the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich, who was under guard in the Troubetskoy bastion in the Fortress, *died*.'

In a minute or record bearing no signature, but contemporary, and preserved in the Secret Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there are these words:

'June 26, at 7 o'clock P.M., the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich in St. Petersburg (*i.e.* in the island of the Fortress specially so called) died.'

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be the execution of the sentence of death; the *manner* of executing which was purposely omitted in the sentence (though the Military Statute, which was quoted, enacts that the criminal is to be *beheaded*), that it might be left to the tsar's choice and discretion.

In the *Day-book of the acts of prince Menshikoff* kept in his house there is written:

'Thursday, 26th June, his splendour rose at six o'clock A.M.: and after dressing, transacted a good deal of business. There came to him the vice-governor Klokacheff, the colonel and commandant of St. Petersburg (*i.e.* of the Fortress) Bachmetieff, and other officers; and after some conversations with them, his splendour went to the Fortress, whither there came also his majesty (the tsar).[92] Then they went to the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich, *who was very ill*, and having been[93] *there* about half an hour, after some conversations, they separated. His splendour, after having come back to his own house, *dined*[94] with his family: after dinner he kept quite close within the inner rooms, engaged with business. At five P.M. he went out into the antechamber (or reception-room), where were the colonel Loutkovsky and others, with whom he conversed for about an hour; and then went to Troitsa to the church, where his majesty the tsar also and the gentlemen ministers and senators were (for the vigil of the anniversary of Poltava). After the end of that service they separated. His splendour on his return to his own house lay down to rest. The day was bright, with the sun shining, and with a gentle breeze.

'The same day the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich departed from this world to everlasting life.'

In the *Journal of Peter the Great* the only allusion to the disinheritance and capital condemnation of the tsarevich is a laconic mention of his death between two launches of new ships:

'On the 15th June a ship of seventy guns was launched, and named the Neptune;

'On the 26th the hossoudar the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich died;

'On the 29th a new ship of ninety guns was launched, and named the Liesno' (vol. ii. p. 60).

[92] At eight o'clock A.M., or not long after; see above, p. 1480.

[93] If this *half-hour* is after the tsarevich had become '*very ill*,' they must have gone for it to the chamber of the tsarevich, after he had been taken back thither from the adjoining *zastianok*: but it may have been the first half-hour, and in that case the words 'who was very ill' should rather have been 'who became then very ill.'

[94] So it was then getting towards noon, which agrees with the entry in the minute-book of the Fortress given above.

'Probably,' Oustrialoff writes, after giving all the accounts or fables circulated about the death of the tsarevich, 'the tsarevich died in consequence of torture. It is *probable* that on the morning of the 26th at eight o'clock A.M. they tortured him in the Troubetskoy bastion; and at seven o'clock[*] P.M. the church-bell announced his death. So it was related in a record of the State Archives, according to the testimony of a credible witness who *saw it* fifteen years ago.'

But even without that record, or the testimony of the person who had seen it, the same appears of itself from the entry in the minute-book of the Fortress. It was thought, no doubt, by Peter the most convenient way of executing the sentence; and the mission of Pisareff and his verbal examination of the tsarevich upon fresh questions on the night of the 25th, when 'all was over,' and the tsarevich had already heard read to him in the senate his sentence of death, would be meant to provide an ostensible ground for reëxamining him with torture on the morning of the 26th. For this was the custom, to ask first without torture such questions as were to be put to any person examined, and then to test the truth and the fulness of his answers by repeating with torture the same questions. No form of execution had been named in the sentence: or rather in quoting from the Military Statute, according to which the criminal was to be *beheaded*, this specification of the mode of punishment was purposely *omitted*, in order that it might be left to the tsar's own choice and discretion. His mixed court, or courts spiritual and secular, of high commission had served him to pass sentence on his son, but he was to be himself the executioner.

Thus that pride which in the weak and soft nature of the tsar Alexis had been prompted by flatterers to exalt itself to be as God, drove the strong and hard and violent will of his son the tsar Peter to debase itself below the level of a man, and to do acts of cruelty unnatural even for savage beasts: the worldly wisdom of the framers of the Code of A.D. 1649 led to political blunders so gross as to deserve rather the name of insanity: the tyranny which sought to rule in the house of God destroyed its own house, and its own self. And this was the most signal among a number of public punishments.

[*] And they began also then to celebrate in the churches the vigil service for the anniversary of Poltava.

But it will be well, before concluding, to point out a certain parallelism of details which connects this punishment more closely with the sin punished, and which makes the punishment more striking.

1. As the heart of the patriarch Nicon loved rather the heavenly Tsar than the earthly god, the tsar Alexis Michaelovich; so the heart of the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich loved rather his grandfather the tsar-bishop and sacristan Alexis Michaelovich than the earthly god, his father the tsar Peter Alexievich, who hated and despised bishops and priests, and who was himself the mock deacon of a mock patriarch or pope.

2. As the patriarch Nicon would not conform his will to the will of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich and his boyars, and this was in their eyes treason and rebellion; so the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich would not conform his will to the will of his father the tsar Peter, and this in the eyes of the tsar Peter was treason and rebellion.

3. As the patriarch Nicon was a citizen of the New Jerusalem, his true heavenly country, rather than of any earthly country of the Babylon of this world; so the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich was a citizen of his true natural country of old Muscovy, the country of his grandfather the tsar Alexis, rather than of the new imaginary country created by his father the tsar Peter; and he preferred the native manners and customs of his grandfather to those of his father and of his father's Swiss, Dutch, and German associates and officers.

4. As the tsar Alexis became jealous of the patriarch Nicon, his spiritual father, because Nicon, following Christ rather than the tsar, was feared and loved more than the tsar by the best of the clergy and the people; so the tsar Peter became jealous of the tsarevich Alexis, his own only son, because the tsarevich, taking after his grandfather the tsar Alexis and not after his father, was loved by all the clergy and people, while Peter, for his German innovations and his tyranny, was hated.

5. As Nicon was the only hope and champion of the clergy of Christ and the Apostles against the tsar Alexis and his boyars; so the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich was the only hope of the clergy of his grandfather the tsar-bishop Alexis Michaelovich against the mock clergy and Protestantising favourites of the tsar Peter.

6. As Nicon preferred the divine and Apostolic œcumenical Church to the human, national, or particular State-Church and religion of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich; so the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, preferred the national State-Church and religion left to him by his grandfather to the open materialism and *irreligion* of his father the tsar Peter.

7. As the tsar Alexis Michaelovich was wroth against his spiritual father the patriarch Nicon for condemning those innovations by which he had departed from Christ; so the tsar Peter Alexievich was wroth against his own son, the grandson of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, for condemning those innovations by which he had departed from the manners and customs of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich.

8. As the patriarch Nicon, refusing to become the deputy of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, went away from wrath and persecution (literally from Moscow to Voskresensk, but by metaphor from the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar to the New Jerusalem of the Son of David), and for this crime was declared to have forfeited the chair of the primacy; so the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich, declining to become a willing executor and continuer of the designs of his father the tsar Peter, went away from wrath and persecution (literally from Petersburg to Vienna, but by metaphor from the new Babylon of the Germanised Russia of his father to the old Muscovy of his grandfather), and for this crime was declared to have forfeited his birthright, that is, the succession to the throne.

9. As the tsar Alexis hypocritically bade Nicon remain and be patriarch as before, that is, submit his own will to the tsar and administer the Church under him; so the tsar Peter hypocritically dissuaded the tsarevich Alexis from renouncing the succession, that is, he desired him to conform his will and spirit to the will of his father; and in both cases it was made a capital crime, a crime of rebellion, that the thing required was not done.

10. As the tsar Alexis, after having made solemn promises to his spiritual father the patriarch Nicon, joined with oaths to Almighty God, perjured himself over and over again; so the tsar Peter, after having made solemn promises to his son the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, joined with oaths to Almighty God, perjured himself over and over again.

11. As the tsar Alexis twice expelled his spiritual father Nicon from the cathedral of the primacy and from Moscow, and made the clergy subscribe in that cathedral a synodal act for Nicon's deposition; so the tsar Peter, both in the palace and in the cathedral, expelled his own son, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, from his birthright, and made the clergy and all the people in the same cathedral swear to his disinheritance.

12. As the tsar Alexis wrested out of the hands of his spiritual father Nicon the pastoral staff, and took from him his episcopal habit and ornaments; so the tsar Peter took from his own son, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, his sword and his cap, treating him by anticipation as a prisoner and as a criminal already condemned, though he had promised and sworn by Almighty God to pardon his flight.

13. As the tsar Alexis twice assembled against his spiritual father Nicon a mixed council of the clergy and the laity, which was not strictly an ecclesiastical synod, but rather a high court of judicature, as if for a particular trial and inquest, but really only to adhere to a judgment already passed by himself; so the tsar Peter also twice assembled against his son the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, a mixed assembly of the clergy and the laity, to be a high court of judicature, as if for a trial, but really only to adhere to a judgment already predetermined by himself.

14. As the tsar Alexis convoked against his spiritual father Nicon the Russian bishops and some Greek bishops who had come to Russia for the tsar's alms, and himself dictated to these his pseudo-synods all their proceedings, as their supreme head; so the tsar Peter also convoked the Russian bishops and some Greek bishops with them against his own son the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, and dictated to them all their proceedings.

15. As the tsar Alexis in Feb. A.D. 1660 convoked against his spiritual father Nicon a mixed assembly in the stolovaia palata, in the palace of the Kremlin, at Moscow; so the tsar Peter also convoked a mixed assembly in Feb. A.D. 1718 against his own son, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, in the same stolovaia palata, in the Kremlin, at Moscow.

16. As Nicon was made to come to Moscow for his condemnation by night, after dark, and was kept closely guarded by

soldiers, and was taken away to his exile and imprisonment with secrecy, lest the people should show him signs of affection; so also the grandson of the tsar Alexis was brought to Moscow by night, and was kept there closely guarded, and was taken away thence to Petersburg with secrecy for the same reasons.

17. As the tsar Alexis at first, *i.e.* in the synod which met in Feb. of A.D. 1660, only declared Nicon to have forfeited by his withdrawal the patriarchal chair; so the tsar Peter at first, *i.e.* in Feb. A.D. 1718, only declared the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, to have forfeited by his flight the succession.

18. As the mere declaration that Nicon had vacated the patriarchate was thought to be an insufficient security for the future; so the mere disinheritance of the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, was felt to be an insufficient security for the future.

19. As, in consequence, they devised against Nicon many new and grave charges, with manifest malice and falsehood, and even absurdity; so also, in consequence, they devised against the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, many new and grave charges, with manifest malice and falsehood, and even absurdity.

20. As traps were laid for the patriarch Nicon to get him to say or to write something capable of being turned against him; so traps were laid (and with more success) for the grandson of the tsar Alexis, and he was made, by terror and by tortures, to say and to write against himself all manner of exaggerations and falsehoods.

21. As they accused Nicon of having intrigued to take to himself the tsar's power, of having been rebellious, of having disturbed all the empire, and of having cursed and insulted and reviled the tsar, and thereby, according to the civil laws, of having even incurred the penalty of death; so also they accused the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, of having intrigued to obtain even in his father's lifetime the throne, of having been rebellious, of having sought to disturb the empire, and of having cursed and insulted and reviled his father the tsar Peter, and so, by the civil laws and the military statute, of having incurred the penalty of death.

22. As Nicon was falsely accused of having appealed to the Pope, and of having slandered all the Muscovite empire and Church; so the grandson of the tsar Alexis was falsely accused of

having appealed to the emperor, and of having sought to be helped by him even by force of arms against the tsar his father, and of having slandered his father before all Europe.

23. As Nicon was falsely accused of having been in secret communication with the insurrection of Stenka Razin; so the grandson of the tsar Alexis was falsely accused of having designed to join those troops which had mutinied in the territory of Mecklenburg, so conspiring against the life and throne of his father.

24. As the tsar Alexis hypocritically complained to that mixed assembly which he had brought together against the patriarch Nicon, as if he himself had always been a dutiful spiritual son towards the patriarch his spiritual father, and had rather been wronged by Nicon than been himself wrathful and tyrannical, and as if he knew not why Nicon had so strangely put a reproach upon him by withdrawing from Moscow; so the tsar Peter hypocritically complained to that assembly which he had convoked against his own son, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, as if he had always been an exemplary and affectionate father, and had been wronged by the tsarevich, and in a manner persecuted instead of having been himself wrathful and tyrannical, and as if he knew not why the tsarevich had so strangely cast a reproach upon him by his flight to the emperor.

25. As the tsar Alexis put the clergy forward to justify his own perjury, and to take it upon themselves; so the tsar Peter also put the clergy forward to justify his own deliberate and impious perjury and his cruel cunning and treachery, and to make themselves partakers in its guilt.

26. As the tsar Alexis convoked his mixed assemblies against his spiritual father Nicon in Feb. A.D. 1660 and Dec. 1666 not really to try Nicon according to any rules of justice, ecclesiastical or civil, but to adhere to a determination taken already and acted upon by himself; so also did the tsar Peter in A.D. 1718 against his own son, the grandson of the tsar Alexis.

27. As the tsar Alexis did not lay before his assemblies the whole case of the patriarch Nicon, still less invite or allow them to examine into it freely, but caused to be prepared such depositions as suited his own purpose, and sent these and certain letters to his assemblies as grounds for a sentence; so also the tsar Peter sent to his assembly in A.D. 1718 such portions of

statements obtained in secret inquests made with torture, and of minutes of such inquests, as suited his purpose, and certain letters, as grounds for a sentence against his son, the grandson of the tsar Alexis.

28. As the tsar Alexis caused his assemblies to make extracts from the sacred scriptures, from the canons of the councils, and from the holy fathers, and from the civil laws, for the condemnation of Nicon; so also the tsar Peter caused his synod of the clergy to make similar extracts from the scriptures, and the canons, and the fathers, and the Greek civil laws, and also from the Code of the tsar Alexis, and from the Military Statute of his son the tsar Peter, for the condemnation of his own son the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis.

29. As the tsar Alexis exhorted the bishops and the rest of his mixed assemblies to keep only the fear of God before their eyes, and by no means to let any motives of fear or favour influence them in their condemnation of Nicon; so also did the tsar Peter exhort his own assembly to pass a conscientious judgment on the grandson of the tsar Alexis without fear or favour, swearing by Almighty God that even if they gave sentence for only a light punishment, or for none at all, they should incur from him no displeasure on that account.

30. As the tsar Alexis and his assemblies, when about to commit injustice against Nicon, made reiterated affirmation of their own Christian conscientiousness, professing to be entirely impartial, and to think only of the terrible judgment of the last day; so the tsar Peter also and his assembly, when about to perpetrate horrors unparalleled even in pagan history or fable, made emphatic and confident appeals to the terrible judgment of Christ.

31. As the tsar Alexis found an unprincipled venal ecclesiastic, a foreigner, not a Muscovite, Paisius Ligarides, to be his instrument to move the clergy against his spiritual father Nicon; so the tsar Peter also found an unprincipled ecclesiastic, a stranger, not a Muscovite, Theophanes Procopovich, to be his instrument to move the clergy against his own son, the grandson of the tsar Alexis.

32. As the tsar Alexis caused even those among the bishops who were of more ability than the rest, as Hilarion of Riazan and Paul of Kroutitz, men who had misgivings about future

consequences, to join in the condemnation of the patriarch Nicon, the only champion and hope of the Apostolic hierarchy in Russia; so the tsar Peter caused even those among the bishops who were more learned and orthodox than the rest, as Stephen Yavorsky, who hated the heresies of Protestantism, and, seeing the favour of Theophanes Procopovich, feared for the future, to join in condemning to death the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, the only hope of that hierarchy and clergy which had recognised the spiritual supremacy of the tsars.

33. As the tsar Alexis caused his spiritual father Nicon to be brought before his mixed assembly in Dec. A.D. 1666, and to be questioned in it, though there was no real trial, but only a confirmation of acts previously done by the tsar himself or by his synods, and the utterance of a sentence predetermined by the tsar; so in A.D. 1718 the tsar Peter caused his own son, the grandson of the tsar Alexis, to be brought before his mixed assembly, and to be questioned in it, although there was no real trial, but only an adherence to the tsar's judgment, and the utterance of a sentence already predetermined by him.

34. As judgment, as if he were guilty even of capital offences, was passed *unanimously* upon Nicon; so also it was passed *unanimously* upon the tsarevich, the grandson of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich.

35. Nicon, on the 5th Dec. A.D. 1666, as he stood in the midst of the stolovaia palata, before going out, shook off the dust from his feet, for the third time, against the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, uttering these words: 'My blood, and the blood of all these who have sinned, be upon thy head!' And after fifty-two years, in A.D. 1718, in an assembly which had met first in Feb. in that same stolovaia at Moscow, though after a time (in March) it was transferred to Petersburg, some still remaining representatives of all those orders of old Muscovy which had been partakers in the sin against Nicon—boyars, okolniks, stolniks, dvorianins, presidents of prikazes, and diaks—together with the military and the clergy of new Russia, and the crown itself represented by the tsar Peter, all jointly and unanimously executed vengeance for the wrong done to Nicon upon the head of the tsar Alexis in the person of his grandson and namesake, and precisely for this crime, that he was like his grandfather and unlike his dark and terrible father. The likeness indeed between

the grandfather and the grandson, the tsar Alexis Michaelovich and the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich, is so close, that if we only in imagination transpose them, so that the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich should have been in the place of his grandfather, and the tsar Alexis Michaelovich in the place of his grandson, it seems almost certain that the tsarevich Alexis would have been developed and raised by more favourable circumstances into something very like what his grandfather actually was, while the tsar Alexis would have been dwarfed and debased so as to become the counterpart of his unhappy grandson. So it is as if the tsar Alexis himself suffered a just retribution in the person of his grandson.

36. As through the deposition and condemnation of Nicon the Apostolic mission and authority of the hierarchy, and the *canonical* hierarchy itself, was extinguished by the act of the tsar Alexis in Muscovy; so, through the disinheritance and condemnation of the grandson of the tsar Alexis, the dynasty of the Romanoffs was itself extinguished.

After this parallelism we must also observe a painful contrast. The grandson of the tsar Alexis, in whom the tsar Alexis was thus terribly punished, was not, like Nicon, a virtuous and religious man, the champion of a good against a bad cause, but a weak demoralised creature, the best traits in whose character were these: that he had faith and religious feelings, and reverence; that he had a certain bonhomie and goodnature; that he was nobody's enemy but his own; and that he was not devoid of intelligence nor of intellectual cultivation. But his religiousness did not enable him to keep the moral law of God; his general goodnature did not restrain him from outbursts of anger, accompanied sometimes with coarse violence; he was a drunkard, unchaste, pusillanimous, and indolent, weakly cunning and untruthful. All these same qualities had existed also in the grandfather; but in him the bad qualities had been less developed,[96] and the good qualities had been more brought out and shown to more advantage by his more favourable circumstances: so that in the grandfather we have to look closely in order to detect, under his good

[96] If the tsarevich had been married to a wife of his own choice, he would have been tenderly affectionate and 'chastely uxorious,' like his grandfather: one sees that from his letters to Euphrosyne. On the other hand, in the short interval between the death of his first wife (3d March A.D. 1669) and his second marriage (22d Jan. A.D. 1671), the tsar Alexis seems to have had a mistress, who bore him an illegitimate son.

qualities, the same faults which predominate in the character of the grandson; and in the grandson we have to look closely, and to make due allowance for his unhappy education and circumstances, in order to appreciate in him those good and estimable qualities by which under happier circumstances he would have more resembled his grandfather. It is a mistake when people think that they must either side with the tsar Peter or with the tsarevich his son. It is only in the first conflict, in that conflict which is between good and evil, truth and falsehood, justice and injustice, that it is necessary to take the one side or the other. We cannot at once obey and disobey the same authority, nor obey at once two conflicting authorities, the authority of Christ's Apostles and the authority of secular rulers, when the one commands and the other forbids the same thing. We cannot at once maintain the duty of submitting to the authority of the Church and the right of following private judgment. When such questions as these are first raised there is no room for any middle course. The one side or the other is simply right, though there may be accidental faults or mistakes committed by its partisans; and the other side is simply wrong, though individuals among its partisans may have their redeeming qualities. But after the first conflict it is not so. The second conflict is no longer in the same way between good and evil, but between one stage or form of evil and another. Sin and evil works itself out in the long run, and its successive developments become in turn witnesses and judges and executioners one against another. He who rebels against God and the Church, though it seem to be only a little, has a son who will go greater lengths in rebellion and impiety: he who dishonours his spiritual father has a son by whom he will be dishonoured himself. The tsar Alexis did much that was evil, but he also retained much that was good; the tsar Peter so continued, developed, and exaggerated the sin of Alexis, that what had looked to the Russians plausible and almost acceptable, or at least tolerable, in the father, became to them hateful, terrible, and abominable in the son. There might have been, in like manner, a son of Peter who should have gone on in the same line of evil progress, a son *better* than his father Peter, in the same sense in which Peter was better than his father Alexis, who should have made himself a worthy successor, and should have lived to install in his palace the library and the statue of

Voltaire. But it was not so. The tsarevich Alexis did not indeed represent any good principle, but that earlier and less-developed form of evil which had been introduced by his grandfather the tsar Alexis. Why was this? It was that he might be a suitable victim; that his grandfather might be punished in him.

When we speak of the suicidal extinction of the family of the tsar Alexis, of the Romanoff dynasty, we join together in thought, as they were joined together in fact, two distinct acts—the disinheritance and the murder of the tsarevich Alexis. Of these two, the disinheritance—or rather that new law about the succession which was joined with it—was of itself a complete destruction of the dynasty: the condemnation and death of the disinherited heir which followed was only a precaution or security for the new law being acted upon; for if the tsarevich Alexis had lived, it would probably have been disregarded on Peter's death. Besides that, the tsarevich might have married again, and might have had other sons, so that the early death of his son by the princess Carlotta of Wolfenbuttel (supposing that son to have died as he did in A.D. 1730) would not necessarily have extinguished the male line. In the same way, the immorality of the tsar Peter, and his alienation from his wife, was no doubt a concurring cause towards the extinction of his father's dynasty.

For the *actual* extinction of the dynasty we must look on from the disinheritance of the tsarevich Alexis and of his son Peter Alexievich to the death of the tsar Peter himself, glancing at the chief events of those six years which intervened.

'Peter had put his legitimate son Alexis to death, and had cut off, and was still cutting off, his partisans; and see'—so Semevsky writes—'Catherine draws off his eye, frenzied with blood, to a picture of family happiness. "I beg you, my batushka," she writes (24th July A.D. 1718), "to protect me against Petrushka (her little boy, to whom they gave a name of endearment, *Shishishka*, or *Shishechka*), for he quarrels with me not a little on your account, especially when I say, 'Where is Papa? Papa has gone away.' He does not like those words, 'has gone away;' but he is better pleased—he is delighted—when you say, 'Here is Papa!'"

"Papa," who was then at Revel, sent to "Mama" the cuttings of his hair; and together with that "disagreeable present," as he

called it, he wrote, seemingly with reference to the late tsarevich Alexis: "As for the message which you sent by Makaroff, that the deceased had disclosed something, when it pleases God that I see you (we can speak of that). I have heard *here* something about him so *monstrous* that it almost exceeds all else that came out."

'Again Catherine writes: "Our dear *Shishechka* often remembers his most dear Papa, and by God's help grows and develops, and is constantly delighted by the musketry of the soldiers, and the firing of the cannon." These amusements had not been to the taste of his brother the tsarevich Alexis, who had been put to death by torture. This is why Catherine draws a picture of the present heir[97] to the throne delighting in soldiers. The same she repeats also in other following letters.'

But in A.D. 1719 the child of Catherine, Peter Petrovich, to which the tsar had arbitrarily transferred the succession, died: and there was need under the new law of a fresh nomination of an heir.

In A.D. 1720 and 1721 Peter gave a new form of government under himself to the Church, by the institution of a Spiritual College, consisting of nine presbyters and three bishops, to be on a par with the Governing Senate.

In A.D. 1721 (26th Aug.) he brought his long war with Sweden to a triumphant end by the peace of Nystadt; after which he took the titles of 'The Great,' 'Emperor' (20th Oct.), and 'Father of his Country.'

In A.D. 1722 and 1723 he made a fresh war in the South, and conquered from Persia two provinces bordering on the Caspian.

In A.D. 1721 (7th May), at Moscow, he solemnly crowned Catherine (who in Feb. A.D. 1712 had become his wife by a bigamous marriage), but without in any way implying that he intended to bequeath to her the succession.

After that, besides disappointment and exasperation caused by fresh discoveries of corruption even in those[98] whom he had

[97] In the Peter Gallery of the Winter Palace at Petersburg there is a picture of him: a boy, three years old, naked, with a bit of muslin wrapped about him, he kneels on his left knee, and with his right hand is drawing a buoy. His blond curly head is encircled by an aureole: the light falls also on a *crown*, which, together with a blue ribbon, is set near him on a cushion.

[98] Especially in Menshikoff, who had already been pardoned more than once, and the two Apraxins. The prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, for his mal-

most trusted, and secret inquests, tortures, and executions, the last four months of his life were embittered by jealousy.

Catherine—whose influence had so grown upon him from the first, who had rendered herself so necessary to him during so many years, who had saved him and his army (in A.D. 1711) on the Pruth, who was the mother of his three illegitimate daughters, to whom he had given the titles of Hossoudarina and Tsaritsa and even that of wife (though his real wife was living), and for whose sake in some degree it was that he disinherited his lawful heirs and put to death his only legitimate son—Catherine from about that time, viz. from A.D. 1718, when she was herself thirty-three years old, and Peter's health was plainly breaking, and she ceased to bear him children, showed such indiscreet partiality for her kammerherr Willem Mons (a brother of Peter's early mistress, Anna Mons, placed about her by Peter), that her weakness became notorious, and excited remarks which must have been offensive in the highest degree to Peter when eventually, after six years, they came to his knowledge. Catherine could deny Mons nothing that he asked of her, and he and his relations trafficked freely with her patronage, till at length, through an anonymous letter, the emperor's suspicions were excited. Mons was arrested (8th Oct. A.D. 1724), as was also his sister Matrena (wife of general Balk) and her son, and others closely connected with them. Their dealings had been so extensive that the inquest, if pursued into all its ramifications, might have involved a vast number of people. But Peter this time showed less disposition than was usual with him to pursue the investigation. There is no proof indeed that Catherine had been actually unfaithful to him, nor that he imputed to her any actual infidelity, nor had there been any concealment: her partiality had been shown openly: still, when Peter became aware of the abuse that had been made of it, and of the comments made upon it by the court, her old man, her batushka, was moved not only to violent anger, but also to jealousy. This is shown by certain circumstances connected with the condemnation and execution of Mons, for whom and for his sister Matrena Balk Catherine could obtain no mercy:

practices, was hanged in the Vassili Ostroff in front of the Palace of the Colleges; and a little later, 24th Jan. A.D. 1724, the oberfiscal Nesteroff was broken alive on the wheel, and three others of the fiscals his colleagues were beheaded at the same spot.

she received a stern message not to meddle in the matter. Two cases only of corruption, out of a multitude, were selected as grounds for the condemnation of Mons; and on Monday, 16th Nov., he was beheaded, and his head was fixed on a spike. His body, after lying a week on the scaffold, was placed on a wheel, erected on purpose, there to rot. This was on the open place before the Troitski sobor. His sister, after being knouted, was exiled to Siberia (but upon the accession of Catherine she was set at liberty, and was again as before at the court of the empress).

One thing which seems to have been occasioned by the arrest of Mons and the seizure of his papers was the immediate betrothal of Anna, the eldest of Peter's three daughters by Catherine, then in her seventeenth year, to the duke of Holstein. For Peter, who till then had only trifled with the duke of Holstein, showing him some attentions, and now and then making him drunk, but deciding nothing as to his suit, after he had read some letters written on the subject of that suit to Mons, and seized with Mons's other papers, suddenly sent Osterman to announce to the duke that the 24th Nov., the names-day of the empress Catherine, should be also the day of his betrothal.

There is nothing to show that the idea of a *woman* reigning had ever so much as crossed Peter's head, but in concluding this marriage for his daughter the succession was certainly in his mind: for in the marriage contract he reserved to himself the right to take to himself any child which might be born of that marriage, and the father was to have nothing to say in that matter, nor to have the right of making any stipulations or conditions. Though he felt his health to be breaking, he did not look forward to so speedy a death as awaited him.

On the 7th Dec. the privy-councillor Peter Andr. Tolstoy gave a state banquet in his own house, on the Petersburg side of the Neva, not far from the Fortress. At it there were present the empress Catherine with her two daughters, the ladies and gentlemen of the court, and the duke of Holstein with his suite. The only one who was *not* there was the emperor, who excused himself on the ground that he had dined with Tolstoy only the night before.

On their way back, after a merry entertainment, Catherine, Anna, Elizabeth, and Karl (the duke of Holstein), and after them the whole suite, were driven (certainly not without orders) past

the wheel on which was visible the dead body of Mons covered with snow, while from the top of the post his head looked grimly on the gay company as it passed below.

After this there came the new year of 1725, and then a conclave for the election of a new Kniaz-Papa. Of this the Prussian diplomat Vockerodt, after writing that the disorders committed and the violence used by Peter to compel people to drink to drunkenness, during certain semi-pagan buffooneries, especially in what was called glorifying Christ at Christmas, were inconceivable, continues thus :

'But nothing could be more revolting than the election of a new *Pope*. For this occasion Peter appropriated a special building, which he called *The Vatican*.[99] In it there were arranged, in imitation of what is practised for the *conclave* at Rome, separate cells, divided one from another by bass mats, in which the topers *cardinals* were shut up. They were bound to meet every day for the elections; at which, instead of written strips, they used the genitals of white and black goats. During all this time there was set before them as their food only the genitals of bulls, boars, he-goats, rams, and even of dogs and cats, abundantly seasoned with pepper, and for their drink strong ale and brandy, and they were not allowed to be a minute sober; and this went on as long as it suited Peter's fancy to continue it. While it lasted he used to go to and fro, and not only amused himself with the beastly state of those people, but even personally took part in their bouts of compulsory drunkenness; so that this debauch which *not long before his death* he celebrated in his Vatican, at the election of the last Kniaz-Papa, was thought by the physicians (in concurrence with other causes) to have hastened his end.'

The original mock Patriarch and mock Pope, or Kniaz-Papa, Nikita Zotoff, and the Kniaz-Tsesar, Theodore Romodanofsky, were both still living at the end of A.D. 1716, when the tsarevich Alexis fled to Vienna, and he thought them to be secretly his friends. But they had both died before he was brought back to Moscow in Feb. A.D. 1718. So it was not Zotoff (as Voltaire imagines it to have been), nor even the immediate successor of Zotoff, who was created mock Pope in A.D. 1725, just before

[99] It should have been the *Quirinal*; but neither at Geneva nor at Berlin (nor even at Turin) are people exact about such details.

Peter's death. The Russian writer Polevoi gives the true name, and relates the story in quite a different tone from the Prussian Vockerodt, thus:

'On the 3d of January A.D. 1725 Peter had still strength to take part in a *merry masquerade*. They elected a new Kniaz-Papa in place of the former one, who not long before had died. The electors were all habited as cardinals. They met them drumming upon empty barrels; and, after being locked up in conclave, they elected a jolly companion (of portly size) named *Boutourlin*, for whom there was assigned a certain revenue, a lodging, and brandy and beer *ad libitum*.'

This was the last of Peter's public buffooneries; but it is unnecessary to seek in it for a concurrent cause hastening his end. His end, without that, was near. On the 6th of January (the last day of the Christmas festival) he caught a violent cold at the ceremony of the blessing of the Neva. He had long been subject to attacks of gravel, and since A.D. 1722 his illnesses had been becoming more frequent and more painful. Now the cold brought on a strangury, and at length a total suppression of urine, with inflammation and decomposition of the coats of the bladder, ending in mortification, of which he died. His agony, as one may call it, after his sufferings had become intense, was prolonged during thirteen days, the exact time that he had kept his son the tsarevich Alexis a prisoner in the Troubetskoy bastion of the Fortress, subjecting him to examinations and torture, till at last he tortured him to death. For the tsarevich Alexis had been brought in to the Fortress as a state-prisoner on a Saturday (14th June A.D. 1718), and he died on the Thursday week following (26th June); and Peter's agony began on a Saturday (16th Jan. A.D. 1725), and he died on the Thursday week following (28th Jan.). The sentinels posted on guard in A.D. 1718 near the Troubetskoy bastion of the Fortress and the chamber of torture in the casemate adjoining it had heard the shrieks and groans of the tsarevich Alexis while they tortured him; and the sentinels standing on guard in A.D. 1725 in and near the palace heard the shrieks and groans of the tsar Peter. During that terrible time he received such religious assistance as Theophanes Procopovich and Theodosius Yanovsky could give. Like Elizabeth of England, he saw around his deathbed the creatures and instruments of his own spiritual usurpation: and it is related by Theo-

phanes himself that they exhorted him to put his trust in faith *only*.

It is asserted by one contemporary writer that, while light-headed, among other ravings, he reproached himself with having destroyed his son. That child of Catherine whom he would have substituted for his legitimate son and grandson had died, as has been mentioned above, in A.D. 1719, only a year after the enactment of the new law which made the succession to depend solely upon the will of the reigning autocrat. In Feb. A.D. 1722 this insane enactment, instead of being revoked, was repeated; and Peter caused Theophanes Procopovich to write a treatise in defence of it, *On the Right of the Monarch's Will*, which was published by authority. He also again made all orders swear to obey and to maintain this law. It remained, therefore, for him to nominate a second time, that in case of his death there might at least be some recognised successor. But he put off doing this till it was too late. At last, when he attempted to speak, he could not: he attempted to write, but neither could he write anything that was legible: only the first two words, *Ot-daite vse* (*Date* or *Reddite omnia, Restore all*), could be made out. And so he died, having destroyed the dynastic succession, without having nominated any heir. And Menshikoff, a man raised from the people over the heads of the old nobility, using his opportunity, gave away the throne of the Romanoffs, the throne of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, to an illiterate foreign peasant-woman, a captive taken in war, who had passed from his house into the palace, to become there the mistress of the late tsar, and in whose name Menshikoff expected himself to govern Russia.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OF PUBLIC PUNISHMENTS WHICH FELL UPON THE CLERGY AS A CLASS OR ORDER OF SOCIETY IN RUSSIA.

#### § i. *Introductory.*

SOME mention has been made already of punishments which fell upon individuals of the clergy; but was there not also some visible public punishment of their class and order, like that which fell upon the boyars, the streltsi, and the crown? Certainly there was; but before treating of it one must make some preliminary distinctions.

The word punishment ordinarily implies life to suffer: death, whether in the natural or in the spiritual sense, is a final punishment; and after natural death there is, strictly speaking, no farther room for punishment in this world, but only for the dissolution of a carcase. A particular Church while in union with the Catholic Church may be threatened or visited with chastisements or punishments, as five out of the seven Churches of Asia in the Apocalypse of St. John were threatened; but when any particular Church, or any minority of the episcopate, falls away from its former faith, or from Catholic unity, it ceases spiritually to exist. And so far there is no longer room to speak of farther punishment.

In this sense that 'Eastern-Catholic' or 'Orthodox-Catholic' Church in which Nicon had been a patriarch had been itself, in strictness, a nullity from the time that it had consciously and deliberately adhered to the schism of Cerularius. Yet externally it looks like a continuation of that Church of the Eastern half of the Roman empire which had existed before the schism; and so far as it looks like a continuation, one may speak also in a certain wide sense of punishments having fallen upon it, for its sin of schism, even after it had lost its true spiritual life and being.

In the same way, if we consider the Muscovite Church of Nicon's age, not from an external, or abstract, or Roman point

of view, but practically, and according to her own received and recognised principles and laws, then we must say that either union with the See of Rome and with the majority of the episcopate adhering to that See was in principle unnecessary, or that, if it was necessary, the circumstances of the introduction and perpetuation of Christianity in Russia had been such as to make the fault of the Muscovite clergy venial, and their schism down to the middle of the seventeenth century rather material than formal. We may say, with Krijanich, that till then the Muscovite Church had not been consciously and deliberately, not with full or sufficient knowledge, schismatical; but then the time was come or fast coming when, in consequence of the changes of the world, it would be inevitable for it either to recede from the materialistic development of the Roman *empire*, and renew union with the Latin fathers and with the Roman *Church*, or go on with the doomed Roman empire, so as to share its apostasy and its destruction.

Assuming this, the old Muscovite Church which had been represented and defended by Nicon was destroyed, or began to be destroyed, and a new merely national Church and clergy subject to the state began to be substituted from the 10th July A.D. 1658, when the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, blessed by nobody, delegated Pitirim to bless, in the name of God and of Christ (that is, really, in the name of the tsar), all ecclesiastical acts and administrations. This usurpation was confirmed by the Muscovite synods of A.D. 1660, 1663, 1664, and the spring of 1666, and, lastly, by the mixed synod of Dec. A.D. 1666 and of the spring of A.D. 1667, to the acts of which all the four Eastern patriarchs, with all the bishops of their communion, became subsequently parties. But, from Nicon's point of view, this change, when so definitively accepted and established, vitiated the canonical existence of the Church: it was—an apostasy, an extinction even of Christianity.

The Gospel says: 'He that heareth *you*' (not he that heareth the tsar) 'heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.' And another scripture says: '*Obey* your *teachers*,' and what follows. But how shall he be a disciple of God who does not listen to the divine teachers? Nay, such a one is even a rejecter of them. He even commands the bishops of God to hearken to himself; and not merely to hearken, but also to obey him. The

word of God teaches: If any man hear not the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. It was written of old: Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain. And now also he that is baptised only to take the name of Christ and of God in vain is equally held not guiltless; as St. Basil also writes: A Christian who blasphemes Christ has no benefit from the name. The empty name of Christian will be no salvation. If any man has been baptised into Christ and doeth not the commandments of Christ, such a man is an oath-breaker; because he made a covenant with Christ to obey Him in all things, and he has not done so. And to what penances oath-breakers are sentenced, even when they repent, may be seen from the canons of St. Basil the Great. And though a man be an emperor or a tsar it is nothing different for him, but exactly the same. And how then shall it be said that the tsar may enter into the sanctuary at the time of the communion, even if he entered to make an offering, or that it is for the tsar to choose patriarchs and metropolitans, and archimandrites and hegoumens, when he has no authority to do so? and when, besides that, he has in nothing kept his vow made to God, and on that account is not worthy even to enter the church, but ought to pass all the days of his life in penance, and at the hour of death only to be admitted to communion? St. John Chrysostom forbade any man who had broken an oath or only sworn profanely even to cross the threshold of the church, even though it were the emperor himself. But now the tsar has broken his oath, not once only, but three times over; viz. the oath of his baptism, his coronation oath when the bishop anointed him to the empire, and a third oath which he swore to induce Nicon to undertake the patriarchate (*Replies*, &c. p. 575-582).

And whoever now, being metropolitans, archbishops and bishops, archimandrites and hegoumens, priests and deacons, or of the rest of the clergy, in contravention of the divine canons, either take power by authority of the civil ruler, or submit to go for judgment to the tsar and to other secular judges, it is no longer right (even) to *call* them metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, hegoumens, priests, deacons, or anything else, down to the lowest, however they may reckon themselves to be still in their orders, and show themselves with the pomp of sacred vestments as metropolitans, archbishops, and the rest.

But by the divine canons they are cast out (that is, degraded). Therefore those whom they consecrate or ordain are unordained, and those whom they bless are not blessed. For (according to Canon xxx. of the Apostles) '*those who are baptised by them are unbaptised*, and those who are ordained by them *are not clerks*.' Canon x. of the holy Apostles: 'He who prays with a man excommunicated is himself excommunicate.' And Canon xi.: 'He who prays with one deposed is himself deposed.' And Canon xii.: 'He who receives one not received elsewhere is himself not to be received.' And if in the case of those who are excommunicated or deposed by man they who communicate with them are also excommunicated and deposed, what of them who by the law and commandments of God are rejected and cursed? how much more is he who communicates with them to be excommunicated or deposed? And, on account of such lawlessness, all episcopal or sacerdotal power is effaced in them, from the least to the greatest (ib. p. 501).

And in other similar passages which we have in part already extracted and reproduced above (in ch. v. of vol. iv.) Nicon insists that if such a lawless transgressor—such a diseased member—as Pitirim the metropolitan (who was acting as delegate and vicar of the tsar's usurped supremacy) was *not* cut off, it would be inevitable that *the whole body* should be cast (through him) into outer darkness, where their worm dieth not, and where the fire is not quenched (ib. p. 510). And again he writes that the apostasy foretold by the Apostle and the man of sin is now in our time manifested (that is, has begun to be manifested). For, leaving the law of God and his commandments, they have preferred the traditions of men, that is, the book of their Code. And the sitting of the man of sin in the temple of God is this, that lay people now (that is, the framers of the Code and the tsar) take to themselves and hold power over all the Churches, not only over the mere buildings, but over the ecclesiastical laws and pastors, against whom they have lifted themselves up according to the working of Satan, not having any thought according to God. And as the prophet Jeremiah says: 'Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these' (Jer. vii. 4). How is that the temple of the Lord which is under the power of the tsar and his subordinates, and in which they do and

command whatsoever they please? Such a church is *no longer* the temple of God, but *the house* of them *who have power over it* (*Replies*, &c. p. 408; and vol. iv. p. 342).

In strictness, then, according to her own principles and canons, and according to Nicon's interpretation of them, the Muscovite Church, by its adhesion to the tsar and Pitirim, had already ceased to exist: it had substituted the will of Cesar for the blessing of the Apostle, the outward force of the state for the inward power and grace of the Holy Ghost. And this spiritual death or extinction was of itself a final punishment, leaving no room for farther particular punishments, either corrective or penal. Nor does it matter whether it be one man, as Pitirim, or Nicon, or many millions, and generations upon generations which have presumed to set themselves up above the law of God. A single soul that conforms itself to the will of God is in his sight inestimably precious, even as if the Son of God had been willing to be incarnate and to die for it alone: it is of more value than many worlds: but a thousand millions of rebel souls, even though they were all tsars, are in the sight of God and of his saints *simply nothing*.[1] So it is well said by St. John Chrysostom.

Nevertheless, as we have said above of the Byzantine, Greek, or Eastern Church, that after having fallen away by schism from Catholic unity, and so in strictness from Christianity itself, it went on with a certain outward continuity; so we must say also of the Muscovite Church, after it had been inwardly changed or destroyed by admitting the supremacy of the state. That change was not completely or permanently established from the first day of Nicon's withdrawal from Moscow (the 10th July A.D. 1658), but only after a space of eight years and five months; nor was it even then incapable of correction, not even after the Eastern patriarchs had become parties to it, so long as Nicon himself, the canonical primate against whom the sin had been committed, remained alive. He who had justly denounced canonical penalties against the transgressors, and had anathe-

[1] If the true Catholic and Orthodox Church has always a certain visible advantage in point of extent and numbers, over any one of those heresies and schisms which have come up after her and have gone out from her, it is not by any such relative superiority of extent or numbers that she is made to be true and orthodox, and preferable to any other Christian sect or doctrine; but it is by her intrinsic truth and power that she obtains also, through the promise of God, this *note* of visible superiority in extent and numbers.

matised the tsar's delegate Pitirim and his adherents, could also certainly, on repentance, have absolved and healed; and he lived on, as if to offer the opportunity, till A.D. 1681. Of those who had become bishops and priests and monks before the 10th July A.D. 1658, or before the 12th Dec. A.D. 1666, very many, no doubt, were in heart rather on the side of Nicon; and even of those who were not, the greater part were far from fully understanding what they had done (or what had been done for them) or from deliberately consenting to it. And even after the tsar Peter had made the titles of metropolitans and archbishops and archimandrites to be mere personal marks of favour, after he had taken to himself (from A.D. 1700) the management and application of all church property and revenues, and had suspended or abolished even the appearance of a canonical primacy, the see of Moscow itself remaining for forty years suppressed, without giving a title to any bishop, even after the substitution of a state commission or kollegium to rule the Church instead of a personal primate, there was in the mere succession of episcopal and sacerdotal ordinations and in the retention of the same outward rites and ceremonies something which still gave to the clergy and State-Church of modern Russia a superficial continuity with that of old Muscovy, contrary to what had happened in the parallel case of the Anglican Church.

Under the old system, represented by Nicon, and under the new system of the tsars Alexis and Peter alike, both the 'kingdom of heaven' (spoken of by the prophet Daniel), that is, the kingdom of Christ, and the power of the tsar were and are nominally joined together. But under the old system the *initiative*, the *blessing*, was with the 'kingdom of Christ;' and the tsar, though he might at times do wrong, and though often he might seem to obtain from the clergy even in ecclesiastical matters almost what he pleased, still acted ordinarily and *constitutionally* only with the consent and concurrence and blessing or at the request of the canonical primate. Under the new system there is no canonical primate (for the titular patriarchs who sat after Nicon were not *canonical*[2] primates, still less the so-

[2] Nicon, when making proposals for the last time for his own voluntary retirement in Jan. A.D. 1665, wrote: 'But if anything shall be done contrary to all the divine laws and constitutions, and to the bond of charity, in respect of the patriarchate, *through the power of this world*, then the man chosen shall not rightfully be called a patriarch, but he will be as an adulterer and a robber (vol.

called guardians Pitirim and Stephen Yavorsky, or the existing kollegium), but the tsar or emperor chooses whom he will among the bishops (who are all on a level before him) or among the priests (who for this are all on a level with the bishops), and by his own initiative orders them to govern and to govern absolutely, under himself, all the bishops and clergy and monks. The '*kingdom* of heaven' or 'of Christ' and 'the grace and power of the Holy Ghost' are still spoken of in connection with the sacrament of ordination, as before, but their relative *order* is reversed. They are now subordinated to the tsar's initiative and to the initiative of the Synod or Kollegium derived from the tsar, instead of keeping their own original divine and canonical initiative derived from Christ, and allowing to orthodox and pious sovereigns a large but secondary and subordinate influence, to be withdrawn whenever sovereigns cease to be orthodox and pious.

But besides the mere outward retention of ecclesiastical words and forms, which of itself alone would be only a profane and empty mockery, there are other causes which give a certain living continuity even to heretical or schismatical communities. Unless there were something of this kind, if evil could exist by itself alone, it would not have that power which now it is allowed to have: the *power* of evil is in the *good* which in one way or another it contains and keeps within it as if enslaved. And in this Nicon went too far (having been misled by the so-called Canons of the Apostles) when he disallowed even the *baptisms* administered by heretics, and by such clergy as have incurred degradation or anathema. For, in truth, the sacrament of baptism is valid, even though it be administered by laymen, and those heretics; and though heretical and irregular *ordinations* seem to be disallowed by some canons and councils, and may have been treated as entirely null and void, so that a man already ordained, but improperly, would be ordained over again; still if ordination has once been given validly, however irregu-

iv. p. 599). And on the 5th Dec. A.D. 1666, when in the council Pitirim and Joasaph repeated their false witness against him, that he had renounced the patriarchate, saying: 'If I be ever again patriarch, may I be anathema!' he replied, 'I do not wish to be again in the patriarchal chair: but whoever shall be patriarch after me, *he* shall be anathema.' So I also wrote in time past to the tsar, that *without my concurrence* they cannot appoint another patriarch (vol. iii. p. 491).

larly, it is never absolutely effaced, and any reordinations of such persons must be explained as having been virtually even though not formally conditional. Thus having both baptisms and ordinations essentially valid, and through ordinations other sacraments also, however irregularly administered, an heretical or schismatical Church consists of a concrete mass of mixed evil and good: and so far as its members are in good faith, not knowingly and maliciously fighting against truth nor despising the laws of God, they are still imperfect members of the true Church, however enormous may be the errors and prejudices which they have inherited. On the other hand, there is in every heretical and schismatical community, as well as in individuals, a tendency to keep up and to work out to its consequences that original error or sin by which it first separated itself from God. A bishop then who, *knowing what he is* and whence he has his mission, for interest or from fear, subjects to the state the grace of the Holy Ghost is a traitor, like Judas; but another man, bred up under the supremacy of the state, whom such an apostate may ordain afterwards to be a bishop or priest by oukaz of the tsar and by the grace of the Holy Ghost, is not necessarily guilty in the same way: and the episcopal or sacerdotal acts even of the first are not absolutely null for all those who in simple ignorance and good faith attach themselves to that part of the concrete mass which is divine, and seek only the grace of God to their souls, without fully understanding the sacrilege and impiety which is connected with their nationalised Church and clergy. Thus the fallen Church of the tsar Alexis, and his instruments Pitirim and Ligarides, viewed in one aspect, with respect to the original sin, and its present reproduction and development, is worse than nothing; it is an apostasy even from Christianity; it is a denial of Christ; it is a way not of life but of death. But viewed in another aspect, with respect to the grace of the divine Sacraments, and the ignorance and good faith of those who have merely inherited error and a false position, and in whom consequently their errors involve either no personal sin or only a venial sin, even this secularised and *leprous* Church may be compared to the bondmaids of Sarah and Rachel, who bore children for the true wife and mother. And so it has been said of them: '*Ecclesia parit etiam per ancillas suas.*' But if viewed in the concrete, without dis-

tinguishing the good from the bad elements (and God only can distinguish them), then the fallen community is at once not the same, and yet in a sense the same with the older community from which it originated.

So far then as in outward appearance the present Russian Church seems to be a continuation derived from the Muscovite Church of former times, we may speak of the clergy as of one class or order of the national society, as we have spoken of other classes, of the boyars, the streltsi, and the Romanoff family and dynasty; and we may say that the class or order of the clergy also has been punished for the sin committed against the patriarch Nicon: and we may trace in history a series of punishments, some of which fell upon the order of the clergy indirectly, through individual members of it who sought in vain to maintain its old rights and privileges, while others fell not upon individuals but directly upon the order itself.

We propose, then, in this present chapter to treat of those disappointments, defeats, humiliations, and violences which came upon the Russian clergy, after their betrayal of Nicon, in the same or in the next following generation, while they were hoping to retain, not indeed the reality, but the still remaining semblance of spiritual authority, and of old canonical rights and privileges. But whatever changes or events may have taken place since the time of Peter the Great we shall call consequences and developments, rather than punishments. For those gradual changes which time brings with it cannot properly or strictly be spoken of as punishments with regard to men, or classes of men, who have been born and bred under the existing system, who have had nothing to do with those sins of former generations which created it, who are what they are in unconscious ignorance of anything else, and, with natural self-love, are often even proud of their own greatest disadvantages.

§ ii. *Misgivings and fears after the condemnation of Nicon.*

Though in the mixed synod of A.D. 1666 and 1667 the previous acts of the tsar Alexis and the boyars of his council, and their government of the Church without Nicon for above eight years, were upheld, and Nicon was condemned *afresh* as a sort of rebel, because he had maintained that the tsar was supreme *only* in *civil or political matters*, there was still some *ambiguity*

and *duplicity* in the way in which this was done. For those very patriarchs who in Dec. A.D. 1666 thus condemned Nicon had written three years before, in their dishonest answers (of A.D. 1663-1664), that the civil ruler was supreme *only in political matters*, though they also said that there was only *one* supreme authority, and *not two*. The state, no doubt, after this might plausibly assert that it was supreme in defining its own limits, and that *everything* was a *political* matter which it might be pleased to call so. But though, from personal motives, and from habitual subserviency to the tsar, the heads of the Muscovite clergy had joined in the persecution of Nicon, still, as soon as he was out of the way, they wished for themselves to be as little slaves—at any rate as little slaves to the boyars—as possible, and to retain their old customs and privileges, especially those of being exempt from the ordinary secular jurisdiction, and of holding and managing their own property.

1. *Attempts made by certain bishops, after the condemnation of Nicon, to obtain some reservation of the rights and privileges of their order (from the 'History,' &c., of P. Ligarides).*

'Jan. 14, A.D. 1667, all the bishops met to subscribe the act for the deposition of Nicon. And there arose some disagreement on account of certain *little* expressions which were misunderstood and wrested by Paul, the metropolitan of Kroutitz, and Hilarion, archbishop of Riazan, *who seemed to be pillars* of this local synod, and by some others of the bishops who followed them (vol. iii. p. 207). And they went away, both of them, without subscribing. And on this account the emperor was much disturbed, and the patriarchs were astounded at the disregard shown *even* to their own most exalted entreaty. And so at length the synod separated, not without some disorder, and with a *command* that the bishops should examine this part of the patriarchal tomes in their lodgings, and give an answer, each of them, in writing after two days.'

The heading prefixed to the *Patriarchal Tomes*, as published in Roumiantseff's *Collection*, &c., is this: '*Of the Imperial Power, that it is unlimited; and of the Patriarchal, that it is limited.*'

In *Question* ii. of these *Tomes* it was asked, in the Russian translation (made from the *Latin* translation of Paisius Ligarides, and under his eye): 'Are all then simply, and most of all the local bishop or patriarch, bound to submit to and obey the

reigning sovereign *according to reason and becoming matters* (*blagodostoinie*, εὐπρεπεῖς ὑποθέσεις in Greek, 'res *condignas*,' or '*condecentes*,' perhaps, in the Latin of Ligarides), and so is there to be one principle (or initiative, '*nachalo*'), or not?' But in the original Greek, which is given accurately (as if it had not been *mistranslated*) by Ligarides in his *History*, it is, κατὰ πάσας τὰς πολιτικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ κρίσεις, ὥστε ἕνα εἶναι τὸν κύριον καὶ ἡγεμόνα, ἢ οὔ; And in the *Answer* to the same *Question* the Russian translation has: 'The tsar *alone* is lord (*hossoudar*) and authoritative disposer (*vladichestvouiusheha*, ἐξουσιαστὴν) of every *well-pleasing*[3] matter: but the patriarch is subject to him, as being in superior authority, and as being the executing minister of God.' But the original Greek has, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα κύριον εἶναι καὶ ἐξουσιαστὴν παντὸς πολιτικοῦ πράγματος μόνον, τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην εἶναι ὑποκείμενον αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ὑπερεχούσῃ ὄντι κ.τ.λ. (see vol. iii. p. 321, 322). 'So it was laid down,' writes Ligarides, 'that every man, whether bishop or patriarch, is bound to submit himself to the reigning sovereign in all *political*[4] matters and causes, so that there be *only one lord and leader*' (vol. iii. p. 208).

'Those two bishops heard what had taken place; and, fearing greatly, they presented a written petition to the patriarchs, when it was now close upon midnight, most humbly imploring them to intercede with the autocrat. They wrote that, "by his ordination, a bishop is a teacher and a deputy of Christ, the original bishop, from whom also he has received a divine grace; and from Christ the divine grace is poured out upon the bishops in succession; and after his ordination he blesses the emperor, the anointed of the Lord, and prays for him, and for the palace and the army, and for the city. And in former times this order was followed in a godly manner. But *now all is just the contrary*. For he goes up to the sovereign, and does reverence, and *kisses his hand*, after having made the prayer. Also, while the sovereign is seated, he stands in his presence. These things, if he were a private person, would be proper; for the Apostle says: Honour the king. But when he is Christ's high-priest and vicar,

[3] '*Blagoouagodnia*' bene-placentis, which in Greek ought to have been εὐαρέστου.

[4] Inserting the word '*political*' distinctly, as if the Russian translation had not been garbled in the manner above stated.

it ought not so to be done; for the dishonour of the bishop reverts to Christ. But these improprieties have arisen not so much by the fault of the sovereigns themselves as from flatterers, who have mispersuaded them *to do also even the greater acts of the episcopate*, so as even to promote bishops . . . and hegoumens, &c. Hence it is that our calamities have been multiplied; . . . and while we think to make gain by appropriating to ourselves things offered to God, we have lost even what was really our own. . . . But God grant that some remedy may be found, and that the things of Cesar may be secured to Cesar, and the things of God to God.

"And ye indeed"—addressing the two Eastern patriarchs—"though ye are ill-treated by the Turks, will be rewarded by our Saviour for what ye suffer. But we, thrice-wretched, whom ye think so happy for living in the bosom of Christendom, suffer all manner of constraint in our dioceses. And though, in spite of ourselves, we dissemble the greater part of the wrongs which we suffer from the boyars, yet we shrink with trembling at the thought that the evil must go on and become worse, *when it shall be made a fixed principle that the state is supreme over the Church.* And though we have no suspicion that we shall be at all wronged and hurt" (farther than we now are) "in this most happy time of the thrice-happy government of our glorious tsar Alexis Michaelovich—God forbid that we should ever conceive such a thought!—we nevertheless fear *for the future:* we would be cautious respecting *possibilities*, lest they who may bear rule in time to come, not perceiving (what is *said* to be) the true sense of the patriarchal tomes, should run into error, attending *only to the letter*, which often killeth. The thought of these abuses of the *letter* of the *literal text*, and of misinterpretations *likely*[1] to be made by *inexperienced translators, not perfectly skilled in the Greek tongue*, oppresses us. Administer, then, we pray, some healing balm, that we may be set up, we who now seem to stumble and not to follow the common sentence of the most reverend synod."' ib. p. 235.

To which P. Ligarides in the synod, amongst other things, answered: 'Ye *fear for the future;* lest, that is, some future

[1] Actually made in the official Russian translation which they were required to sign: the fault of the original Greek text was not in the *letter* so much as in the practical bearing and spirit.

sovereign, *having a strong will* of his own, being at once his own absolute judge and legislator (his own measure of justice and law) *enslave the Russian Church*. There is no chance of this! there is no chance of this! This will never be! this will never be! From a good emperor, that son who shall succeed him will be *still better*,' &c. ib. p. 240.

'The two bishops'—P. Ligarides writes—'repented, though too late, and subscribed separately the act of the deposition of Nicon, with all the details and circumstances of the patriarchal tomes (*περιφράσαι τῶν τόμων καὶ περιστάσιαν, i.e.* every jot and tittle of them). But no one gave them any thanks for that their "Peccavi," which was not *honest*, but of time-serving, to cover their inward retention of their own *sophistical ideas*. For all that, they were summoned, and made an example of publicly.

'Therefore, Jan. 24, we all met in the apartment of the patriarch of Alexandria (he having fallen and hurt his leg): and there were proposed these three questions: 1. How is he to be punished who is contumacious towards a plenary patriarchal synod? 2. Or he who, after seeing two patriarchs subscribe, shows disrespect to them, and disobeys them to their face? 3. Or he who is disobedient, and refuses *to trust* a most Christian emperor, who owns the Church to be his *Mother*, and is zealous to *glorify* her, as superior to all supremacy and beyond the sphere of all power? how is such a one to be *canonically* punished?

'We all answered synodically that such persons are to be corrected by ecclesiastical penalties. The patriarchs thereupon sent for the refractory and guilty bishops; and they presently came, running up, as if to kiss the hand of the patriarchs; but they were forbidden. They were *all* then (the other bishops being seated in order) asked, Why they, *who seemed to be pillars, of more understanding than the rest*, and *of more practical ability and energy*, had shown themselves thus *disobedient* and *obstinate*?

'They began to make excuses. They said that they had been deceived *by the fault* of Paisius of Gaza, who had mistranslated that passage in the *Tomes* in which it is laid down that the patriarch is *subject* in *political* matters *only*.

'The synod replied . . . and . . . the patriarch of Antioch spoke thus: "A great thing, in truth, is *obedience*, and *submission to superiors*. . . . But ye have been disobedient to us the patriarchs, who have been *put forward* to come hither on behalf of all, *for*

*your honour* and *correction:* ye have withstood us, and contended against us. In truth, *opposition* is *diabolical;* self-will and presumption is satanical. Ye have chosen rather to think yourselves wise than to bow your heads to all the synod, and to submit not to men but to the most high God, only for simple vanity and *personal partiality*[6] or men-pleasing." The patriarch of Alexandria said: "To make a faction is a crime, forbidden by the civil laws, and much more by the Church. If any clerks make a faction against their bishops or fellow clerks, they are, by Canon xviii. of Chalcedon, to be degraded. Ye know that ye are resisting not us but God, resisting the Holy Ghost (for it has seemed good to us, and so also to the Holy Ghost, to depose Nicon), thereby breaking the bond of *charity*, refining upon *words* and *little niceties of expression*. . . . Cease then from random gainsayings, and *bow your heads to this sacred synod*, that ye may not hear it said to you, Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity! and also that word of loathing: Get thee behind me, Satan! For ye *will* hear that, if ye persist in setting at naught the patriarchal decision, and in calumniating it as *inconsistent* and *interpolated*. For they truly *Niconise*, or rather *papisticise*, *who try to lessen the empire, and are zealous to extol on high the episcopate*."

'Meantime the two bishops stood hanging down their heads. And, after a space of deep silence, the patriarchs said: "Go, and remain *suspended* from all performance of divine offices." And so, not without tears, they went out. But *the others* were struck with fear; for they had not in the least expected that those bishops, who had been more bold and free-spoken than the rest, would be so sharply corrected.

'And now Paul was displaced from being guardian of the patriarchate, and Theodosius (a Servian), who then had the sobor of the Archangel, was made guardian in his stead.'

'On the Sunday of the Prodigal (3d Feb.) there was held a great synod on account of the suspended bishops. And they were called; and after being admonished by the patriarch (Joasaph II.), having made metanoias, they were admitted to his blessing; and, being pardoned, they partook of the brotherly salutation. And . . . as Thomas's incredulity was good, inas-

[6] When they had been the foremost throughout to serve the tsar and the boyars against Nicon.

much as it confirmed many souls to believe, so too was it now. For if these bishops, *the most eminent of their brethren*, had not disputed about the sense of the patriarchal tomes, *the rest would not have been confirmed*. But the sight of the contentiousness of these two bishops coming to nothing, and ending in *sardonic laughter* (on the part of the boyars), produced a powerful and *subjugating* effect.

'It remained still, however, that the offenders should kiss the hand of the tsar, and so receive complete forgiveness of their offences (for they had greatly *wounded* him, the complete king, by their *injurious susceptibility* and *disobedience*). So the most clement sovereign the next day came to the patriarchs, to take their blessing; and those two bishops, Paul and Hilarion, were called with the rest: and having been rebuked before all, and reproached for their *schism* with words which went deep, they departed in peace, having repeated over and over again, "*Peccavimus!*"

'There was some whispering, however, still among their friends *even after this*, in support of them *that had said* that the empire is excelled in dignity by the priesthood, because the bishop is named first in the church and the emperor afterwards.' ib.

The two bishops seem, however, to have obtained a distinct admission in the synod that the emperor has the preëminence in *political* matters, and the patriarch in *ecclesiastical* (vol. iii. p. 250); and that this was the sense to be put upon those passages about which they had disputed, in ch. ii. of the patriarchal tomes, mistranslated from the original Greek by the substitution of two words of equivocal meaning for the word *political*, πολιτικάς.

2. The same two bishops and their adherents seem to have been very nearly successful in another attempt made by them, in the spring of A.D. 1667, to obtain the insertion of a distinct statement that the emperor's supremacy was confined to *civil* matters in those decrees of reformation which were then passed, at different dates, in twelve chapters, by the three patriarchs and the synod (see vol. iii. p. 481-518).

For the boyar Matveyeff, in A.D. 1677, after he had been exiled, in his first petition to the tsar Theodore, writes: 'Also I, thy slave, was with the boyar the prince Peter Iv. Prozorofsky, with the œcumenical patriarchs, and with all the sacred synod, *when they made articles of church reformation*. And at the be-

ginning[7] they made *two* articles not duly recognising your imperial rank (*i.e.* your absolute supremacy) and your imperial prerogatives: and the time was come when they were going to subscribe. And I, thy slave, made a representation to the prince Peter Iv. Prozorofsky: and *he*, in consequence of my representation, *did not let* the most holy patriarchs and all the synod subscribe those articles. And the metropolitan Paul of Kroutitz and Hilarion of Riazan, with great rage and malice, showed their displeasure. And when the boyar prince Ivanovich had informed thy father the hossoudar, &c., he, thy father, *with the blijnie boyari*, having heard those two articles read, *ordered that they should be omitted*. And the metropolitans Paul and Hilarion stood out obstinately to frame those articles according to their own mind and intention, and not to omit them; *and they refused to sign* otherwise: and for that they were *by the œcumenical patriarchs suspended*' (vol. v. p. 820).

3. On the names-day of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich in A.D. 1667, March 17, 'the three patriarchs and the synod met to consider *whether it was canonical and unexceptionable for the holy tsar, by his own direct act, to exalt or degrade ecclesiastical chairs!* because this seems rather to belong to the patriarchs, as the proper superintendents of ecclesiastical affairs' (vol. iii. p. 296).

And after referring to other Byzantine precedents, produced in the synod, P. Ligarides gives a passage from Demetrius Chomatenus, thus: '"The emperor is director even over the synodical judgments, and gives them their force; he regulates the ecclesiastical ranks, and legislates for the life and polity of the clergy, yea, and for the causes of bishops and clerks, and also for the votes (elections) for vacant churches; and he advances from a less honour to a greater, *i.e.* from being a simple bishopric to being a metropolitan see, &c., either out of respect to the merit of the individual, or to honour the city.... And to speak briefly, *with the single exception of officiating in sacred things*, all the other episcopal privileges are clearly represented by the emperor, and in respect of them he acts lawfully and canonically."

'It was in *imitation*, then, and *emulation* of these precedents that our glorious and Christian emperor Alexis Michaelovich acted, when he corrected, as an instructor, the oversights of the Russian Church, and ordered the foundation of new bishopries,

[7] either of ch. I. or of the sub-title, 'Of the Spiritual Jurisdiction,' in ch. II. See vol. iii. p. 481 and p. 486.

as may be learned more fully *from the contents of his chrysobulla*, and from the synodical constitution for the ordering of the episcopal chairs, which shall be appended below' (meaning by the 'synodical constitution' Chapter VIII. of the synod of the spring of A.D. 1667. See vol. iii. p. 299 and p. 498).

It is to be observed that in the act thus referred to by Ligarides the patriarchs and the synod of A.D. 1667 *profess* to settle the rank of existing sees and to erect certain new ones of *themselves*, in compliance with the expressed wish of the tsar; and for the future they bless the tsar only '*with the consent of the most holy patriarch of Moscow*, &c., and with that of the bishops of the Russian empire, according to his discretion to appoint metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops,' ordaining, at the same time, *that* '*each metropolitan shall have under him bishops*, according to the canons, for the complete organisation of the Church.' But no doubt the *initiative* was hereby *practically* transferred from the spiritual to the secular authority, and the spiritual was obliged to concur with the will of the secular, on pain of losing that semblance of a coördinate will which was still left to it; and the tsar *had already done*, and he meant to do for the future, of his own will, that which the synod subsequently affected to *permit him to do* and to concur with him in doing.

4. There were also on the subject of the spiritual jurisdiction and the immunity of the spiritual order from lay jurisdiction traces still left, in the decrees of the synod of A.D. 1667, of the old claim to a separate and divine authority:

In Ch. II., in the sub-title, *Of the Spiritual Jurisdiction*, art. xxxvii.: 'In the house of the patriarch and in the houses of all the bishops, for the judgment of persons of the spiritual order, there must be spiritual judges; . . . and henceforth they may not bring priests and monks before secular tribunals, nor secular persons judge those of the sacred and monastic order or any of all the clergy of the Church: the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy fathers forbid this.

Art. xxxviii.: 'Also in matrimonial causes and in causes of affinity they, the same spiritual judges, are to examine and judge the laity, according to the canons; and the same are to attest wills at the deaths of people of all orders.

Art. xxxix.: 'All other *spiritual matters* between *lay* people, men or women, shall be judged by the patriarch's boyar, with the

secretaries or diaks, his colleagues. And *they who reject this our canonical enactment, shall be judged of God* in this world, and in the world to come, together with Dathan and Abiram and Koreh' (vol. iii. p. 437. And see *Replies of Nicon*, &c. p. 345 and 668).

And, again, in Ch. VII.: *Question* XX. 'Respecting bishops, archimandrites and hegoumens, priests and deacons, monks and nuns, and all the ecclesiastical and spiritual order, *and their people*: Is it competent for lay persons to judge them? *Answer.* Bishops, &c., *and their people* may *not in any case* be judged by lay persons: they are to be judged in all matters by the bishops, by each bishop in his own diocese, or by such *spiritual* person as he shall appoint to judge, but not by lay people.' ib. p. 496.

5. In vol. iv. of the *Acts of the Archæol. Exped.*, St. Petersburg, A.D. 1836, No. 155, p. 205, with the date 28th May A.D. 1667, there are given 'Three synodal enactments': 1. Of the making of the Holy Chrism; 2. Of the matters subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch, &c.; 3. Of appointments of certain spiritual persons, &c. (and of the erection of certain new sees).

There is no appearance of any of these being enactments made by the great mixed synod, with the presence of the two Eastern patriarchs: but the first of the three makes certain personal appointments, viz. that the Chrism shall be kept and given by the protopope Michael and the deacon Peter; that the printing house (the *pechatni dvor*) shall be superintended by Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz, and that there shall sit (for mixed causes) in the *Tiunskaia izba* Arsenius the hegoumen of the Znamensky and Andrew the protopope of the Sretensky sobor; and that for spiritual matters in the patriarchal dvor there shall be either Misael the archimandrite of the Preobrajensky monastery at Kazan (who would be brought in that case to Moscow), or Joseph the archimandrite of the Novospass, or *Sergius* archimandrite of the Spassky monastery at Yaroslaff; all which is submitted for the tsar's approval and choice.

Then in the next enactment, which is based upon a decree made by the Eastern patriarchs and the synod respecting the spiritual jurisdiction, probably the same which appears as a sub-title, '*Of the Spiritual Jurisdiction*,' in Ch. II., § 37, 38, and 39, of the Eleven or Twelve Patriarchal and synodal *Chapters* of A.D. 1667 (see our vol. iii. p. 486), there is an enumeration, as follows:

'*Matters which under the most holy patriarchs of Moscow*

*and all Russia, by decree of the most holy (œcumenical) patriarchs (and of the patriarch of Moscow Joasaph II., and of the whole synod of* A.D. 1667), *are under the cognisance of the Patriarchal razriad.*

'Letters benedictory for the erection of churches in the patriarchal diocese.

'Letters of institution, and of transfer of registration (*nastolnaia, i otpisnaia*) given to metropolitans, &c., down to protodeacons consecrated by the patriarch, and to hegoumens blessed by him (*i.e.* to be translated), and letters of administration (*stroitelskia*) to stroïtels and kellars.

'They judge archimandrites, &c. (and all monks), and all clerks and their children in all causes; and the patriarch makes oukaz (*i.e.* gives sentence) according to the holy canons.

'On memorials from all the prikazes, after submitting them to the patriarch, they question all clerks and monks in any matter on which there may be need.

'Whoever, of whatever order, writes a will, or by word of mouth makes testamentary dispositions, these, being properly attested, are subscribed by the patriarch with his own hand.

'Against or for boyars and okolniks and people of the council and people of all classes according to wills and regular minutes (*i.e.* minutes respecting testamentary dispositions regularly attested) they judge and give sentence.

'If any one dies suddenly (without leaving a will), and the wives and children of such persons and their relations present petitions (*i.e.* institute suits) about the division of their property.

'Parents against their children for disobedience, or for any other kind of misconduct, make suit (in this court).

'Husbands against their wives, and wives against husbands, for adultery and other causes.

'Female slaves against their masters, for fornication, and other violence.

'For acts of violence of all kinds against wives and children, against people of all classes.

'Confessors against their penitents for disobedience, and for all disorderliness.

'Priests against their parishioners, who are not their penitents, for not coming to church on the festivals, &c., for not observing the fasts, or for having no confessor.

'Whoever calls another by foul names.

'Whoever indecently insults another, man or woman.

'About illegitimate children, whose parents or other people neglect and illuse them (*otchetaiout*).

'About contracts for marriage, or marriages actually made, within the forbidden degrees of relationship or of spiritual affinity. Respecting such they make out a statement of the degrees, and give sentence according to the canons.

'About divorce in such cases.

'Of such children, sons or daughters, as have married without their parents' consent.

'About adoption of sons or brothers, and inheritance of such.

'Of executors who marry afterwards the widow of the deceased person for whose will they are executors.

'Masters against their slaves (or servants, *rabi*) who, having run away, have without their consent become clerks or monks, or have put on the monastic habit, and are living as novices.

'About slaves or servants, men or women, who, having run away, have married without consent of their masters, or live as runaways (*v' biegach*) unlawfully.

'Boyars and okolniks and people of the council, and stolniks and strapchis and Moscow dvorianins, and jiltsi, and people of the tsar's service of all ranks, and gosti, and people of the *gostinnia sotni*, and people of the other sotni, and of the palace domains (*dvortsovie*), and of the chernia sotni, and of the slobodas who live in Moscow make suit against people of the sacred order, and against all clerks, and people of all orders (belonging to them), in spiritual and in all other matters (in the patriarchal razriad), but they who live in the towns of other dioceses (in the court of the diocesan bishop) at such time as the bishops are in their dioceses and not at Moscow; and upon their petitions there are given for such people letters of judgment, and of calling up their causes (to the patriarchal court).

'But what concerns the spiritual order in respect of jurisdiction *is written with more detail in the Letter of the grand prince Vladimir*.'

In the third enactment there is submitted to the tsar a resolution for the erection of some new sees, at Tomsk or elsewhere in Siberia, Kholmogori or Archangel, Oustiog, and Voronege, and for sending back the bishop Alexander to Viatka. But

whether they are to be full diocesan bishops or not is for the tsar to decide. This third constitution is plainly of an earlier date than the fuller Chapter (Ch. VIII.) of the great synod on the same subject, which is dated on some day in June A.D. 1667 (see our vol. iii. p. 499).

And in the same vol. iv. p. 259, No. 201, 15th Oct. A.D. 1674 and 15th May A.D. 1675, there is a constitution of the patriarch Joachim which refers to the synodal constitution of the three patriarchs and the synod in A.D. 1667, and to canon xxxvii. of the Apostles, exempting the clergy from lay jurisdiction. It also enacts that the *bishops* are not to appoint laymen to exercise for them as deputies their jurisdiction; and that suits are not to be called up at once from the diocesan courts to the patriarchal. Joseph the metropolitan of Riazan wrote: 'We have now reconfirmed the same act of A.D. 1667, and Joachim subjects all the patriarchal estates to the diocesan bishops; only they must not, without a request, consecrate archimandrites,' &c.

No. 161, in the same vol. iv. p. 212, is '*A synodal enactment* respecting the judgment of persons of the spiritual order in *criminal* cases; enacted by the providence of the tsar, &c., Alexis Michaelovich, &c., and by the counsel of the most holy Kyr Paisius patriarch of Alexandria, and Kyr Macarius patriarch of Antioch, with the great hospodin the most holy Joasaph patriarch of Moscow and all Great, Little, and White Russia, and all the sacred synod:'

i. The *sishchiks* (the secular authorities who have to make inquest and execute justice, poursuivants, or sheriff's officers, whose business it is to arrest accused persons) arrest them, but they must give notice, and not examine them without the presence of the ecclesiastical *zakashchik* (the bishop's intercessor or defensor) whom

ii. He seats above himself in the *siezjaia izba*, and bids him exhort and examine the prisoner.

iii. Of arresting accused persons at a distance.

iv. If they do not confess, he bids the *sishchik* bring them to the *siezjaia izba* to be confronted; and

v. If after three or four tortures the accomplices or other witnesses do not retract their charges, he sends them, *unfettered*, to the diocesan bishop, and the *zakashchik* writes exactly, as does also the sishchik, a statement of the case.

vi. Then the bishop, if he remits them, remits them with a certificate that he has degraded them, and that he remits them to the secular court.

vii. Sons of priests and *ponomars* (bell-ringers, &c.) not consecrated are to be dealt with like other laymen.

xii. If monks or nuns have shops, &c., in towns, they are to be admonished by the *zakushchiks*, and their shops are to be confiscated to the tsar.

6. Extract from a volume entitled '*The Monastirski Prikaz*, by Mr. Gorchakoff, St. Petersburg, A.D. 1868,' in connection with the synod of A.D. 1667.

'The synod of A.D. 1667 was a continuation of that which in Dec. A.D. 1666 had condemned Nicon. But Nicon's opposition to the Monastirski prikaz was not imputed to him as a crime.[8] On the contrary, his objections to it caused the question of the Monastirski prikaz, and of the subjection of the clergy to secular jurisdiction, to be considered by the synod of A.D. 1667. This synod made constitutions diametrically opposed to the principles of the Code. It decreed that the voivodes, the Monastirski prikaz, and the secular prikazes were not to judge the clergy.[9] The tsar having confirmed the constitutions made by the synod, there were sent, by order of the patriarch Joasaph II., in that same year 1667, to the Monastirski prikaz and to the other prikazes official minutes, in which it was thus written: "Bishops, archimandrites and hegoumens, priests and deacons, monks and nuns, and all the order of the clergy are not to be judged in any matter by lay people." There were sent also, by oukaz of the patriarch, letters to the bishops, and to the towns to the *desiatiniks*, who were ordered "to send from themselves minutes to the voivodes and other people of the prikazes, notifying to them that they also were not to judge in anything archimandrites, hegoumens, priests and deacons, monks and nuns, nor any clerks of the Church, nor their people. But whoever has a matter against any one of the sacred and monastic order, he is to make his suit at Moscow, or in the towns before the commissary of the patriarch or the metro-

[8] Not formally; but it is distinctly alluded to in *Question* and *Answer* v. of the patriarchal *Tomes* of A.D. 1663-1664, which were made the basis of his condemnation. See vol. iii. p. 324: 'That which shall seem to the emperor is law.' &c. to 'no one has any sort of liberty to oppose the emperor's injunction.'

[9] First *Sobranie Zakonov*, &c. No. 412. And compare *Acta Exped.* &c. vol. iv. No 167.

politan, &c., for spiritual causes.[10] Not only was the subjection of the clergy to the tsar's secular tribunals done away with by the synod, but it was forbidden also to the spiritual authorities to delegate secular persons to exercise for them their own jurisdiction among the clergy.

'By the synod spiritual persons were exempted not only from the civil jurisdiction of the state, but also from the criminal. Criminous clerks were to be tried and judged by the spiritual authorities: to the secular power it was left only to give effect to their judgments.

'Instead of the state jurisdiction over the clergy and their people, there were established by the synod of A.D. 1667, with the confirmation of the tsar, spiritual tribunals. In the patriarchal dvor—so it was ordered—there was to be a spiritual patriarchal court (prikaz), and with each diocesan bishop a similar court of his own. These spiritual courts were to be composed of spiritual persons. In the synods of A.D. 1667 and 1675 there was made an exact description of the bounds of the dioceses: and all spiritual persons and institutions, as monasteries, were to be subject to the jurisdiction of those spiritual tribunals and those diocesan bishops to whose provinces they belonged.[11]

'The immunity of the clergy from the jurisdiction of lay persons and of the tsar's tribunals was reconfirmed, as a general law, also after the synod of A.D. 1667. There was a synodal constitution made to this effect on the 15th May A.D. 1675 under the patriarch Joachim (*Acta Exped.* Suppl. IV. No. 201). And the patriarch Adrian, in an '*Instruction to the starostas of the popes*' in A.D. 1697, insisted that spiritual persons were to be judged only by the ecclesiastical authorities, and enjoined the archimandrites to report to him of any interference of the voivodes in spiritual matters.[12] It seems that the inferior local authorities of the civil administration sometimes assumed jurisdiction over spiritual persons even after the synodical constitution of A.D. 1667. However, such interference on their part

[10] In the *Collection of Extracts* respecting the spiritual jurisdiction made by order of the patriarch Adrian. Nevolin, *Polnoe Sobranie sochin.*, vol. vi. p. 374, Note 373.

[11] First *Sobranie Zakonov*, A.D. 1667, July 17 (No. 412).

[12] *A. I.* vol. v. No. 167, and First *Sobranie Zakonov*, &c. A.D. 1697 (No. 1612), p. 24-26.

was regarded as illegal, and so far as the superior civil authorities were concerned it had been put an end to.[13] On the other hand, the diocesan authorities also had continued to delegate their jurisdiction to secular persons, who sometimes caused flagrant disorders and injustice. To judge from all appearances, the constitutions of the synod of A.D. 1667 did not suppress everywhere and at once either the various forms of the old diocesan administration or the ingerence of secular persons into the juridical cognisance of ecclesiastical matters.

'The change made by the synod of A.D. 1667 may be regarded as an *act of the Church*. But if we consider the historical development of the question of the exemption of the clergy from secular jurisdiction in civil causes, we are forced to admit that the state in this instance, owing to temporary circumstances, made a *concession* to the Church. By the very being of the empire, by its historical condition and development in Russia in the seventeenth century, and by its tendencies, it *could not* make over to the Church *for ever* the right of exercising a separate civil jurisdiction over all the clergy—of itself a very numerous and wealthy class—and still less over all the population subject to it through its property.[14] We shall see below that the Russian state of the seventeenth century was specially zealous in asserting and concentrating its own powers and rights. And if we bear this in mind, we shall in the relations of the state to the Church, in respect of the rights of the latter to a separate civil jurisdiction, perceive some vacillation and inconsistency, even after the synod of A.D. 1667.

'The Monastirski prikaz was not suppressed in A.D. 1667. It consisted, as before, of lay persons; there sat in it an okolnik or doumni dvorianin and two diaks. Its relations to the spiritual administration were by no means at an end. Jurisdiction indeed in the Church it no longer exercised; the sphere of its activity was limited to those other matters on which it had been em-

[13] *A. J.* vol. v. No. 135, 146, 186, 217.

[14] According to the rules and precedents of antiquity, there were of old in Russia for *mixed* causes *mixed* tribunals, from which an appeal lay theoretically to the metropolitan and the *person* of the prince *conjointly*; but in practice often to the *prince* alone, as had been common also at Constantinople. This power, exercised at first personally with the express concurrence in each case or tacit allowance of the spiritual primate, was at length claimed and exercised by the crown *in its secular courts*, without any concurrence whatever of the spiritual authority.

ployed also before, viz. the exaction of the tsar's requirements, imposts, and dues of service from the landed estates of the Church. It still kept account-books of the incomes and expenditure of the bishops and the monasteries, and composed descriptions and inventories and registers of the church properties, and of the numbers of people and of dvors on the church lands. Through it was made the annexation or transfer of monasteries and poustins to episcopal houses and to other monasteries, with permission of the tsar. The prikaz gave effect to its dispositions either by letters of the tsar or through letters which it sent out by messengers from itself, and through commissioners. In this form and with this range of activity the prikaz went on, after A.D. 1667, for ten years; but its action, even within the limits left to it, was weak. Some monasteries during this time addressed themselves on matters belonging to its cognisance to the prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz. It was already clear that it would not last much longer. On the 19th Dec. A.D. 1677 there was issued an oukaz worded thus: 'All the business of the Monastirski prikaz is from this date to be transacted in the prikaz of the Bolshoi dvoretz by the boyar and Dvoretskoy and Oroujnichey Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, with his colleagues; and all arrears of money payments which may be due in that prikaz shall be collected in the prikaz of the Novi Chet by the doumni diak Ivan Gorochoff; and the Monastirski prikaz is suppressed.' However, its history is by no means yet finished. It will reappear as the administrative or financial section of the government of the Church in A.D. 1701, upon the suspension of the patriarchate by Peter the Great'[15] (p. 95-101).

7. *The affair of Joseph, bishop of Kolomna, in connection with the subject of Church property* (A.M. 7184, A.D. 1675).

After the condemnation and degradation of Nicon in Dec. A.D. 1666, the ecclesiastical commissioner who was sent to conduct him to the place of his imprisonment, and who there in the name of the tsar and the council took from him the episcopal mandya and staff, was an archimandrite named Joseph. This man was then archimandrite of the Pechersky monastery at Nijny Novgorod, in the same region of which Nicon was a native.

[15] For larger extracts from this same volume on the Monastirski prikaz, see above, App. xii. in our vol. v. p. 128-143.

Somewhat later (in A.D. 1672) he was rewarded for his services by being made bishop of Kolomna.

After becoming a bishop he allowed himself—so Mr. Solovieff writes—to be angry because *imposts* were laid *directly* upon the property of the Church. Joseph said of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich: 'The great hossoudar is unable to decide any cause by himself; other people rule him.' He called the hossoudar 'an oaf, and a great blockhead.' The patriarch Joachim too he called 'an oaf, who had nobody with him;' and the bishops he called '*cattle*, cowards, *offal*.' 'Former sovereigns,' he said, 'used to provide for and endow holy places, but now *they ruin them, taking from them all kinds of special and excessive imposts.* As for the boyars, they are true sons of Ham. The hossoudar has no idea what they do. The patriarch Joachim has not much learning: in the synod the only two who say anything are the metropolitan of Nijny, and myself: the patriarch only sits and strokes his beard: he knows nothing, he vacillates, and is a coward: he bids them ring the bells first in one way and then in another: if he attempts to preach he only fumes, and one can hear nothing.' . . . Joseph was banished to one of the monasteries at Novgorod, but he was allowed to have the government of it (Solov. *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 152 and 374).

§ iii. *Humiliations and mortifications of the titular patriarchs Joasaph II., Pitirim, and Joachim.*

1. The heads of the clergy had served the tsar and the boyars for injustice, and they were rewarded in different ways. But no sooner had Nicon been deposed and degraded than the tsar himself, to whom they had given the ecclesiastical supremacy, showed that he was condemned by his own conscience. Even before Nicon was carried away from Moscow the tsar sent to ask his pardon and blessing: and in A.D. 1667, early in March, when the commissioner guarding him was changed, the tsar repeated this application through Stephen Naoumoff.

Six months later, Sept. 7, Nicon wrote to the tsar thus: 'Naoumoff having continued earnestly to intreat us, and having this same day intreated us in the tsar's name to give our pardon and blessing to the tsar and to his family, and saying that *the tsar thereupon will show us grace*, according to his imperial discretion, I do bless and pardon you; and *when I shall see your*

*face*, I will then with holy prayers *more perfectly* pardon *and absolve* you, as the sacred Gospel and the Acts show of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the holy Apostles, that they, by the laying on of their hands, everywhere wrought pardon and healing.'

On receiving this personal forgiveness the tsar was much pleased; and after a time, besides other marks of good will, he sent to Nicon church vessels and vestments, to enable him *to officiate as a bishop*, and alms on special occasions, when he asked him for commemorations and prayers, allowing him to be at large in the monastery, and to do there what he pleased, calling himself patriarch, and being addressed and named and commemorated as patriarch by others; and he instructed his own commissioners and his messengers to address him as 'Great holy father.'

Thus, besides the secret accusation of their own consciences, those of the clergy, and especially the titular patriarchs for the time being, who had served the tsar against Nicon, had the mortification of being slighted by the tsar himself as men-pleasers, while he whom they had wronged was respected. And the length of time that Nicon lived on—nine years to the death of Alexis, and six more before he died himself—made the illegitimacy of their position the more sensible.

2. Joasaph II. and Pitirim, who sat as patriarchs from Feb. 10, A.D. 1667, to Feb. 17, A.D. 1672, and from July 6, A.D. 1672, to Apr. 9, A.D. 1673, respectively, were men of no personal distinction. Joasaph seems to have been chosen, in part at least, for this very reason, that his character and his age were securities for his *meekness* and submission. Pitirim was *disappointed* at first of the reward which he naturally expected for his services, on the ground that translations of bishops from one see to another were uncanonical, so that an archimandrite was more eligible, especially when two of the Eastern patriarchs were present; and when Pitirim, after being kept out of it for five years, at length obtained the chair which he had coveted, he held it only a few months. Both these two men who had supplanted Nicon must have known and felt with mortification that he was respected by the tsar, while they were lightly esteemed: and they both passed away speedily, like shadows, while Nicon survived.

3. Joachim, who sat from July 26, A.D. 1674, to March 17, A.D. 1690, was of more note. By origin from Little Russia, and of

a noble family, he would have had great advantages in a struggle to assert the rights of his order, if only he had obtained the chair in a legitimate way, without any sacrifice of his personal independence. He appears in Muscovy first as one of Nicon's monks at the Iverskoy, then at Voskresensk, from whence, seeing Nicon to be in disgrace, he accepted the invitation of other patrons, and transferred himself to the Choudoff at Moscow. There he became treasurer: and when in A.D. 1664 Paul was made metropolitan of Kroutitz, he succeeded him as archimandrite. In that capacity he in A.D. 1666 received the two Eastern patriarchs; and May 2, A.D. 1667, he was rewarded by them, at the tsar's request, with certain distinctions; as, for instance, that of wearing on his mandya *tablets*, like a bishop, 'signifying the double law of *the love of God and our neighbour*.' Joachim is not named by P. Ligarides as taking part with Paul and Hilarion in seeking to obtain some more distinct security for the rights of their order, since he was then only an archimandrite; but he was no doubt of the same way of thinking with those two bishops, since when he came to be patriarch he was extremely jealous of his authority. In A.D. 1672, Dec. 22, he was made metropolitan of Novgorod; and at length, July 26, A.D. 1674, he obtained the patriarchate, an eminence for which, in spite of some defects, he was not altogether unqualified. In that conversation which the tsar held with Nicon aside, in the midst of the council, on the 3d Dec. A.D. 1666, when the tsar had declared with oaths that he hoped even then to find a conciliatory solution, Nicon repeated the offer, so often made by him before, of concurring in the election of another patriarch, if only he were not himself treated as a criminal; and he then also named Joachim as a man capable *for his humility* of suiting the tsar, if he were patriarch. There may have been some irony in this suggestion; still it implied that Nicon would not have made any difficulty of assenting to the election of Joachim. Probably Joachim, like many others of the same extraction with himself, having been bred up in contact with Uniats and Latins, under a Catholic king, had no great faith in the *Eastern* Church as a purely spiritual power, but regarded the Orthodox Tsar as her only hope and bulwark against Rome, and so was ready to admit almost any assumption of authority on the tsar's part, so long as he professed the Orthodox *doctrines*. This school of divines were not, like Nicon,

virtually, though unconsciously—in spite of gross but honest prejudices—Catholics: on the contrary, they were true schismatics, ready to serve the tsar or the sultan; nay, some of them, like Theophanes Procopovich, ready to lean even to Protestantism rather than to the Unia. The weak point in their calculations was this, that the 'Orthodoxy' of such secular rulers as set themselves above the spiritual teacher was not to be depended upon: it looked very fair in Alexis; it was extremely doubtful in his son Peter: under Biron and Peter III. it changed to Lutheranism; and in Catherine II. it was mere hypocrisy and state policy. And as the secular ruler who arrogates to himself the authority of the Apostles knows quite well that he is an impostor, the consciousness of this imposture, and in consequence an ever-increasing indifference and hypocrisy, spreads downwards from the autocrat, or from the government, through all the educated classes. But to return to the patriarch Joachim.

He, when he first ascended the chair, not only saw his old superior Nicon still living, though at a distance, and treated by the tsar in a way which cast discredit on the council which had condemned him, and on the right of his successors, but he had also close to himself at Moscow, in the tsar's confessor, a simple priest, a rival who paid to him no sort of deference, who was favoured by the tsar above himself, and who—worse than all—was a medium of communication between the tsar and Nicon. Nor was it only in this priest that the bond of canonical obedience of subordinate ecclesiastics to their superiors had been weakened or broken. On the 5th of Feb. A.D. 1671 the tsar himself—so it is related—spoke to the patriarch Joasaph of Stephen the bishop of Souzdal, as refusing to celebrate with his brethren the other bishops. And Simeon the bishop of Vologda directed the clergy of his diocese, which included the Kyrilloff monastery of Bielo-ozero and the Therapontoff, in which Nicon was confined, to pray for himself as the diocesan, and for the œcumenical patriarchs, but *not to name Joachim as patriarch of Moscow*. So Nicon was actually named in the Therapontoff monastery in the liturgy by his own monks as patriarch (though not as patriarch of Moscow), while Joachim, the sitting patriarch, was not named. Joachim did not let any long time pass after his elevation without attempting to vindicate his authority.

In November A.D. 1674—writes Solovieff—(Nov. 9) while

the tsar was staying out at Preobrajensk, suddenly there rode up thither to him the stolnik Posnikoff, the son of his confessor, with a petition from his father. The confessor wrote that the patriarch Joachim was giving orders to *humble* him, by putting him into irons, when he had committed no crime; and on that account he prayed the great hossoudar to be pleased to come to Moscow, and to free him from this *humiliation*. The tsar sent word to the confessor that he would come into Moscow the next morning early on purpose: he came, called to him the very nearest of his nobles (*samie blijnie*), Dolgorouky, Khitroff, and Matveyeff, and sent them for the patriarch. The patriarch came, and imputed to the protopope much lawlessness, rudeness, and corruption: 'He had long been keeping with him a woman: he refused admittance to the patriarch's confessor, and did dishonour to the patriarch himself.' The patriarch was angry; the proof for conviction was the woman herself, *from whom Joachim had already taken an information*. The tsar *intreated* the patriarch, and the patriarch was pacified, and left the protopope—only under suspension—till there should be a synod. But soon there came the patriarchal festival of the metropolitan St. Peter (21st Dec.); Joachim, as was the custom, went to the palace to invite the hossoudar to dine with him; Alexis Michaelovich availed himself of this opportunity, and asked the patriarch to forgive the confessor, and not to bring the affair before the synod (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 150).

The tsar Alexis—we are still extracting from Solovieff—asked and obtained of the patriarch that he should pardon his confessor. But upon the death of the tsar, on the very day of the funeral, their enmity broke out afresh, and blazed up more fiercely than ever. The patriarch, at the end of the funeral-office, placed in the hand of the deceased tsar a letter of absolution: the confessor regarded that as his own right, and lost all self-control. After the funeral was over, he went up into the palace, into the room where all the imperial family were assembled, and began to cry out: 'The deceased hossoudar has not received absolution; the patriarch did not let me put into his hand the letter of absolution. Give me 2000 soldiers, and I will go against the patriarch and kill him; or do ye, either by the sword or by some poison, kill for me this my enemy.'[16] But if

[16] This utterly incredible speech is given by Solovieff as if it were really

ye will not kill him, I will curse you; and I will settle my account with the patriarch for myself; I have already hired 500 men-at-arms to kill him.' The tsar (Theodore), the tsaritsa, and the tsarevnas 'did not consent to this,' says the official act: they gave up to the patriarch the angry protopope (Solovieff, ib.).

5. While the titular patriarch and the protopope, the tsar's confessor, who obeyed no patriarch, were thus contending for the right or privilege of giving absolution to the tsar, their supreme head, the tsar himself, in his will had expressed the great misgivings of his own conscience,[17] and had asked pardon of the Church and of 'my spiritual father the great hierarch and most blessed pastor Nicon, though, *by the judgments of God* (that is, *not by my present will*), he is no longer in this chair.' And he had sent before his death Cosmas Lopouchin, with presents and alms, to ask Nicon's forgiveness and prayers. And after his death Theodore Lopouchin, in execution of his will, came to Nicon with a request for a formal letter of absolution (which Nicon, however, would not give), and with alms, that he might make commemorations for the tsar's soul.

6. The death of the tsar Alexis, the minority of his successor, and the influence given to the patriarch in the council by this last circumstance, afforded Joachim an opportunity of freely vindicating his authority. He began with the protopope Andrew Sabinoff. Having called a synod, he, on the 14th of March, condemned him on grounds which, if we are to judge of them from that extract from the synodal act which has been given above, or from the revolting calumnies invented against Nicon, may very likely have been unjust. Besides his outbreak in the palace, such as it was described to have been, there were specified against the protopope the following charges: 1. 'When, by the will of the tsar, he was taken to be the spiritual director of the

uttered by the protopope, from the synodal act of the patriarch Joachim. It shows what sort of stuff was then made the ground of synodal condemnations.

[17] Something about these misgivings reached the ears even of foreigners, and was made by them after their fashion a basis for fables. So in a report of a Polish agent about the death of Alexis we read: 'Qui quidem dux Moschoviæ cum satis piè moreretur, in puncto mortis illum pœnituit quod vivente se *cum Romanâ Ecclesiâ unio* non stetisset: sed hæc vota illius schismatici sacerdotes dissensu et murmure in agoniâ ejus suppressérunt' (Theiner, *Monuments*, &c. p. 240). In the words 'satis piè moreretur' and 'in puncto mortis pœnituit quod' there are traces of a Muscovite report, and of truth,—in the rest only Polish imagination.

tsar's house, he *uncanonically*, without applying for the episcopal blessing, usurped spiritual authority, and called himself protopope *without any letter of institution* (*i.e.* by the will only of the tsar). 2. Instead of interceding for the distressed, he brought upon many persecutions and punishments when he was, by letters, with good reason, accused of his crimes, and especially of living in adultery with a married woman. It would have been better for him to repent of that sin than to wreak his vengeance on those who had exposed him; but many through him were tortured and sent into exile. 3. He used to drink to drunkenness with disreputable persons, solacing himself with licentious songs, as also with various games and fiddlings. 4. Without our blessing, he of himself alone erected a church; and when he was under our patriarchal suspension, he regarded that as nothing, and still celebrated the liturgy. 5. He *produced enmity between the tsar and us the patriarch:* not liking to see himself canonically convicted by us, he brought the tsar to that point that he *would not go to the cathedral*, nor *receive our blessing*. 6. He stole away a woman from her husband who was still living, and gave her to be married compulsorily to another man, and ordered a priest on an estate of his own, against his will, to marry them, and then took her away from this second husband, committed adultery with her, and sent her first husband, though guilty of no crime, to a distant place of exile, and ordered him to be kept in prison and in bonds.' Sabiñoff was degraded from the priesthood, and banished to the monastery of Kojeozersk.

7. Two months after the condemnation of the confessor Andrew, the synod condemned to *correction* the long-since banished prisoner Nicon, who, as it appeared, had been on friendly terms with the confessor.

On the 13th April the commissioner (*pristav*) charged with the care of Nicon, the prince Shaisoupoff, gave information that Nicon had desired him to send to Moscow Ignatius Bashkovsky and a woman of his dvor named Kilikeyka, as he knew of something grave against Bashkovsky touching the tsar. In the petition sent at the same time Nicon signed himself '*patriarch*.' This of itself was enough to excite the anger of Joachim. Besides that, Nicon was then unconsciously sending to Moscow informants against himself, just at the moment that they were desirous of obtaining accusations against him (to justify them in treating

him with renewed and increased severity). At the same time the commissioner was changed, and the former commissioner, the prince Shaisoupoff, after his return to Moscow, mentioned various particulars about Nicon. He said, for instance, that Nicon had not been at all obedient to him, nor caused those about him to be; that he caused himself to be named and addressed as patriarch, and in his letters wrote himself 'patriarch.' On an island in the lake and on the roadside he set up crosses with this inscription: 'The humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, has set up this when in exile and confinement for the word of God and for the holy Church.' If Nicon was displeased with any one, the streltsi and the servants of the monastery beat him with sticks and pletts. The hegoumen and the brethren and the servants went to Nicon on festivals, and he, sitting in his arm-chair, gave them his hand to kiss: he had set up a prikaz, and a criminal court (gouba).

The new commissioner, Adadouroff, as soon as he had arrived at the monastery, wrote to Moscow that Nicon was living 'not at all as an exiled prisoner: there has been built for him a lodging with twenty-five chambers in it, from which there are stairs of ascent and descent, and great windows, looking both into the monastery and out from it into the country: and there are living in these cells in all ten persons.'

There appeared a fresh informant, one of Nicon's own cell-attendants, the monk Jonah. He stated that Nicon did not pray for the tsar and the patriarch, and forbade the priests living with him to pray for them. 'In the ectenias he causes himself to be commemorated as patriarch of Moscow: the alms sent to him by the hossoudar he regards as nothing, but he tramples them under his feet, and abuses the great hossoudar with all manner of violent words,' &c. (Solovieff, vol. xiii. p. 236).

On the ground of these and other informations Joachim, with the synod, gave sentence to *correct* Nicon; and the great hossoudar (*i.e.* the council of the boyars) sent to the Therapontoff monastery the dvorianin of the council Jelaboujsky, and the archimandrite Paul, with an order to transport Nicon from the Therapontoff to the Kyrilloff monastery. There were to live with him in his cell two experienced good monks; they were to treat him with due respect, but not to admit to him any of the other monks, nor any lay people; they were not to give him ink

or paper, nor to receive anything brought as a present for him. On the 16th of May A.D. 1676 these envoys received their minute of instructions: in June they arrived at the Therapontoff monastery, and after the liturgy read to Nicon the oukaz, and the charges against him. Nicon heard the oukaz submissively, without saying a word in opposition. As for the accusations, some of them he denied, and some he explained: for instance, he said: 'I never told any one to kiss my hand, but if any people came to me who desired to kiss it, I gave them my hand to kiss. My lodgings were built for me by oukaz of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich. For the tsar and for the œcumenical patriarchs I pray constantly, but for the patriarch Joachim, as patriarch, I do not pray, because the archbishop of Vologda wrote to the Kyrilloff monastery, and bade them pray for himself, but not for the patriarch; and also because through him, Joachim, all manner of mischief has been done; and now he is persecuting me: but as for the priests praying for the patriarch Joachim, they are not forbidden by me. In the ectenias the priests and deacons commemorate me of themselves as they please; but certainly I did not forbid them. I have never bidden any one to call me patriarch of Moscow, nor attempted to make any one so call me: those who were sent as messengers to me from the tsar Alexis themselves called me "Great holy father."'

Jelaboujsky and Paul spoke with Nicon in the sobor, and did their utmost to induce him to pray for the patriarch, and to utter no unbecoming words; but Nicon, as he went out from the church, said: 'I will pray to God for the great hossoudar, and for the œcumenical patriarchs; but for Joachim, as patriarch of Moscow, I will not pray, nor will I call him patriarch.' The same day they carried him away to the Kyrilloff monastery. This transportation to an unfriendly[18] monastery, where he could no longer act as master, as he had been used to act latterly in the Therapontoff, caused Nicon to change his tone. He was also much disturbed by the announcement that his two faithful companions, the priest Barlaam and the deacon Mardarius, were to be taken from him and sent to the Krestnoy monastery.[19]

[18] There is no reason to call it specially unfriendly; but the tsar Alexis, after his personal reconciliation with Nicon, had habituated the community of the Therapontoff to treat him with great respect and deference. The community of the Kyrilloff were used to obey orders, and to have charge of state prisoners.

[19] This, no doubt, was thoroughly cruel.

When the archimandrite Paul came to him before leaving, and began again to try to persuade him to pray for the patriarch, Nicon now replied: 'Let him be humane to me, and not cause me to be put an end to here before my time by close confinement, and I will pray for him, and name him patriarch. When, in presence of the tsar Alexis, I was questioned (in the synod) about my withdrawal to Voskresensk, I said then to the hossoudar that, for his humility, he might find a patriarch to suit him in Joachim.' Nicon with tears besought Paul to petition for him the tsar and the patriarch not to order Barlaam and Mardarius to be taken away from him, 'because they have got used to me, and I to them.' These two, Barlaam and Mardarius, being examined, declared that there was 'nothing bad' about Nicon. But Mardarius also said: 'I carried letters and petitions to the great hossoudar from Nicon to Moscow, and I used to give them to the confessor, and to the diak of the prikaz of secret affairs, Polianskoy, and they gave them to the great hossoudar. To the confessor I carried, as presents from Nicon, wooden stands of different sizes for dishes and cups, jugs, and glasses, also spoons, and fish, but to Polianskoy only fish.' One can understand that this revelation of the mediation of the hated Sabinoff between Nicon and the tsar was not likely to incline Joachim to show mercy to Nicon (Solovieff, ib.).

Perhaps no punishment which fell upon Joachim and the clergy of his time—though unnoticed and unfelt—was more marked than this, that they might have obtained from Nicon, almost for asking for it, a recognition which would have made good their vitiated position. 'Let him only treat me *with humanity*, and not persecute me, and I will recognise him, and pray for him publicly as patriarch.' But Joachim punished himself by preferring to stand upon such false right as he had already rather than to accept an offer which would have given him and all under him a true right; and so he continued to maintain falsehood and wrong, and to persecute justice.

8. Sabinoff was banished to the monastery of Kojeozersk. Nicon was transported to the Kyrilloff, and treated again as a simple monk, and as a close prisoner of state. But Simeon of Polotsk, the preceptor of the tsar Theodore, was more influential than ever (he made no secret of his veneration for Nicon and his contempt for the titular patriarch); and he printed his ser-

mons without the blessing of this latter at a press which he had set up within the palace itself (Solovieff, ib. p. 238).

There was another matter also, consequent upon the death of the tsar Alexis, which must have made Joachim feel painfully that he was the slave of others. If Nicon had been the sitting patriarch, assuredly Matveyeff and the Narishkins would have been in no danger. There is no reason at all to think that Joachim wished them ill, or was blind to the dangers which might ensue from their unjust banishment, and from the intrigues and ambition of Ivan Miloslafsky and others who were hostile to them. But he had served the boyars of the council to become patriarch, and now that he had become patriarch, it was necessary to serve them still, and to make himself an accomplice in their injustice and wickedness.

After a few years, when the tsar Theodore became older, and began to take an independent part in affairs of state, all Joachim's former fear and jealousy of Nicon was renewed, and carried to the highest pitch. For Simeon of Polotsk and the tsarevna Tatiana Michaelevna concurred in praising Nicon to the tsar as a confessor for justice and truth; and the tsar proposed to the council that Nicon should be set at liberty. And though for the present Joachim was able to set aside that proposal, he had before him the prospect of the same danger continuing and becoming more and more formidable. The tsar visited Nicon's foundation at Voskresensk, ordered the works there to be resumed at his own expense, and encouraged the monks to petition that their founder might be restored to them. He even, after his marriage in A.D. 1680, wrote an autograph letter to Nicon, asking his blessing for himself and his tsaritsa, and declaring his intention that Nicon should be restored 'to his completeness.' But again, just as Joachim's alarm was excited to the utmost, in A.D. 1680, Simeon of Polotsk died. And soon afterwards it became known that the patriarch Nicon himself was dying. The sin committed in Russia was to be *punished*, not to be *healed;* and therefore both Nicon and Theodore himself were now to be withdrawn by death; though this view of the matter was, no doubt, very far from the thoughts of Joachim. The death of Nicon was for him a matter of rejoicing, as for a narrow escape. Yet even this escape was accompanied by fresh mortifications. Nicon was after all set at liberty before he died; his

return was a sort of triumph; and the bringing of his body after his death to Voskresensk was like the translation of the relics of a saint. The tsar ordered him to be buried as a patriarch; and when Joachim objected the authority of the patriarchal council which had condemned and degraded him, the tsar, knowing that it had been his father and not any council, used the same power now to set aside that council and its act which his father had used to procure it, and Joachim was obliged to let the next senior bishop, the metropolitan of Novgorod, do that which he was unwilling to do himself. So Nicon was buried, as if Joachim had not been in existence, the tsar himself and all the imperial family and their court going out to Voskresensk, and assisting with reverence, as at an act of reparation, at the funeral.

Besides other fears and mortifications, Joachim was also disquieted, even before the death of the tsar Theodore, by signs of approaching changes in respect of kaftans, beards, and tobacco, changes which, after the condemnation of Nicon and the surrender of the Apostolic authority, remained still to be resisted by the Russian Church and clergy.

In A.D. 1681 the tsar Theodore issued an oukaz to all the synclete and to all the dvorianins and people of the prikazes, to wear short kaftans instead of the former long *okhabeys* and *odnoriadkas*. The patriarch Joachim at the same time saw with dismay that 'the heathenish, lewd, foul, foreign custom of shaving the beard, in years past many times forbidden, and in the days of the tsar Alexis entirely extirpated, has now again, by the insolence of young men, begun to deface the image given by God to the man.' The patriarch excommunicated from the Church those who shaved.

9. After the death of the tsar Theodore in May A.D. 1682, when the patriarch Joachim had joined in that act of the council, the nobility, and all orders which set aside the tsarevich John as incapable, and when he had already blessed the tsarevich Peter to the succession, he was forced, by an intrigue of Ivan Miloslafsky and the tsarevna Sophia, and by the violence of the streltsi, to bless also the acts of a murderous insurrection; after his exhortations had been rejected with contemptuous threats, and after he had shown that he had no mind to imitate the example set in A.D. 1650 by Nicon at Novgorod. It is only the *true* pastor[20]

[20] On the 3d July A.D. 1682, when Khovianskoy had presented some of the

who is so forward to lay down his life rather than suffer his flock to be misled. And not long afterwards, when forced, through the management of the boyar Khovianskoy, to a conference with the leaders of the *raskol*, 5th July A.D. 1682, 'seeing before him a danger from which he did not expect to get away alive, he went with the heads of the clergy to the *granovitaia palata* of the Kremlin *trembling and weeping*, only not by the *Krasnoe kriltso* (the main stair), where he might have been in most danger, but by the stair of the *Riz-polojenie*:' and he had refused absolutely to go at all unless he were to be protected by the presence of the imperial family.

§ iv. *The Moscow Academy, and the see of Kieff.*

Here we must advert in passing to two events which may seem at first sight foreign to our present subject, viz. the institution of the Slavono-Graeco-Latin Academy, with which was to be conjoined a court of inquisition to defend Orthodoxy, and the subjection of the metropolitan see and province of Kieff and Little Russia to the patriarchate of Moscow. But an apparent claim of *authority* for the Russian Church and an apparent aggrandisement of its patriarchate, being both hollow and unreal, will enhance by contrast that depression and extinction which was soon afterwards to follow. Detailed notices of these two events will be found in the Appendices.

§ v. *Sylvester Medvedeff is supported against the P. Joachim.*

In Siberia and in the territories of Novgorod, on the Don, and at Moscow itself there were disseminated assertions of the raskolniks that the patriarch was no patriarch, because he was

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streltsi to the patriarch, in the krestovaia palata, Joachim said to them: 'My children and brethren! it is no business of yours to judge even a common man, still less a bishop. You are merely laymen and soldiers; that is your business: go not out of your own line. I am a shepherd, *not a hireling*: I came in by the *door*' (*i.e.* by the tsar): 'I did *not* climb over the fence' (but that is just what he really *had* done): 'I did *not* covet to take such a burden to myself' (did he not?): 'nor did I obtain the apostolical chair by purchase (by men-pleasing?). I was elected (so was Pitirim, in A.D. 1660, to be guardian, after having been first made such by the tsar) by command of the great hossoudar and by the blessing and grace of all the sacred synod. Though I am unworthy, still I am your pastor, and *therefore* you ought to obey me. Instead of that, you contradict me and are disobedient. You revile our faith: you call the patriarch Nicon an heretic. But he was no heretic. If he was deposed, that was *for his disorderliness*' (and I am orderly!). 'He did no harm whatever to the *faith* among us,' &c. (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 346, 349).

infected with the Latin heresy; so that the patriarch Joachim had to write to the tsars and to the tsarevna Sophia to move them to defend the Church against its maligners. 'Suffer not,' he wrote, 'the bishops, and all the spiritual order, to be dishonoured by a rabble of ignorant and abusive men; defend it from interested corruption, and from all injurious attacks.' And at that very same time this patriarch himself was carrying on an obstinate and dangerous strife against people whom he accused of Latin novelties, of Latin heresy. We have seen how in the days of the tsars Alexis and Theodore there appeared at Moscow a Latin-Polish influence, in connection with the cultivation of the Latin and Polish languages, in the court and among the nobles. The chief promoter of this influence was considered to be the preceptor Simeon of Polotsk, who soon came into collision with the old teachers, and with the patriarch himself. Simeon was not inclined to give way to the chief Russian ecclesiastics, as he considered them to be ignorant men in comparison with himself. The Russian ecclesiastics were naturally offended at this; they observed in his opinions a difference from the opinions sanctioned by antiquity, and with satisfaction pointed to this as to a proof of his heterodoxy; and at the same time they supported themselves by the authority of a monk celebrated for his extensive learning who had been brought to Moscow from Kieff, Epiphanius Slavenetsky, a man who worked humbly in his cell, and was not of a character to push his way, or to contend with others. How the patriarch Joachim and his partisans looked upon Simeon of Polotsk, and how they tried to oppose to him Slavenetsky, may be illustrated by the following contemporary narrative: 'There had been invited from Kieff to Moscow by the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, to teach boys Greek science, an hieromonach named Epiphanius Slavenetsky, a man of much learning in grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, a practised judge of theology itself, and a most skilful critic and cautious translator of the Greek, Latin, Slavonian, and Polish languages. There was also another hieromonach, Simeon, surnamed Polotsky; and he too had studied, but not to the same extent; for he knew only Latin and Polish, but of Greek writings he understood nothing. Once the patriarch Pitirim (so in A.D. 1673) had invited both these men, Epiphanius and Simeon, to come to him to the krestovaia palata. They began to converse; and Simeon

asked Epiphanius: "How, father, does thy holiness believe about the transubstantiation?" Epiphanius replied that it is by the prayer of the priest, "and make this bread, &c., changing them by thy Holy Spirit," that the transubstantiation is effected. Simeon said to this: "In Kieff our Russians, who are also learned, say and think that it is only by Christ's words: Take and eat, &c., that the gifts are transubstantiated." Epiphanius replied: "Our people who live at Kieff have been taught and are taught only Latin, and they read only Latin books, but Greek they have not learned, and so they know not the truth about this matter."' The patriarch Joachim said of Simeon of Polotsk: 'Though he is a learned and well-conducted man, he was moulded by the Jesuits, and deceived by them, because he read only their Latin books.' Simeon's book, entitled *The Crown of Faith*, the patriarch called 'a crown plaited of thorns grown in the West;' and of his *Spiritual Obied* (banquet) he said that it was underneath 'full of spiritual *bied*' (mischiefs).

Two learned Greek monks (the brothers Joannicius and Sophronius Lichoudes) who had been obtained from the patriarch of Constantinople, and who came to Moscow in March A.D. 1685, to teach Russian boys and youths, and to direct the newly-founded Academy, brought to a head the celebrated controversy about the time of the transubstantiation. In the teaching of Simeon[1] of Polotsk there was contained, according to them, the heresy of *artolatry*. But it was not Simeon of Polotsk or his disciple Medvedeff alone who disseminated this heresy. According to the testimony of the patriarch Joachim, this heresy came to Moscow also from Russian youths who went into Poland to learn Latin. When they came back these youths communicated the Latin view of the matter to their acquaintances, to their ecclesiastical superiors, and to noblemen holding dignities in the tsar's palace: and so it came to be supposed that the mystery is really consummated by the recitation of the words of Christ.

To know when precisely the great sacramental act is consummated, and so to conform to it one's prayer and adoration, was a matter of great moment for Russians; and the controversy once raised was not easily to be set at rest. Simeon of Polotsk

[1] Simeon himself had died in A.D. 1680, but his teaching on the point in question was still maintained by his disciple Medvedeff.

had died in A.D. 1680: but he had left behind him a zealous disciple, quite ready and able to contend for the opinions of his master. One of the podiaks in the prikaz of secret service under the tsar Alexis was Simeon Petr. Medveydeff, who in that prikaz formed a friendship with his countryman (for they were both by origin from Koursk) and fellow-podiak Theodore Leont. Shaklovitoy. Medveydeff drew upon himself the notice of his superiors by his intellectual qualities; and they sent him to be taught Latin to Simeon of Polotsk, under whom he studied for three years; but when Ordin Nashchokin was sent as envoy to Courland, Medveydeff with his colleagues was ordered to go with that embassy, *to gain instruction*. The learned podiak, however, was not inclined to remain in the prikaz; he became a monk in the Molchansk hermitage at Poutivl, taking the name of Sylvester, and gained a reputation for sharp intelligence and for learning. Having been seen by the tsar Theodore in A.D. 1677, he was bidden to remain at Moscow, where he became stroitel of the Zaiconospassky monastery. Medveydeff took up warmly the defence of the opinion of Simeon of Polotsk, and consequently of the *artolatrous* heresy; and Medveydeff was strong at the court of the regent by his friendship with Shaklovitoy. Moreover, the learned Medveydeff was in the habit of speaking very disrespectfully of the learning of the patriarch Joachim; and a personal enmity grew up between them, together with the controversy about the time of the transubstantiation and about other opinions of Simeon of Polotsk, regarded as Latin novelties.

In the two Lichoudi, when they came, in A.D. 1685, and were established at Moscow as teachers, the patriarch Joachim found powerful supporters against the opinions of Simeon of Polotsk. Between them and Medveydeff there began a controversy. Medveydeff wrote a treatise entitled *Manna:* the Lichoudi answered it with another entitled *Akos* (the remedy). Then a deacon named Athanasius wrote a *Tetrad (a pamphlet) against Joannicius and Sophronius Lichoudi*, and they wrote in reply *Dialogues of a Greek teacher with a certain Jesuit*. Laymen and even women took sides in the controversy. Not all the bishops were on the side of the patriarch. Paul the metropolitan of Riazan taught the Latin doctrine to the clergy of his diocese. The Poles and the Jesuits who were in Moscow naturally took an interest in the strife. Polish books were handed about, full

of Latin scholasticism; and voices were heard asserting that in the Council of Florence the Latins had prevailed over the Greeks.

What is the Council of Florence? who knows? and where can one get it to read, so as to be able to answer our enemies? Joachim wrote to Kieff, to the metropolitan Gideon, to ask him about it. . . . Gideon explained how this matter was, and referred the patriarch to printed books, in which he would find an account of that council; for instance, to one printed at Moscow in 1648; and he concluded thus: 'That conciliabulum of Florence is not received by us, or rather it is rejected as heretical.'

But the partisans of Medveydeff appealed to a book printed in Little Russia, and entitled *An Exposition about the faith, and about the divine service*. Joachim again applied to the metropolitan Gideon, to the archimandrite of the Pechersky at Kieff Barlaam Yazinsky, and to Lazarus Baranovich of Chernigoff, insisting on the authority of the fathers of the Eastern Church, and taxing the new books printed in Little Russia under Peter Mogila (the *Great Trebnik*, the *Slujebnik*, the *Exegesis* of Silvester Kossov, a book *On the Seven Sacraments*, and another entitled *Lithos*) with error, and with discrepancy from the *Orthodox Confession*. At Kieff they remained silent. The patriarch insisted that they should send a testimony of their agreement with the Moscow definition of the time of the transubstantiation, and threatened that if they did not he would complain to the four patriarchs. . . . Still there was no answer, *because* there was going on at the same time between Moscow and Kieff another correspondence. The book *Manna* had been sent to the hetman Mazepa, and to the chief ecclesiastics at Kieff, together with the publications of the Lichoudi. Against the last they wrote a *Refutation*, and sent it to Moscow through the prince Basil Golitsin, when he was on his second Crimean campaign.

Thus the party of Medveydeff found for itself strong support *at the court*. The treatise *Manna* had been written at the command of Sophia. Golitsin sent to Moscow the *Refutation* composed at Kieff against the Lichoudi. Not only so: Golitsin was considered to be the protector of the Jesuits, who, thanks to him, appeared at Moscow. . . . (Solov. *Hist.* vol. xiv. p. 91).

It was not only the continuance of such a strife that embittered Joachim, but still more this, that he felt himself humiliated so long as the regent Sophia, and her minister the prince

Basil Golitsin, and her commander of the streltsi Shaklovitoy supported against him a monk who disregarded his patriarchal authority.

However, once more, after a few years, Joachim seemed to obtain a final triumph over his personal adversaries. The regency of Sophia was overthrown, and her zealous adherent, Medveydeff, after having been given up to the patriarch to be made to recant as a heretic, and to be degraded, was (in A.D. 1691) tortured and beheaded.

But this apparent triumph was soon to be followed by manifestations of the secular supremacy, and by mortifications, and by humiliations for Joachim and his successors and for all the clergy, in comparison of which any favour shown to a deposed primate, or to a confessor, or to a preceptor, or to the stroitel of a monastery, to the disparagement of the titular patriarch, would be as nothing.

§ vi. *The state becomes the disciple of foreign heterodox teachers, and admits to all offices, civil and military, heterodox foreigners and natives of the conquered provinces, forbidding only the descendants of the old Muscovites to abandon their ancestral Orthodoxy, and retaining them all by compulsion under its own spiritual supremacy.*

'Notwithstanding some disadvantages of social condition'—Solovieff writes—'the clergy in old Russia had still retained great importance: they were still recognised as being exclusively the teaching class: all enlightenment was shut up in the church books: and to the clergy it belonged to interpret them. The clergy were the only class in Russia bound to be enlightened; a boyar was not obliged to be able even to read and write; a priest could not be a priest without a knowledge of letters. The diak and the podiak also knew letters; but their literary knowledge served them only as a material means for obtaining a certain end; whereas from the priest there was required not only a knowledge of letters, but a capacity for teaching. There were, indeed, complaints and reproaches that the Russian clergy were not efficient in teaching, and that their conduct was not such as became teachers; but no one denied their exclusive right to teach, no one cast any suspicion on the general purity and orthodoxy of their doctrine.

'But in the second half of the seventeenth century, in consequence of Nicon's correction of the books, a part of the flock refused to obey the pastors; the authority of the patriarch, of all the patriarchs, and of their synods had no longer power over people to whom it seemed that they made them pray in a way different from that in which their ancestors had prayed. They cried out that the bishops and the priests taught error. Some were carried on openly to refuse obedience to the clergy; others, not daring to go so far as this, remained in doubt, and became lukewarm towards the Church. Thus the clergy saw formed against them a body of domestic adversaries, who contended for so-called *antiquity*, and attacked them, the clergy, for having made innovations.

'But presently there appeared also enemies of another sort. Among the Russians there began to be strongly felt the necessity of that instruction by which other nations had become powerful. But in order to obtain knowledge, there was need of teachers; these teachers could be only foreigners, aliens from the faith. Dangerous guests! They came in with all the authority of teachers, with a full sense of their own superiority over their disciples; and their disciples admitted this superiority. Thus in the face of the former teachers, of the former authorities, there appeared new teachers, new authorities, who did not recognise the importance of the former teachers, nor neglect any opportunity of expressing their contempt for them. How was the line to be drawn between the rights of the first and the second? How, after admitting the superiority of the new teachers in the general, could one refuse to recognise the same superiority in *one particular department?* How could there be such self-sufficiency and independence, such powers of thought, of analysis, and of knowledge in the disciples? Such was the difficult position in which the clergy found itself at the beginning of the new Russian history (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 39).

'Russia shook and was disturbed: the Russian people, after moving for eight centuries towards the East, began abruptly to turn towards the West; a turn, a new direction of national life, was required by that state of financial and moral bankruptcy which had been arrived at. Voices were uttered about the necessity of obtaining means which should render the nation *strong*, which should gain for it the respect of other nations, give it

*wealth*, and raise the tone of its *morality*. Voices were heard about the necessity of instruction. And there appeared teachers from different sides: Greek monks from Turkey, and monks from Western Russia, and petty gentlemen (*shliachtichi*) from Western Russia, with the education of the Polish schools. There appeared also teachers, of foreign nationality and foreign creeds, from the more distant West, *Niemtsi*,[22] teachers of military science, and of various other sciences and arts. These teachers came into collision with the old teachers: there ensued a conflict, and a division of parties: the people who were alarmed at the movement, at the *novelties*, cried out that the end of the world was at hand, and talked of the second coming, and of Antichrist. And they were right in a certain sense: Old Russia was coming to its end, and a new Russia was beginning.

'But in this dissolution of what was old, in these demands for something new, by what way was the revolution to be effected? We see that all was concentrated at Moscow in the Great Hossoudar. All those who were not of the privileged classes, but subject to burdens (*tiaglie*), called themselves the *orphans* (*sirati*) of the tsar; while even those who were of the privileged classes called themselves in all documents his *slaves* (*kholopi*). Both the one part and the other of the nation—so at least says our author—felt that the old system could not go on: but, in the absence of enlightenment, they could not perceive distinctly how to get out into a new road: they could not take the initiative, which therefore must show itself from above: the business must be taken in hand by the Great Hossoudar.

'The work of revolution or of transformation was necessarily to be taken in hand and carried on by the successors of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich. How will they proceed on the way on to which the nation has already turned? This will depend upon their personal character and education. We have seen that while there was a general sense of the necessity of instruction, there appeared teachers of different kinds. In order that the new enlightenment might not damage the old piety, there were called in teachers from the Orthodox clergy of Greece and of Western Russia. These people brought with them to Moscow school learning, and a demand for the institution of schools. But the

[22] *i.e.* Germans, Swedes, Dutch, and English, or Scotch, who are all included under this name, though it belongs specially to the Germans.

learned men from Western Russia would naturally organise schools after the model of those of Western Russia, and these were after the model of the *Polish* schools. In general, the learned men from Western Russia had been educated under a strong Polish influence, in consequence of that close union in which their country was joined with Poland: they had no literary language of their own: they wrote either in the Church-Slavonic dialect, or in Latin, or in Polish: and the Polish literature afforded them a plentiful source of materials. This habitual use of the Polish literature and language they brought with them to Moscow. . . . These teachers brought to us grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology; in the time of the tsar Alexis they represented the necessity of setting up schools for the teaching of these sciences, and under the successors of Alexis they obtained their end.

'But these teachers could not teach that which was plainly most wanted. The thing *most necessary of all* was to get out of the existing financial disorder; to get wealth and strength. In order to get wealth by commerce and by industry, there was need of the sea; the sea could be got at only by a war. It was necessary, then, to learn the arts of war, of shipbuilding and navigation, and of fortification; it was necessary to learn how to make roads, to cut canals, and, in a word, to learn all *useful* sciences and arts. Neither Greek nor West-Russian monks, nor half-Poles from the petty gentry of Western Russia, such as the Muscovite nobles kept in their houses as preceptors, could teach all this. For this there was need of *Niemtsi*; for this it was necessary to go, not to Kieff or Warsaw, but farther to the west, to the states of the Niemtsi bordering on the sea (*i.e.* to Holland and England).

'So under that pressing need of instruction, which the successors of Alexis had to satisfy, there were before them teachers of two kinds: Greeks and West-Russians on the one hand, Niemtsi on the other. The teachers would necessarily have an influence on their pupils: hence there were two influences, a *Polish* influence and a *German*. The successors of the tsar Alexis were divided between these teachers and influences, according to their different personal characters and educations.

'The tsar Theodore was a reformer, but only so far as he could be one living confined within the walls of his palace. He

was the pupil of the West-Russian monk Simeon of Polotsk, and in his education the ecclesiastical element necessarily predominated. The Polish influence too was there. Theodore knew the Polish language; so too did his sister the tsarevna Sophia. Theodore knew also Latin, though not so well as his elder brother, the tsarevich Alexis, had known it. Thanks to the example and the help of Simeon of Polotsk, he also wrote verses. So, during the reign of Theodore and the regency of Sophia, the impulse given by teachers from Western Russia predominated. This predominance was expressed by the foundation of the Slavono-Graeco-Latin Academy. But here we find the patriarch Joachim showing a suspicion of the direction given to learning at Moscow by Simeon of Polotsk, and hastening to secure himself by the help of *Greek* teachers (the two Lichoudi). There began a violent conflict, in which eventually (after the deaths of Simeon of Polotsk and of the tsar Theodore) the patriarch obtained the victory. Here ended the *Polish* influence: the *Catholic* tendency and proselytism was stopped; the Jesuits (who had been allowed at Moscow for the benefit of Catholic foreigners) were sent away.

'The youngest son of the tsar Alexis had a different nature and a different education from that of the elder sons and daughters of the same tsar. Peter got into the German suburb, and the transformation of Russia took a different direction. He liked to read books no less than his elder brothers, the disciples of Simeon of Polotsk, but he was not like a student in a class of rhetoric, he was a shipwright, a *skipper*. In consequence of this the Slavono-Graeco-Latin Academy now sank to a secondary place; there appeared other schools, and teachers of another sort, who were chiefly Protestant Niemtsi; and we shall see the guardian of the patriarchal chair, Stephen Yavorsky, thinking it necessary to struggle against *Protestant tendencies*, and even a Protestantising proselytism, as before the patriarchs Joachim and Adrian had thought it necessary to make a stand against Catholicism' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiii. p. 222).

The clergy resisted in vain: materialism so prevailed, that in A.D. 1740, when there was a reaction against the direct rule of German heretics, such as Biron, nothing more was even sought than a return to that *comparative* Orthodoxy of Peter I., which had been *heathenism* for Peter's own generation.

§ vii. *Vain efforts of the patriarchs Joachim and Adrian to stem the torrent of innovation by admonitions and condemnations, which only brought upon them expressions of contempt and bitter humiliations.*

1. 'Things were in a bad state, and could not go on as they were, that people saw; but how to remedy the evil? On this opinions were divided. Some said that abroad it was better, and it was necessary to look in that direction; others reiterated that the first thing to be done was to send away the Niemtsi, who were the source of all the mischief. This last opinion was held, as we have seen, by the patriarch Joachim. He had triumphed by the fall of Sophia: his enemy, Medveydeff, was secularised, confessed himself guilty of heresy, and was capitally punished as a traitor. The clergy of Little Russia hastened to send him their assurances that they agreed in all things with his holiness. To Lazarus Baranovich of Chernigoff, who pleaded the local customs of Little Russia, there was sent a patriarchal letter, containing the following: "We wrote to thee, desiring to be assured of thy consent and accord with the holy Eastern Church, and with us, thy primate; and thy godliness, despising us, thy father and archpastor, and regarding us as nothing, after a long time didst condescend to answer, but not so as befitted thy wisdom. We asked thee of one thing, and thou hast answered us about another: we proposed to thee questions from the east, and thou, running off to the other side, speakest from the west: even a common man ought to be ashamed so to speak. Instead of opposing to us a custom delivered by the holy fathers, you talk of your own inveterate custom, and of novelties which through inattention have crept into your recently-revised and recently-written books. Declare to us all with sincerity, and without delay, that there be not manifested before us your disobedience and contumacy. Or art thou alone exempt *from the power given to us?* The metropolitan Gideon and the archimandrite Barlaam have sent to us the assurance of their consent and accord in all things. As long as thou dost not notify to us about thyself the same, dare not to officiate till thou be brought to trial and definitively judged: thou shalt know thy head and thy father, and shalt be taught not to be contemptuous and rebellious towards thy primate, and towards the holy Eastern Church. But if thou

art consentient with the holy Eastern Church, and signifiest at once thy consent and accord with us, then officiate freely." Lazarus submitted.

'Basil Bas. Golitsin, the protector of the Jesuits, was in exile, and the patriarch, with all the sacred synod, petitioned, representing that "certain Jesuits have been living in Moscow a long time, without having my business there. But heretofore, in old time, under your imperial ancestors, Roman Jesuits have never been allowed to come into the Muscovite empire, nor to live in it. But now those Jesuits, living in Moscow, make great opposition to the Catholic Apostolic Church, and to her doctrines, by their printed letters, and by their images on canvas and on ivory, as well as by other beguilements. But between the holy Catholic Apostolic Eastern Church and the Western Roman Kostel there are many differences. And the great hossoudars are prayed no longer to allow them, the Jesuits, for such above-mentioned reasons, to live in the Muscovite empire." The great hossoudars made oukaz that "the Jesuits David and Tobias be sent away from Moscow honourably, and that there be given to them an allowance, and conveyances to the Lithuanian frontier." The Jesuits petitioned that they might be allowed to write word of their dismissal to the emperor of Germany, and that they should be allowed to stay on for some fixed term, till they should have sold their dvor in the German sloboda, which had been bought with the emperor's money, and should have made the necessary preparations for their journey. To write and to wait for an answer from the emperor of Germany was not allowed them, and for their preparations they were allowed only two days. That the Jesuits in future might never in any way steal into Russia, there was issued an oukaz: "The great hossoudars have made oukaz, out of brotherly friendship for his Cæsarian majesty, that there may be at Moscow one *xendz* or two; only those *xendzes*, while they live at Moscow, must not meddle with any matters not belonging to their duty and not their own, nor make any opposition to the Græco-Russian faith, nor pervert from it Russian people, nor go to Russian people into their houses; but they must perform their service in houses of the chief people of the Roman faith: also they must not write nor send into other countries through the post any journals or idle letters whatsoever; nor under the name of those *xendzes* and under their habit

of *zendses* may there live in Moscow Jesuits, but those *zendses* must be secular *plebani*, not Jesuits: and if there should be discovered to be in Moscow, instead of those *plebani*, Jesuits, then those Jesuits *and plebani too* shall be expelled from Moscow altogether, and shall be no longer permitted to live there.

2. 'With his triumph over Medveydeff and the Jesuits, Joachim, one can understand, would not be very courteously disposed towards all the foreigners in the service, against whom he had already before that risen up. On the 28th Feb. A.D. 1690, on occasion of the birth of the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich, the most distinguished of these foreigners were invited to the tsar's banquet in the Kremlin. The patriarch protested against this innovation; and he carried his point. And this happened at a time when the young tsar with his grandees and his other favourites were constantly going themselves to entertainments given by the foreigners in the German sloboda, and inviting the foreigners in return' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. ib.).

Before his death, which occurred in March A.D. 1690, the patriarch Joachim wrote a will, in which, after all that related personally to himself, he added the following exhortation:

'Farther, I discharge my last pastoral duty, and recommend, for the health and salvation of their souls, and for all precaution and security both of the body politic and of the imperial autocracy, to the most religious hossoudars—through my sinful hands the Anointed Ones of God—for the preservation and government of their inherited empire of all Russia, my sons in the Holy Ghost, John and Peter Alexievich, autocrats of all Great, Little, and White Russia, that they, the hossoudars, continue to live in their ancestral imperial dignity piously and justly, in all excellence, in purity, in *temperance*, and in *sanctity*, as becomes Anointed persons, zealously striving, according to the injunction of the Apostle, to be to all Orthodox and religious peoples patterns of good works.

'Let them be zealous to love with all their souls the Orthodox Catholic faith in God, and to honour as their mother the holy Church, one in the *universe*, which has been established among us *in the East*, and to abide in her right doctrine unwavering, and to keep firmly uninfringed the traditions and doctrines which have been defined and established by the holy fathers in the councils. For as without right faith it is impossible to please God, so with-

out the wisdom of the holy *Eastern* Church, and her bright divinely-delivered instruction, it is impossible for any one to be saved. And since through the holy creed we believe that there is one holy Catholic (lit. *Collective*) and Apostolic Church, let them be zealous to protect it against the destructive attacks of all heresies, and by their imperial power to *assist* in all things the Church of the Lord, and its ministers of the sacred and spiritual order, and to supply them with all things necessary, of their imperial grace. And let them not *deprive of their allotted portion* those who minister to God in all the churches, and pray for them, the hossoudars; nor *suffer them to be wronged* in anything: for so doing, according to the Psalmist, they shall receive from Christ our God an abundant reward.

'As most religious hossoudars, and most faithful tsars, natural lords of all the peoples of the Russian empire, let them treat with gracious and tender consideration their people of every order, high and low, rich and poor, bond and free, male and female; let them deliver them from all injustice and wrong; let them be to the utmost watchful and earnest to obtain for them just judgment in civil matters, and to show them in that respect great grace and affection. For injustice in judgments and dishonesty among the people has greatly increased, and very many widows and orphans and people helpless from their poverty on account of their wrongs lament bitterly in their affliction. For the judgment of God among the people is committed to you, the tsars; and this the Lord God will require of you. Wherefore I pray you, hossoudars, be ye also careful about this, and defend all from injustice.

'Farther, let not them, the hossoudars, allow any one of the Orthodox Christians in their empire to make connection by intermarrying with heretics of other faiths, Latins, Lutherans, Calvinists, godless Tatars (whom God abhors, and the Church of God anathematises, with their foul and impious deceptions), but keep away from them as from enemies of God and maligners of the Church. Let them by their imperial oukaz forbid aliens in faith who have come hither into this religious empire to preach their faiths, or to converse disparagingly of the faith with any one, or to introduce their foreign customs, congenial to their heresies, to the deception of Christians: let them forbid this strictly on pain of severe punishment: and let them absolutely

forbid them to build houses of prayer according to the deceptions of their heretical assemblies: and such as exist here already, near to or among the dwellings of Christians, it were a good deed and a duty to suppress, as diabolical meeting-houses. For the infidel Tatars and the heretics who have apostatised from the holy Church are all accursed. For if the Apostle St. Paul, speaking even of them who are brethren in the one Christian faith, still, if they be *drunken and disorderly*, commands us to separate ourselves from them, and not keep company with them, how much more must we by all means separate ourselves from such heretics as are *both profligates and maligners of our holy faith?* For the heretics, as the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and the Latins, do not counsel or speak what befits reasonable and Christian men, but things newly invented and foreign to true piety. . . . The Apostle teaches thus (1 Cor. v. 11): "But now I have written unto you, brethren, not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother —much less if he be also an alien in faith—be a *fornicator*, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a *drunkard*, or an extortioner: with such an one not even to eat." But among those of other creeds all these vices are dominant. And yet *many Orthodox and honourable persons* eat with them without being ashamed, and are not afraid to sin by departing *from this commandment* and precept, and so from the holy Church, and setting up for themselves instead *a law of contempt*. How shall they escape the curse which is ever proclaimed by the Psalmist: Cursed are they that do swerve from thy commandments?[23] From which curse may God keep all Christians! And elsewhere the scripture says: "Put away the evil from among you." This is the plain direction of God himself, how to deal with heretics of other creeds and infidels, and what kind of friendship we ought to have with them.

'But in what way may the health and integrity of their empire be preserved in decency, so that it may be well-pleasing to God? In this, if all the people are sincere in the truth, are diligent in good works, and maintain good and *fixed* manners. And let them not accustom themselves to foreign manners, which

[23] The evil spirit might have replied in behalf of Peter and Lefort to Joachim: Jesus I know, and Nicon I know, and the Pope of Rome I know, but who are *ye?* And they fled out of that house (the Muscovite *patriarchate*) *naked* and *wounded*.

are unprofitable, and not built upon the faith. And without knowledge of the scriptures let them not converse about the faith with heretics, nor listen at all to their deceptive teaching: but let them uphold strenuously the reasonable and temperate ways and manners of their ancestors in all that they do. For it is written: "Be not carried about by every wind," changing hastily to what is unprofitable; and, "Despise not thine elders;" and, "In every work that thou beginnest *consider the end, what it will be.*" This precept is to *all*. For all the creation, and time itself, is rapidly changed by time; and the end—that is, death—is approaching for all; to which I also, both by my years and by my ails, am now brought near.

'Again, I beseech their most illustrious majesties the religious tsars, and charge them before God our Saviour, to forbid absolutely that the accursed foreign heretics should hold commands in the polks of their majesties over the people of the service, and in all the empire, and to order that such enemies of Christ be removed altogether from such offices; because those aliens in creed are not of one mind with us Orthodox Christians about the faith; they agree not at all in the traditions of the fathers, they are aliens from our mother the Orthodox Church. And what help can such accursed heretics bring to the Orthodox army? They only draw down the wrath of God. For Orthodox Christians, according to the order and custom of the Church, pray to God; but they, the heretics, sleep in their beds, and do their foul deeds of impurity, and abhor the prayers of the Christians. Christians, honouring the immaculate Virgin, the Mother of God, ever ask her help, and that of all the Saints; but the heretics who hold commands in the regiments scoff at that, and, according to their deceitful doctrine, utter blasphemies, and honour not at all the immaculate Mother of God, nor the Saints. In like manner they honour not the holy icons, but deride and insult all Christian piety. The Christians fast, but the heretics never; whose God, according to the words of the Apostle, is their belly. Though they march with the regiments, yet for their deceit God is not with them. And there is no benefit whatever from them. For it is not in men's muscles that the Lord has pleasure; but the Lord's delight is in them that fear Him, and them that put their trust in His mercy He delivers. For to Moses, who saw God, He gave command, saying: "Put away that which

is evil from among you." And aliens in faith he suffered not to come into the assemblies of the children of Israel. Again, the Lord said: "When thou goest to war with thy host abstain from every foul word." But in our Christian regiments there are foul living idols, heretics who vilify our holy faith and piety, Lutherans and Calvinists and Latins; men of perverse thoughts, wolves having command over lambs, to whom they do all manner of hurt. For it is not well that an heretic, a man not Orthodox, should in an Orthodox empire hold rule or command and jurisdiction over Orthodox Christians.

'Are there not Orthodox people enough to hold such offices, and to order all that is needed? By the grace of God there are in the Russian empire Orthodox people skilled in war and in military matters not a few. But if heretofore also, both in former times and within our own memory, there have been aliens in faith among the Russian forces, what benefits have we gained from them? Few indeed! It is plain that they are enemies of God, of the immaculate Mother of God, and of the holy Church, and of us Christians. It is for the faith and for the Church of God, even more than for their country and their homes, that Orthodox Christians, not sparing their lives, are ready and forward to die in battle: but of this they, the heretics, when they are commanders, have not even a thought.

. . . 'Farther, I declare that recently, before the Crimean campaigns, my humility spoke plainly of all the above matters, as being an elder, and taught and intreated, and made representations to those who were in command, by word and by writing, that there should not be foreign commanders in the regiments. But the noble tsarevna was not pleased then to listen to me; nor did the prince Basil Golitsin listen to me. And what followed? Disgrace and ignominy, as all know! And as for the straits and losses of the people, who can calculate them?

'Again I repeat and admonish you not to allow anywhere in your empire and dominions foreign heretics to build Roman kostels, or German kirchs, or Tatar mosques, nor to admit new Latin foreign customs, and foreign changes in dress: for thereby the piety of the Christian empire will not be assisted to spread from day to day. And of this I with all my soul pray and beseech you, the most religious tsars; and as I am a bishop, I offer

this my testamentary exhortation to you and to all religious autocrats in time to come, &c.

'And I wonder at the palace counsellors and rulers of the imperial synclete who, when serving on embassies, have been in foreign lands. Have they not seen that every realm has its own manners, and customs, and dress? that they give not to people of another religion any offices whatever, nor allow foreigners to build places of worship? Does there exist anywhere in German states a church of the Orthodox faith? No, not one! But here that which is unheard of elsewhere is allowed to the heretics, viz. to build for their accursed heretical assemblies houses of prayer, in which they maliciously curse and bark at Orthodox people, and revile the faith, and inveigh against the holy icons, and insult us Christians, and call us idolaters and impious towards God. This is not good, but bad, and very bad' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. ii. App. No. ix. p. 167-177).

3. If this last utterance of the dying patriarch did not echo the voice of quite the whole of the Russian people, at least not in the highest classes of society, secular no less than spiritual, all the same the Russians in general had a strong aversion for foreigners: all their customs, even the most innocent, seemed to them either ridiculous or abominable (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. ii. p. 117).

§ viii. *Similar efforts of the patriarch Adrian*, A.D. 1690-1700.

1. It was not till three months after the death of Joachim (17th March A.D. 1690) that the synod of the clergy began to deliberate about the choice of a patriarch to succeed him. The highest of its members suggested Marcellus the metropolitan of Pskoff, a man learned and civilised; the lower members were against Marcellus, and suggested Adrian the metropolitan of Kazan, who had already by order of the tsars taken upon himself the adminstration or guardianship of the vacant see. The tsar Peter was on the same side with the bishops, and wished for Marcellus; but the tsaritsa Natalia, with the archimandrites, the hegoumens, and the lower clergy were strongly in favour of Adrian. The enemies of Marcellus did not approve of his extensive learning; and they said that *a learned patriarch would favour the people of other faiths*. Some archimandrite or other presented to the tsaritsa a written memorial in which Marcellus

was even accused of heresy. The enemies of Marcellus prevailed, and Adrian was raised to the patriarchal chair (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 141-144).

The patriarch Adrian, though a man of less energy than Joachim, disliked equally with Joachim foreigners and foreign innovations; and he too, in the first year of his patriarchate, put forth a pastoral against the custom of shaving the beard: 'Soldiers of all ranks'—he wrote—'officers, and privates, put away from you the heretical custom of shaving and clipping your beards. God has forbidden it, and the holy Apostles have forbidden it, saying: It is not fit to mar the hairs of the beard, nor to change the image of the man; for God has made this comely for women. Only Julian the apostate, and the heretic Heraclius, and the iconoclast Constantine, the idolater Olgerd, and the infidel Selim Amurath made their subjects to shave and to clip their beards, even to the skin. Our Saviour Christ himself had a beard. Like him, the holy Apostles, the prophets, the fathers, the religious emperors, Constantine the Great, Theodosius, Vladimir, all had the beard, and kept it as an ornament given by God; and so to this day we see them represented on icons: and all at the resurrection will rise such as the Lord created them.

'O extreme transgressors! have ye now come to think it an adornment to shave off your beards, and to leave only moustaches? Such is the fashion given by God the Creator not to men, but to cats and dogs. Do ye wish to make yourselves like to brute beasts, or to confound yourselves with the heretics who have fallen into such an abyss of error that not only laymen, common persons, and nobles, but even monks, shave their beards and moustaches, and so are like to pathicks and eunuchs? Aforetime they shaved the beard only of malefactors for ignominy and punishment. Look at the icon of the terrible Judgment: see ye not on the right hand of Christ the righteous adorned with their beards, but on the left the Mahometans, the Lutherans, the Poles, and other shavers of the beard, with only moustaches, like cats and dogs? See to what your imaginary adornment is bringing you!

'To shave the beard is not only a disfigurement and a dishonour, but it is a mortal sin. For this lewd insanity has been anathematised by the former most holy patriarchs, with whom we also agree, decreeing and confirming the same anathema. From

the time of the enlightenment of the Russian people by Orthodoxy, among our ancestors to shave the beard was never so much as heard of till Moscow was overrun by the Poles and Lithuanians, when, by the pusillanimity of some, together with other heretical customs, this strange foreign and bad custom also was introduced among the Russian people, though it was soon condemned by the most holy patriarch Philaret: he anathematised synodically such doglike disfigurement. The same anathema was repeated afterwards by the patriarch Joseph. And the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, *that strenuous defender of Orthodoxy*, excluded from his presence such as shaved their beards; and some he even ordered to be punished capitally by the civil power. All such were excommunicated from the Church by the spiritual authority, and deprived of the episcopal blessing. And if any one after that prohibition dared to shave his beard, such a one the holy fathers commanded to be delivered over to anathema. From that time the heretical disfigurement ceased in Great Russia to the present lamentable time.

'O Orthodox people! receive not this criminal badge, but loathe it as an abomination. For the shavers of the beard, unless they repent, according to the decree of the synod, the entrance of the church is forbidden; and they are deprived of the communion of the holy mysteries. If any one of them dies without repentance, he ought not to be buried with Christian burial, nor commemorated in the prayers of the Church. Such a one, who while he lives resists the law of God, where will he stand at the day of judgment—with the righteous adorned with beards, or with the heretics who shave? Judge ye of this for yourselves.'

The voice of the patriarch was the voice of that age. Even the Kniaz-Tsesar Romodanofsky himself, when he heard that the boyar Golovin had appeared at the court of Vienna without a beard, in German costume, exclaimed with displeasure: 'I will not believe that Golovin has gone to such a pitch of folly!'

There has come down to us also a curious sermon, preached by the patriarch Adrian on the day of the metropolitan St. Alexis (12th Feb.), just before one of the campaigns against Azoff. After attacking the old vice of drunkenness, the preacher attacks also new sins: 'Not only the other fasts appointed for different times of the year, but even the great Lent itself is disregarded

by many. Men, women, and youths, and people of the sacred order are constantly drinking to excess; and with wine, tobacco, and all sorts of liquors they insatiably get drunk. And not only do they eat forbidden meats, but by malice and envy they bite and devour one another, and kill, and rob, judge unjust judgment, and do violence and wrong. There is a common proverb: "All that is abstracted from others which is spent in getting drunk." Moderation in all things fits a man for good action, but without moderation, not only tobacco—which is hurtful and filthy—but Rhine wine also, destroys men. Now both noblemen and common people, even youths, make a boast of drunkenness, and say shamelessly one to another: "At such and such a time I was drunk;" and, "I slept through all the time of the church service" on the Lord's festivals. Not only in their drunken and nocturnal revels, but everywhere and at all times, unlearned people, who understand not the sacred ceremonies which we have received and use in the Church, nor ask to be informed about them of others, fancy themselves enlightened, when they are as idiots, besotted with smoke of tobacco-pipes, and profane conversation of Lutherans, Calvinists, and other heretics. Having turned aside from the paths of their fathers, they say: "Why is this or that done as it is in the church? there is no use in this; that is an invention of men: and one could get on without that." He who scarce knows the names of the church books, or the structure of the church language, already teaches bishops and priests, regulates monasteries, bids all people be on their guard, settles ecclesiastical and civil ranks. The heretics and workers of confusion say: "Of what use are these blessings and consecrations, these commemorations of departed souls, molebens to God, to the Mother of God, and to His Saints?" (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xiv. p. 150.)

2. The patriarchs Joachim and Adrian excommunicated from the Church those who shaved; they excommunicated those who kept company with such. 'Vain efforts'—exclaims Solovieff—'which turned only to the damage of the authority of the Church and the clergy!' And Oustrialoff observes that 'the more obstinately the Russians held to their beard, the more odious it became to Peter, as the badge of antiquated prejudices, as the ensign of slumbering ignorance, as a perpetual barrier against friendly approximation to foreigners, and to the adoption

from them of all that might be useful. And at length the impetuous tsar no longer endured to see around him people with beards, either in the palace, or in the army, or on the wharf. The very first day after his return from abroad, in A.D. 1698 (on the 26th of August), before torturing and butchering the streltsi, he attacked the beards of his boyars and courtiers, and shaved some of them with his own hand; and again, on the 1st of Sept., he made his jester give them another hint; after which it was fully understood that the fashion of wearing the beard was disallowed. The boyars, the courtiers, the military, the civil officials of the prikazes, and the ship-carpenters had at once to yield to his inflexible will.

While the streltsi were being put to the question in fourteen chambers of torture at Preobrajensk, and preparations making for those horrible executions, or rather butcheries, which were to follow (between 17th Sept. A.D. 1698 and the end of that month), the patriarch Adrian, remembering that his predecessors on such occasions had mediated between the tsars and the objects of their wrath, showing grief and compassion for those condemned, and preventing or lessening bloodshed, took the icon of our Lady, and went to Preobrajensk to Peter. But the bogatir—writes Solovieff—(the hero-savage) burst out; nobody, nothing could restrain him. He had no sooner caught sight of the patriarch but he cried out: 'What's the meaning of that icon? Is it your business to come here? Be off with you, and *set the icon again in its place*. Know that I worship God and honour his holy Mother *perhaps better than thou*. It belongs to my supreme office, and to the piety due towards God, to *protect the people*, and to prosecute with public vengeance crimes tending to the ruin of all' (Solovieff, vol. xiv. p. 259 and 358, quoting from Korb's *Diarium*, p. 83).

In the executions which followed of two priests, attached to those regiments of the streltsi which had mutinied, one was hanged in front of the *tiunskaia izba*, and the other was beheaded: the head of this latter was stuck up upon a stake, and his body put upon the wheel. For five whole months, during the frosts of that winter, the bodies were left exposed, as a warning to the inhabitants of Moscow (Solov. vol. xiv. p. 260).

3. As soon as the consternation caused by the inquest and the executions of the streltsi had somewhat subsided, there began

to be manifestations of discontent against the shaving off of the beards. The clergy, with the patriarch at their head, found themselves now placed in a *most awkward* position. They had proclaimed that shaving the beard was a practice hateful to God, and all at once the tsar, by his example and by his oukaz, introduced this wicked practice. There was nothing for them but either to reiterate their former judgment—that is, to go against *the supreme authority*—or to be silent. They preferred naturally to be silent, and so drew upon themselves *bitter taunts and reproaches* from the zealots for ancestral traditions.

In July 1699 Joasaph, archimandrite of the Znamensky, gave in the following information: 'I was at a funeral, and seeing there a scandal—one Ivashka Nagoi and others with him, in hair-shirts, in which they go about and deceive the people, and get money from them, I ordered him and two others, Ivashka Kalinin and Gerasimus Bosoi, to be taken up, and I caused Ivashka Nagoi to be brought before me into my cell, and I questioned him of his going about as he did. He said: "There is no sin in that; and I am ready to give it up, and to do something else instead: I will go to Preobrajensk and rebuke the tsar, because he cuts off beards and lives with the Germans, and his belief is German." I said to him: Accursed adversary (Satan), thou Nagoi (*i.e.* naked, or manifest) devil! What hast thou seen? or hast thou gone out of thy mind? Among us the most holy patriarch is *the head*, and he *represents the image of God*, and from him *I have heard of no scandal*. Nagoi replied: "What sort of a patriarch is he, indeed? he lives from the morsel that they give him: all he wants is to sleep, and to eat: ah, yes, he *keeps* still a mandya, and a white klobouk: that is why *he* rebukes nobody; and *you*, vlasts, are *all hirelings*." ' Nagoi was tortured at Preobrajensk: and, after being put to the fire, he was knouted and sent to Azoff, to the galleys.

4. We have seen that in the time of the tsar Michael tobacco was forbidden, but at the beginning of the reign of Alexis it was in use, and was sold by the government. But the zealots for ancestral tradition rose up against it, and denounced the accursed weed, and caused the government to take the most severe measures to prevent the use of it. Peter, before going abroad in A.D. 1697, legalised the sale and use of tobacco, and thereby increased the discontent of many. 'What sort of a tsar have

we now,' they said, 'to let in that accursed tobacco? The present popes are wolves, outragers of the Church of God; the popes and people of other orders smoke tobacco, and then receive the antidoron.'

Voltaire writes that 'the patriarch had excommunicated all those who smoked tobacco, and the clergy regarded it as one of their great privileges to prevent the Russian nation from smoking. The tsar, however, took the money which was offered him in England for a monopoly of the sale of tobacco (in Russian ports), and (in reply to an anticipation of difficulty to be apprehended from the opposition of the clergy) he said that he would make the clergy smoke tobacco themselves. He was preparing for them many more innovations besides that' (vol. ii. Paris ed. p. 209).

5. Voltaire might well write that Peter had more and worse innovations in store for the clergy than that of allowing the use of tobacco, or even than that of cutting off beards. The Slavono-Graeco-Latin Academy, with its inquisitorial functions, had been founded, it is true, as a bulwark for Orthodoxy; and the metropolitan see of Kieff, the mother of all Russian sees, had been subjected to Joachim patriarch of Moscow: but the chair of Moscow, and Orthodoxy itself, remained since the 10th July A.D. 1658 subject to the supremacy of the tsar.

In A.D. 1698 the supreme head of Orthodoxy had ordered the patriarch Adrian to tonsure his wife the tsaritsa Eudocia. This order had not been executed at once; and in September of the same year the tsar expressed anger against the patriarch on account of the delay. Adrian shifted the blame from himself on to an archimandrite and four priests to whom he had given the order, and who had objected that it was unlawful to tonsure any one by force (Korb, p. 80). Being the successor not of Nicon but of Pitirim, Ligarides, Joasaph II., and Joachim, and representing not the New Jerusalem but the tsar's national Church, the patriarch Adrian merely mentioned, *without making himself a party to it*, the objection of his subordinates; and they in consequence were arrested and taken off in the night to Preobrajensk, where the inquest on the streltsi was then going on. How they were examined or punished is not said; but Guarient, the imperial resident at Moscow, was told that the patriarch did not get off without the payment of a large sum of money. Eudocia,

on the 23d Sept., was sent away to the Pokrovsky monastery at Souzdal; and nine months later Peter sent a special oukaz, dated 22d June A.D. 1699, to the archimandrite Barlaam and the monks of the Spass-Euthymieff monastery at Souzdal, commanding them — without any allusion either to the diocesan bishop or to the patriarch—thus: 'When this letter reaches you, and *our okolnik* Simeon Iv. Yazikoff sends any one to your monastery for any *matter of ours*, you are to *obey him, our okolnik*, in *all* things.' The okolnik, after delivering the oukaz, required of them that they should send an hieromonach named Hilarion to the Pokrovsky monastery 'for a certain secret service.' The okolnik, who had been living near the Pokrovsky monastery ten weeks, and going to see the tsaritsa every day, took the hieromonach into the cell of the hegoumina Mariamne, and *there* ordered him in the tsar's name to tonsure the tsaritsa. And so she was forcibly tonsured, and clothed as a nun behind a curtain, and renamed Helena. The Orthodox Russian people —so Esipoff writes—never forgave Peter this act of tonsuring the tsaritsa without any ecclesiastical judgment and sentence, but always for this censured the tsar, as appears from papers of the Preobrajensky prikaz and of the Secret Chancery still preserved. The tonsure of the two tsarevnas, Sophia and Martha, was also no doubt in truth compulsory, but we may suppose—since the contrary is not stated—that in their cases an outward consent was extorted by the means of *persuasion* used towards them.

6. While Peter was abroad, in A.D. 1697 and 1698, his general Sheremetieff, who had triumphed at Moscow for the capture of Azoff, together with four or five other Russian nobles, were at Rome, whence Sheremetieff and some others of his companions returned Catholics. Sheremetieff too returned *without a beard*. The address made by Sheremetieff to Pope Innocent XII. in April A.D. 1698, when he presented to the Pope a letter from the tsar, has been published from the Vatican Archives by Tourgenieff, and will be found in our Appendices at the end of this volume.

7. But it was not only by preference of the enlightenment and the manners and customs of foreigners, both Catholics and Protestants, by the cutting off of beards, the adoption of foreign costume, and the smoking of tobacco, together with drunkenness

and immorality, that the patriarchs Joachim and Adrian were pained and alarmed. The hierarchy and religion itself were publicly and habitually made the objects of ridicule and buffoonery. Nicon had anathematised by name the boyar Simeon Lucian Streshneff, the tsar's uncle, for teaching his dog to mimic the patriarchal blessing, the tsar Alexis looking on. What would the tsar Alexis have said or felt if he could have foreseen the scenes to be enacted publicly in the streets of Moscow and Petersburg by his son, the heir of his ecclesiastical supremacy?

When, 'after the amusements of Mars and Neptune,' Peter and his 'compania' solaced themselves in jovial banquets, and in stout tussles between the foreign *Bacchus* and the indigenous Ivashka Khmielnitsky (Jack Malt), the president of those drunken revels was a mock patriarch, the diak Nikita Zotoff, to whom they gave the title of the 'Superlatively all-unholiest and most comical[23] father *Ivan*-Nikita, *patriarch* of Presburg, Koukou, and all Yaouzia;' and Peter himself was 'deacon' to this mock patriarch. At the Christmas festival the company drove about 'to glorify Christ' (*i.e.* to visit whom they pleased, singing certain troparia, forcing those whom they visited to drink to drunkenness, and levying a kind of black mail). The tsar himself drove about to all the boyars and people of the court; Zotoff went to the merchants. Besides the hierarchy itself, the sacrament of marriage and the rite of Christian burial were made special subjects for public buffoonery. In January of A.D. 1694 there was a first-rate solemnity. The tsar's jester, Yakoff Tourgenieff, was wedded to a woman of the rank of diaks. They were followed at their wedding by the boyars, the okolniks, the people of the council and of the palace, of all ranks. Their sledges were drawn by oxen, by goats, by hogs, by dogs; and they were dressed in the most ridiculous masquerade dresses. But Tourgenieff himself went with his bride in the tsar's best velvet-lined coach; and behind them there went the Troubetskoys, Sheremetieffs, Golitsins, Gagarins, &c. in velvet kaftans. Yakoff was married (by a *priest* and with the *prayers of the Church* interposed in this masquerade) in a *tent* on the plain between Preobrajensk and Semenofsk, and there was a great revel for three days (Solov. vol. xiv. p. 139).

'On the 7th of Feb. A.D. 1699'—writes Korb—(just after

[23] Vse-*shout*ieshi (παγγελοιοτικώτατος, *shout* being a jest or a jester), instead of vse-*sviat*ieshi, all-holiest (παναγιώτατος).

the horrible tortures and executions of the streltsi) 'that palace which has been built at the tsar's expense, and which he has been pleased to name the palace of Lefort, was with solemn ceremonies dedicated to Bacchus by a mock patriarch' (the all-unholiest and most comical Zotoff), 'attended by a whole troop of mock clergy. A procession was formed, which started from the house of colonel Lima. The mock patriarch was distinguished by all the pontifical ornaments. His mitre was surmounted by a little naked Bacchus, suggesting to the eye wantonness. Cupid and Venus were the ornaments of his crosier, that it might be plain to all of what flock he was the pastor. After him there followed in procession the rest of the troop of bacchanals, of whom some [those who had *preceded* the mock patriarch these should be, but Korb might not be very exact in describing the order of such an ecclesiastical procession in masquerade] carried great bowls full of wine, others mulsum (*οἰνόμελι*, a drink of wine sweetened with honey), others cherry-brandy (cerevisium) and brandy, in which the glory of Bacchus when he is fired culminates (ultimam accensi Bacchi gloriam). And since in that season of winter they could not wear garlands of laurel, they carried in front bowls full of dried tobacco-leaves lighted, with which, going about through all the rooms, and through every corner of the palace, they incensed them all with a dark cloud of smoke and with the delightful odour of that weed which Bacchus loves. Two pipes, such as they who are fools enough to like the practice use for smoking tobacco, laid *crosswise*, were used by the mock patriarch to perform the act itself (auguria) of consecration: for no one will believe that a regularly formed cross (crucem formatam) and the precious sign of our redemption was insulted' (*Diarium Itineris in Muscoviam*, &c., A.D. 1698, a Johanne Korb, Vienna). 'And note that at the Christmas preceding they had gone about with a similar masquerade, the tsar acting as deacon' (to the mock patriarch). After the suspension and suppression of the patriarch of Moscow, Zotoff became His Holiness Kniaz-Papa, and had a college of mock cardinals.

8. But from the mock patriarch of Koukou in the street let us pass to the chamber of the patriarch of Moscow, Adrian, and see what sort of anxieties troubled him a little before his death.

*Letter of the patriarch Adrian to the boyar Streshneff.*

'Adrian, &c., to our son, beloved in the Lord, the boyar of the tsar's majesty, Tichon N. Streshneff, our arch-pastoral blessing.

'Wishing heartily to all belonging to thy charity prosperity, health, and salvation, I make known to thy filial charity, and beg thee to report the following:

'In this year thou didst write to Gabriel Theod. Derevnin, as he informed us, that our most religious autocrat was pleased to translate from Nijny the metropolitan Triphyllius to the see of Sarai and Podonsk (*i.e.* to Kroutitz), and to place at Nijny another. But such a translation, without any ecclesiastical or civil reason, would be very improper. For the sacred canons specify as exceptional those reasons for which, and for which alone, it is allowed to translate any bishop to another see. And besides, he (Triphyllius) is now old and sick; and here, with work constantly to be done for the glory of God and Christian piety, he can scarcely live to any good purpose. Even at Nijny there has been, as we hear, much inconvenience and hurt done to the people from his, the metropolitan's, son in his prikaz, and in the episcopal house there has been much loss and damage, and great disorder in business. I pray thy filial charity to represent this to our most religious tsar, and to request that he, the hossoudar, would be pleased to come to see me in my chamber, and speak with me himself about that; that for that ministry there may be chosen some fit person, especially here in the capital, near to his majesty and near to our pontificate, on account of all the pressing needs of ecclesiastical and civil interests: and that he would be pleased to revoke this translation, and do us the favour, or rather for the benefit of the Church of God and the Christian people, consent that there should be here some more suitable and capable person.

'And for this I and all the bishops who are here intreat him, the hossoudar, and beg him, according to what has been hereinabove written; inform us, in the Lord's name, through the post, for the sake of the Church of God, without delay. Keep in health.

'P.S. Farther, there is great need here of such a bishop as may profitably be charged with the superintendence of the

printing-dvor, and of the schools, in which boys and youths may be taught our Slavonic and the Greek and Latin languages and grammar, for the benefit of the Church of God, and may be trained, according to need, in all reasonable civil accomplishments, and for the work of translators and physicians, if it please the Lord. And this is a matter that ought to be carefully thought of: and on account of my own infirmities I had thought before of the bishop[21] of Kholmogori, that he might be an efficient assistant for those above-mentioned purposes.

'Be so good, for the Lord's sake, as to show your charity. If it be possible, represent this; or if not, write and tell me what there is to make it impossible; that so it may be better and more satisfactory for us all.'

To this letter there is a note of the transcriber: 'This letter was sent and received. But on the 20th July the metropolitan Triphyllius was translated to Kroutitz.' From an earlier letter of the patriarch to Streshneff, written in April, it appears that already at that time the translation of Triphyllius had been determined upon contrary to the wish of the patriarch (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. iii. Appendix vii. 37, p. 500).

In March A.D. 1697, three years before the patriarchate and the see of Moscow were to cease to exist even in name, those documents relating to ecclesiastical affairs later than A.D. 1652, which were then lying loose and without order, in the patriarchal court (the *Rozriad*) were arranged with more or less exactness in their chronological order, and gummed together, so as to make twenty-two rolls, which are still preserved in the Patriarchal (now called the Synodal) Library at Moscow (see vol. v. Appendix xxxi. p. 233-247).

In A.D. 1700, Peter having issued an oukaz (23d Feb.), and appointed a commission for the compilation of a new Code, the patriarch Adrian was called upon to send to the commission copies of all those oukazes and acts relating to ecclesiastical affairs which had accumulated since the promulgation of the Code of A.D. 1649. The patriarch did more than was required of him. He caused extracts to be written out, setting forth the rights and privileges of the Graeco-Russian Church from early times. What respect was paid to these extracts will appear hereafter.

[21] Athanasius, whom Peter had known at Archangel in A.D. 1693 and 1694.

9. Early in A.D. 1700 there came to Moscow to the patriarch Adrian two monks, sent by the metropolitan of Kieff, Barlaam Yasinsky, with the request that the patriarch would consecrate one of them to be bishop of the see of the Southern Pereyaslaff, then newly reëstablished. These two monks were Zachary Cornelovich, hegoumen of the monastery of St. Michael at Kieff, and Stephen Yavorsky.

Yavorsky was a native of Volhynia, who had studied in the schools of Little Russia and Poland, at Kieff, Lemberg, and Poznan: he had been a teacher in the Academy at Kieff, and its first prefect, and public preacher; and from A.D. 1697, when at the age of thirty-nine he was made hegoumen of the hermitage of St. Nicholas, he was much employed by the metropolitan of Kieff for the affairs of his diocese. Soon after his arrival at Moscow, in A.D. 1700, he preached there at the funeral of the boyar Sheyn a sermon which so pleased the tsar that he determined to keep him in Great Russia, and he desired the patriarch Adrian to make him bishop of one of the sees nearest to Moscow. In March the see of Riazan became vacant, and Adrian gave notice to Yavorsky to prepare himself to be consecrated to it. That did not suit Yavorsky's own wishes, and he begged to be allowed to remain at Kieff. The patriarch did not consent, and fixed the 16th March for the consecration. On the morning of that day the bishops and other clergy assembled, according to custom, in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate: they sent to the podvorie of Little Russia for Stephen: the messenger returned saying that the hegoumen was not there; he had gone away to the Donskoy monastery. They sent thither; he refused to come: meantime the bells of the cathedral continued going for two hours. A second time they sent to the Donskoy monastery to take the obstinate hegoumen: he positively refused to come, saying that he would not be made a bishop. The patriarch became angry; he ordered that Stephen should not be allowed to go out of the monastery, and informed the tsar. The tsar ordered that Stephen should be asked why he behaved so. He wrote an answer headed thus: '*Reasons for which I went away and declined to be consecrated.*' The reasons given were four: 1. The metropolitan of Kieff had written, desiring him to return, and not to abandon him in his old age and infirmities. 2. There is a bishop of the see of Riazan still living, and the

canons in such a case forbid another to be consecrated. 3. Envious tongues say of me, some that I have purchased this promotion for 3000 gold pieces; others, that I am an heretic, a Latiniser, who was baptised only by affusion. 4. No time was even given me for preparation. This curious statement shows how they looked at Moscow on those learned monks from Little Russia who were appointed by Peter to the sees of Muscovy. But Peter insisted; and in obedience to his order Stephen Yavorsky at length allowed himself to be consecrated on the 7th May of that same year. He had scarcely made acquaintance with his see when the tsar required him to leave it, and to come to reside at Moscow, as we shall now relate.

§ ix. *Changes after the death of the patriarch Adrian. The tsar places the temporalities of the Church under the boyar Mousin-Pooshkin, and its spiritual affairs under the metropolitan of Riazan, Stephen Yavorsky.*

1. On the 16th Oct. A.D. 1700 the last of the patriarchs of Moscow, Adrian, died; and on the second day after his death (18th Oct.) the boyar Tichon Nik. Streshneff, writing to Peter, asked: 'Whom will you have to govern the cathedral church? Before you thought of the vladika Athanasius of Kholmogori. Shall I send for him?'

But Kourbatoff,[25] Peter's '*revenue-increaser*' (*promuishlennik*), the suggester of stamped paper, whose employment it now was to devise new ways of increasing the tsar's revenue, in a letter dated nine days after the death of the patriarch Adrian, wrote to the tsar thus:

'While the patriarch was sick it was difficult for him to look after everything; and thence there arose disorders in the spiritual administration. . . . The election of another patriarch, I think, may be *deferred*. The government of the sacred order may be *committed* to some good bishop, with five learned monks. But for the supervision of all, and for the collection of the house revenue (of the patriarchate), it is absolutely necessary to appoint an able man. In that there are the greatest *disorders*. It is

[25] A little later, in A.D. 1705, he was made 'Inspector of the *Ratousha*,' *i.e.* of the collection of the Revenues of all Russia. In that year he proposed to give the monks only half the allowance which had been given them in A.D. 1701, viz. five rubles and five chetverts, instead of ten; and in the same year he suggested the tax upon beards.

necessary that the properties of the bishops and monasteries should be brought under a regular administration; there should be erected a special administrative prikaz to collect and keep the revenue, which is now *wasted* according to the wills of the *owners*. . . . Of the bishops, for temporary administration, Athanasius of Kholmogori would, I think, do very well; and of laymen to look after and collect the revenue, the boyar Ivan Alex. Mousin-Poushkin,[26] or the stolnik Dmitri Protasieff' (Solov. *Hist.* &c. vol. xv. p. 116).

A week after his return from Narva, 16th Dec. A.D. 1700, Peter issued an oukaz, suppressing the *razriadni* prikaz of the patriarchate, and ordering that 'the suits of lay persons against others, lay or spiritual, then before it, were to be sent to those of the tsar's prikazes to which, from their nature or the persons concerned, they might seem rather to belong; and that matters relating to the *raskol* or to heresies were to be dealt with by Stephen (Yavorsky), the metropolitan of Riazan, and Mourom,' who from that time was entitled '*Exarch, Guardian, and administrator of the most holy patriarchal chair.*' The cause for which Yavorsky was chosen, rather than the archbishop Athanasius of Kholmogori, was no doubt his superior learning, and perhaps also because he was a younger man, and more fit for work.

On the 24th Jan. A.D. 1701 it was ordered by another special oukaz that 'the house of the most holy patriarch, and the houses of the bishops, and the affairs of the monasteries are to be administered by the boyar Ivan Alex. Mousin-Poushkin, and he is to have with him for that the diak Euphemius Zotoff';[27] they are to sit for business in the house of the patriarchate, in the chambers formerly occupied by the patriarchal *razriad*; and they are to style that their office the *Monastirski prikaz*; and in the prikaz of the *Bolshoi dvoretz* the affairs of the monasteries shall no more be transacted, but what has been begun there is to be transferred to the said Monastirski prikaz.'

From this oukaz and the letter of Kourbatoff one sees that Peter had long intended to take away from the ecclesiastical institutions the management of their properties, and to transfer

[26] He had been before voivode of Astrachan, and interested himself in theology and philosophy.

[27] A son of Peter's mock patriarch.

it to the state, and that Kourbatoff pointed out to the tsar the suitableness of the present moment for making that change.

Thus the bishops and monks were all *relieved* from the *distraction* of *administering* their own property; and (by an oukaz of Dec. A.D. 1701) they were to receive from its revenues an annual allowance, which for each monk was fixed at ten rubles in money and ten chetverts of corn; afterwards, in A.D. 1705, at the suggestion of the same Kourbatoff, this was reduced to five rubles and five chetverts, besides wood for fuel ready cut.

2. Respecting the vacant patriarchate, Peter received also advice from others besides Kourbatoff. From a letter written to him in A.D. 1702 by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, Solovieff gives the following extract:

'If there come any from these parts, whether Servians or Greeks or of any other nation, though they chance to be persons ever so learned and holy, your potent and divinely-established dominion should never appoint to be metropolitan or patriarch any Greek, Servian, or Little-Russian (*Rusianin*), but only Muscovites; and not simply Muscovites, but *native* Muscovites, for many and grave reasons, even though they be not learned. For though, certainly, if a patriarch or a metropolitan be both virtuous and learned, that is a very good thing; still, even though they be not learned, it is enough that they be virtuous; and they may have some clerks who are learned in other ranks and offices. In general the Muscovites, more than others, are disposed to preserve and to extol their own (doctrines), to keep their ancestral *faith* unchanged, being men not given to curious speculation, nor to malice; but foreigners, and such as have gone about from one place to another, are capable of introducing novelties into the churches. And when your great majesty sent away from Azoff a certain Greek, in that you did very well and wisely. Let there be there as metropolitan a native Muscovite, free from malice and from curiosity; and let him have under him Ruthenian, Greek, and Servian teachers. And whoever shall be made patriarch, it is needful that, besides other virtues, he have the virtue of *humility*. Let him be in truth a patriarch, not an autocratic monarch (a tsar): let the bishops, hieromonachs, and presbyters have power to speak of ecclesiastical matters before him; let him not be as a savage beast, nor let the bishops who are really his brethren fear him, as if they were his slaves; let

him not be able to utter in the church things strange to the Church; let him not be able to interfere in civil matters, nor to give orders to the synclete, as *Nicon* did, and so *disturbed the universe*.[28] Be careful, O all-good lord, not to give power to men who are *proud*, and who *have a tyrannical and violent nature*.

'Farther, we make known to thee this also, that letters have been received here from Vienna, and they write that they boast there that your majesty is going to send thither your son Alexis Petrovich, to be instructed in good manners (*πρᾶξις*) and learning. *Be on your guard:* send not your son out of Muscovy, *lest* if he go to foreign countries *he learn not good manners*, but *foreign manners*. From what Franks did the ever-memorable fathers and ancestors of your sacred majesty, or your own divinely-established majesty, ever learn good manners and knowledge?[29] Yet they ruled, as you now rule, nearly over all the world, and were strong, and very great, terrible, and unconquered. But those Franks, with their sciences and their civilisation, what successes have they obtained? They only bite and devour one another, and make wars amongst themselves. Never make any sort of union with the Franks. As for them, take even Leopold himself, their pseudo-Cesar crowned by the Pope: How often has not he lied to your great majesty? When he had need of you, then he ran to you, and prayed and begged you, and promised a multitude of things; and at last he abandoned you, without fearing God or blushing before men, and showed himself an open enemy and mischief-maker at Carlovitz. When your envoy there and the Venetians stood out against the conclusion of peace on the basis proposed, and demanded certain concessions, what did then the envoys of the Germans, and in particular the English envoy, say on the German side? They said: "It is enough that the Turks make peace with the Germans; but as

[28] They drew Nicon and certain brethren unto the rulers of Babylon, crying, 'These men that *have turned the world upside down* are come hither also: and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cesar, saying that there is *another* king, Jesus' (see Acts xvii. 6, 7). Nicon might reply, with Elijah, to the tsars: '*I* have not troubled Israel; but *thou* and thy mother Jezebel, with her whoredoms.' And Peter might reply to the patriarch Dositheus: 'Don't teach your grandmother,' &c.

[29] '*I* at least have learned from Lefort and other Franks how to think of patriarchs such as you, and how to deal with them,' Peter might think, or reply.

for the Venetians and the Muscovites, whether there be a peace or not, it is all one." Your great majesty helped him, but he persecutes the Orthodox worse than Diocletian and Maximian' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. xv. p. 420).

3. But Peter wanted bishops who should be not only unlike Nicon, but also unlike the patriarch Dositheus; bishops who should neither be capable, on the one hand, of contending against the tsar's ecclesiastical supremacy, and so, like Nicon, *disturbing the universe*, nor incapable, on the other hand, like Dositheus, of appreciating foreign enlightenment, and admitting the introduction of foreign manners and customs. And such bishops he could obtain more easily from the Ruthenians of Little Russia and Lithuania than from his own native Muscovites. The enemies of Peter's changes were continually rising up against them in the name of religion, in the name of the old piety, which the tsar had betrayed, and had become the friend of the heretics, of the Germans. It was well known that the Muscovite clergy looked with much disfavour on innovations, and on new teachers: the patriarch Joachim had risen up against the admission of foreigners into the Russian service: the patriarch Adrian had written vehement invectives against the fashion of shaving; and when he became silent, seeing that the tsar himself introduced that fashion, he drew upon himself, from the zealots for antiquity, sharp reproaches. Adrian was of a character to *bear patiently* the reproaches which he had merited by his inconsistency: from him Peter had no reason to apprehend opposition: but could he feel sure about his successor? Where was one to find such a bishop as would heartily sympathise with the transformation going on? and if he did not sympathise with it, then the patriarch, by his position and importance, would inevitably be a moral support to the malcontents. The tsar was constantly absent from Moscow: in the absence of the tsar the patriarch would be in the foremost place; and what if this patriarch does not sympathise with the tsar, with whom many are discontented? With Nicon it was comparatively easy work for the tsar Alexis, *because Nicon was unsupported;* but for Peter, a patriarch of any energy, at the head of a multitude ill-disposed towards his changes, would be much more dangerous than Nicon. Was it prudent to add, to the difficulties already existing the possibility of a conflict with the patriarch, of a conflict which, even if it ended to

the advantage of the tsar, would at any rate place him in the painful light of a persecutor, while his victim would obtain in the eyes of many—of very many—the dignity of a holy martyr? Peter, while meditating the abolition of the patriarchal dignity as unnecessary, sought to give to the Russian Church the true strength of enlightenment. But to introduce enlightenment among the clergy of Great Russia, to give efficiency to schools, to direct and develop them, could be the work only of learned bishops: and whence where such to be obtained? Peter saw only one way, viz. by nominating to the sees of Great Russia learned monks from Little Russia, who, besides having had the advantage of a superior education, were more free from narrow bigotry than the native Muscovites.

Thus 'the malcontent Muscovite clergy were left without a patriarch; and side by side with the malcontent bishops, who were natives of Great Russia, there were other bishops, natives of Little Russia, who were ready to act according to the views of the reforming sovereign' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xv. p. 140).

4. Peter charged his new guardian Yavorsky to raise up the Moscow Academy from the state of inefficiency into which it had fallen, and he did this. But whereas before, from the time of its foundation, the Greek element had predominated in it, Yavorsky, who had been himself formed at Kieff, introduced the Latin element, which long retained its superiority. They felt the need of having instruction in Greek; but they felt also an aversion for the Greeks, an aversion which had not been diminished by their acquaintance with the Lichoudi. Matveyeff (Feb. A.D. 1704) recommended to Golovin a Greek priest named Seraphim, who had been long in Holland and in England; but they did not give him a place either in the Academy or in the German school organised by Gluck. The patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, was extremely incensed against Yavorsky for the change made by him in the Moscow Academy. In vain Yavorsky wrote to him, assuring him of his Orthodoxy. Dositheus replied: 'You write incorrectly that you are a defender of the Eastern Church; for at a dinner at which some Greeks were present, you blamed the Eastern Church in respect of the consecration of the sacrament of the Eucharist. And now, at Moscow, you have entirely destroyed the Greek school, and you care only for Latin schools. According to our opinion, there cannot be

appointed a patriarch of Moscow from the Greeks, because the best Greeks wish to share the sufferings of their own people; and they who wander about hither and thither, especially in Russia, even though they be honest people, are in point of learning simple clowns. There cannot be a patriarch made from the people of Little Russia or White Russia, because they, from being in contact with the Latins, receive many of their customs and doctrines. For examples one need not go far: you yourself are enough, who, having gone to Latin countries after learning, have brought back calumnious descriptions as an offering to the Eastern Church, which bred you up and honoured you. Why do you fear to rebuke and confute those who bring disturbance into the capital city of Moscow (*i.e.* the foreigners, and their followers)? The most holy patriarch Joachim, when he saw similar disturbances in the Church, with great zeal rooted them out (*i.e.* by procuring the expulsion of the Jesuits), but you are silent.' However, the representations of Dositheus had no effect at Moscow (see Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xv. p. 125).

5. Besides the suspension or abolition of the patriarchate, and the abstraction of all the property and revenues of the bishops and monasteries, those nominal titles of metropolitan and archbishop, which had previously belonged to particular *sees*, were by Peter either suppressed or given, like decorations, as marks of personal favour, or in reward for service, to individual bishops. Of thirteen sees which in A.D. 1700 gave the title of metropolitan to their bishops, there remained at the end of Peter's reign only three, viz. those of Kieff, Siberia, and Smolensk. The rest, on the death of their incumbents, had become simple bishopries: the see of Moscow itself had ceased to exist; it reappeared only in A.D. 1741 as a bishopric.

6. The first literary service rendered by Stephen Yavorsky, after he had been made Peter's vicar or exarch, was that of composing and publishing (in A.D. 1703), against the raskolniks and others, a treatise *On the signs of the coming of Antichrist, and of the end of the World*. The object of this publication was to show that Moscow was *not* the Apocalyptic Babylon, nor the tsar Antichrist, or a near precursor of Antichrist. This treatise, in xiv. chapters, was borrowed in great part from that of the Spanish writer Malvenda, *De Antichristo*, which was first published at Rome in A.D. 1604. Having discovered that the chief

disseminator of the obnoxious opinions was one Grishka Talitsky, a scribe, he brought him before the tsar, and refuted him in his presence. Talitsky was capitally punished. Among the persons named by him, under torture, as having conversed with him, one was Ignatius, bishop of Tamboff, for whom he had written out two copies of his treatise, and who was degraded and *tortured*, and sent to be imprisoned at Solovetsky. Another was the boyar prince Ivan Iv. Khovianskoy, son of the prince Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, who had been beheaded on the 17th Sept. A.D. 1682 by Sophia. Of him Talitsky stated that Khovianskoy once said to him: 'God offered me a crown of martyrdom, but I missed the opportunity. They took me to Preobrajensk, and there, in the great dvor, Nikita Zotoff (the mock patriarch) was ordaining me a metropolitan. And they gave me a written paper containing a denial (of the faith); and in that denial, instead of "Dost thou *believe?*" &c., they asked me, "Dost thou *drink?*" And by that my denial of the faith I lost more than my beard: I destroyed myself, because I did not say anything against them. It would have been better for me then to have received a crown of martyrdom than so to deny the faith.' Khovianskoy died while still a prisoner under guard, before the end of the inquest (Solov. *Hist.* &c. vol. xv. p. 134).

7. So Yavorsky began; but perhaps his gratitude gradually cooled; perhaps even his opinions about the signs and the precursors of Antichrist were secretly modified by a closer and longer acquaintance with his patron. At any rate, when years went on, and there was no election of a fresh patriarch, he became disquieted and discontented. Like others of the same origin with himself from Little Russia, he had no objection to see the tsar exercise a personal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, especially since he was himself the object of favour and patronage. But the appropriation of the church property and revenues, even though his own salary was very large, was painful; and such an organic change as the indefinite suspension or abolition of the primacy was a thing quite beyond his calculations. There is a story related by different writers, with some slight variations of wording, but with substantial agreement, that on one occasion the metropolitan of Riazan, the 'Guardian of the patriarchate,' being together with the tsar in the cathedral of the Assumption, pointed to the canopied seat or stall of the

patriarchs, and said: 'If that chair is never to be filled, your majesty might order it to be broken up.' And that Peter to this hint replied: 'You are not going to sit in it; but to break it up is not necessary.'

### § x. *Notices of the change going on in Muscovy, from Western sources.*

1. In a *Relation of the state of things in Muscovy*, presented to the Pope in A.D. 1707 by one of the two Jesuit fathers then maintained by the Emperor at Moscow, we read: 'The Muscovites under the present government, enjoying *more liberty* than before, are not so superstitious or bigoted as they used to be, and they no longer have the same blind reverence and respect for their pastors; since it is natural for the subjects to follow the example of the tsar, who has *a sufficient contempt* for his own clergy, on account of their ignorance, and because he has discovered that they had a hand in certain former rebellions.[30] For these reasons he keeps them down as much as he can; and he has established certain commissioners of his treasury to receive the revenues of all the great and rich possessions of the clergy, giving to the monks and other ecclesiastics only their necessary decent maintenance, but appropriating all the rest to the service of the state. . . .

'After the death of the last patriarch (in Oct. A.D. 1700) he substituted instead of him an archimandrite (an hegoumen) from Kieff, who having studied under the Jesuits[31] in Poland taught afterwards in Kieff, and is a man of much repute among the Muscovites for his learning; and there are many signs that he is not ill-disposed to our religion' (Theiner, *Monuments*, &c. p. 411).

2. On the 24th of April A.D. 1705 the bishop of Martiniana, coadjutor-bishop of Vilna, wrote to the nuncio for Poland that

[30] Alluding to the mutinies of the streitsi, in more places than one, in A.D. 1698.

[31] In an Appendix, after p. 446 of Consett's *Present State and Regulations of the Church of Russia* (London, 1729), headed *Cogitata Pia Illustr. et Rev. Stephani Yavorskii*, &c., there is this notice of him: 'In Volhyniâ superioro natus, Luceoriæ, adolescens fuit apud PP. *Societatis* literis humanioribus, post Leopoli et Poznaniæ, *denique Romæ*, philosophiæ et theologiæ operam dedit. cum Tsarea majestas Petrus magnus eum (A.D. 1698) Leopoli ad populum verba facientem audivisset lauto congiario Moscuam invitavit, ut concionatoris aulici et vices patriarchæ in sede vacante administraret,' &c.

he had been promised from the tsar by Menshikoff and Sheremetieff and De Huyssen not only free access to the province of Smolensk, but to all Muscovy, with a hint that the Pope might obtain much greater concessions than he had any idea of if he would only send a nuncio, viz. free exercise for the Catholic faith throughout the empire.

3. And in A.D. 1706, soon after the end of October, in a letter dated from Moscow, one of the two Jesuit missionaries living there, father Elia Broggio, of the province of Bohemia, wrote as follows:

'When about six years ago (A.D. 1700) the emperor's two missionary fathers of the Society of Jesus then living at Moscow, and diligently attending to the interests of the Orthodox faith, had observed that a most suitable means for that end would be that of winning the Russian nation, which at present is very rude, by the teaching of liberal arts and sciences; that by this means the said nation, learning Latin, might become acquainted with books of good instruction in that language, to be gradually introduced, and by their help might be gradually weaned from the errors of their schism, the said fathers thereupon having opened, without any noise, a school, *without the Academy of the schismatics being able to prevent it*, have in the course of the last six years had such success that the flower of the sons of the Russian princes and nobles, rejecting the Moscow Academy of the schismatical Basilian monks, have heartily taken up our schools both for the classics (litteræ humaniores) and for mathematics; so that this school, although somewhat weak for want of a greater number of teachers, still at the present day contains already a nucleus of the very first and most promising subjects of the youth of the princes and boyars, to our great satisfaction. Hence the good will both of the tsar himself, more especially, and also of the chief princes of Muscovy towards us increases daily; so that from those princes, particularly from the governor of Moscow prince Golitsin, and quite recently from the prince of the holy Roman empire Alexander (Menshikoff), the vicegerent of the tsar himself, as also from the *prince* (*sic*) Alex. Mousin-Poushkin (the curator of the affairs of the patriarchate, the chair of which remains all these years vacant), the prince Gagarin, the *prince* (*sic*) Golovkin, the prince Dolgorouky, &c., besides the *two princes* (*sic*) She-

remetieff and Repnin, who are our very *warmest friends*, &c., very many signs of good will are continually shown.

'Muscovy certainly, as we think, has never before to this time been in such a state, so remarkably favourable for acceptance of union, as now dawns to excite our hopes; so that the tsar even has had serious thoughts of seeking that an Apostolic nuncio may be sent to Moscow. And after that, quite recently, at the instance of his majesty the emperor of the Romans, Joseph I., made *through me*, the unworthy procurator of this mission, a formal decree was sent to H.I.M. from the tsar's absolute plenipotentiary, the most illustrious prince Alexander Menshikoff, on three points: first, confirming the freest exercise of the Orthodox faith in Muscovy; secondly, giving permission to change what has hitherto been only a school for letters into *a complete gymnasium*; and thirdly, assuring a perfectly free passage through Muscovy for missionaries going to China. His majesty the tsar desired that this same decree should be made known through H.I.M. in the tsar's name to the Sovereign Roman Pontiff, as an act coming from the sincere and serious mind of the grand duke of Muscovy himself.

'And although some suspicion[32] may be cast on these extraordinary favours, especially on account of the cruel excess committed by the tsar against the Uniat Basilian fathers at Polotsk,[33] still I, a living witness, have seen such signs of repentance shown for that act and for all that it occasioned, that there seems no doubt but that the tsar, condemning afterwards and abhorring that excess, has either already by some heroical acts altogether purified his mind, or will completely purify it: which, as well as many other things known to me as to a living witness, when there shall be reason for it, I will explain more at length.

'In the tsar's court it is known that there is an intention of sending soon as envoy to Rome the prince Dolgorouky, who was before envoy to the king of Poland.

'Also it is to be observed, that since the decree was given

[32] Solovieff, speaking of the informal mission of Boris Iv. Kourakin to Rome in A.D. 1707, when Peter was anxious that the Pope should exert his influence against Stanislas, the nominee of Charles XII. in Poland, observes that 'naturally it was then an object to make the Pope believe that Peter was no enemy to Catholicism' (vol. xv. p. 227).

[33] See above, at p. 1065, and in the Appendices.

permitting the missionary fathers, after their wooden church had been burned, to build instead a permanent church of stone or brick, the same new church has been carried up nearly to the height of the roof in this present year, with great assistance from some of the Russian princes' (Theiner, *Monuments Historiques*, &c. p. 404).

4. In a letter from the Jesuit father Giov. Ambrogio Centurione, rector of the College at Florence, dated 1st Apr. A.D. 1707, it is stated, on the authority of the father rector of the Jesuit College at Polotsk (father Losievsky, who was rector also of the University there), that when, on his invitation, the tsar Peter dined with them in their refectory at Polotsk (*a few days*[34] after he and his suite had killed four Uniat monks in the same city, on the 15th July A.D. 1705), he thanked the father rector for sending annually four missionaries into Muscovy (into the province of Smolensk, where there were many Polish Catholics), and *said* that it pleased him well that his subjects should gain enlightenment.[35]

'He *said* that he knew that some of his subjects who had gone to Rome had returned Catholics, as the general Sheremetieff, whom he himself knew to be such, and he was not at all displeased at it.

'And speaking of the schools which we had set on foot at Moscow, his capital, he said that this gave him the greatest pleasure: and he related how he had answered a Muscovite archbishop who complained because the scholars were drawn by their teachers to the Roman faith: "You are jealous," he said, "of those excellent fathers, because *you animals*[36] know not yourselves how to teach. If the young nobles and others like to declare themselves Roman Catholics, that is well for them (*buon per loro*), and I shall be none the worse pleased."

'In telling this story he added that he could not say it (as, it is implied, he would have been ready to say it) to the *patri-*

[34] But Peter left Polotsk the next day (1st July O.S.); so there is some error or misunderstanding of the relator here. The dinner with the Jesuits and the mutual visits during three days must have been *before* the 30th June O.S., not after it.

[35] In the original, 'the enlightenment of the true faith;' but the last words are manifestly not Peter's.

[36] '*Voi altri bufali*:' the word actually used by Peter may have been '*skoti*,' cattle, beasts.

*arch*, who in these last times (*i.e.* since A.D. 1589) had been set up in Muscovy, because he had done away with him (deposto) some years ago (in A.D. 1700), as he knew that there had never been *in the West*[37] any other patriarch but the Roman' (Theiner, *Monuments*, &c. p. 414).

But the danger which impended over the Russian clergy from Peter was not really that of being forced into union with Rome, or of seeing the Jesuits left free to make converts at Moscow. They were safe from the Pope and from the Apostle St. Peter, through their subjection to the tsar Peter's supremacy. Though he might call them '*cattle*,' still they were *his* cattle, and he was not likely to give them up to any other shepherd. And though he might be ready to show some comparative favour to Jesuits, in common with other Occidentals, as being more civilised and enlightened than his own Muscovites, it may be doubted if his promises of freedom for the exercise of the Catholic religion throughout his empire were ever meant by him to imply freedom for proselytism. At any rate Peter in A.D. 1719, by an oukaz dated the 17th Apr. (28th N.S.), expelled the Jesuits altogether from Muscovy, not alleging any personal offence, but on the ground that it was necessary to make reprisals against the emperor whose subjects they were, and at whose instance they had been admitted (Theiner, *Monuments*, &c. p. 527).

### § xi. *Growing discontent of the bishops and clergy.*

1. Some of the bishops were much discontented at the institution of the Monastirski prikaz and the administration of Mousin-Poushkin. In A.D. 1707 there was sent from the Monastirski prikaz a lieutenant of dragoons named Basil Tiutcheff to make inquest respecting the metropolitan of Nijgorod Isaiah, and on his return he reported that when the metropolitan had heard from him for what cause he was sent, he cried out aloud: 'You are a sheep: is it for you, the sheep, to make inquests on us, the shepherds? The boyar Ivan Al. Mousin-Poushkin has fallen upon the Church of God; he manages our estates; and

[37] And the *West* was the source of enlightenment for him, and his model? But we must remember that Peter was dining with Jesuit fathers, and seeking to be gracious and agreeable to them: also that the relation is from one of these fathers; and that Peter's exact words spoken in Russ may have been altered somewhat in passing through two other languages.

now he is taking from us also our fixed dues (payable from the inferior clergy) and the fees for marriages: if they take these dues from me, I will shut up all the churches in my diocese and throw up my bishopric. What bishopric is it, when they take from me what is my own? Let other bishops do as they please, but I will die for my rights; I will not give them up. And do thou according to thy instruction: *Search out the truth.* For *hence* it is that ye suffer losses; the Swedes kill you like worms; and all for our tears, and for your own acts of injustice: and hereafter, if you do not desist from your injustice, the Swedes will destroy you.' In consequence of this report of Tintcheff, there was sent to Nijny a diak of the Preobrajensky prikaz named Nesteroff, to examine the metropolitan whether he had really said all this to Tintcheff. He answered thus: 'Tintcheff, the relative of the boyar Mousin-Poushkin, informed me of his mission in a private house; and I, in reply, said to him, as in conversation, not crying out or shouting: Thou art a sheep: is it for you, the sheep, to hold inquests upon us, the shepherds? And, farther, I quoted the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy fathers, and *the exposition of the œcumenical patriarchs* (*i.e.* the constitutions of the synod of A.D. 1667). The boyar sent his relative to make inquest about me by falling upon me, in revenge for my not being on good terms with him: but he fell, not upon me, but upon the Church of God; because by ancient oukazes of the great hossoudars there have been fixed for all needs of the Church, without which the services cannot go on, for wine, for oblations, for wax, incense, oil, &c., certain collections from the churches, fixed dues, and fees for marriages: and if these are taken away, I will shut up the churches, and there will be no means for maintaining the episcopal house, nor possibility for any one to be bishop: but whether I will or no, I must throw up the bishopric. What bishopric is it, when they take away that which has been given for the house? Without a special oukaz of the hossoudar, I will not give up the money arising from the fees for marriages and the other fixed dues. I also bade Tintcheff, according to his instructions, make inquest for the truth, and remember the manifest visitation lying upon them for the multiplication of their sins and iniquities, in this, that the Swedes make head for so long a time against them.'

2. Isaiah spoke out his discontent openly and sharply; others

expressed it with more reserve, and more secretly. One of those who were discontented was the first bishop in Russia, the 'Guardian of the patriarchal chair,' Stephen Yavorsky. We have seen how he sought to avoid being consecrated to a see of Great Russia: and now he was always looking from Moscow to Little Russia. Perhaps he really felt uncomfortable at Moscow, where he was a stranger, where, from his close and reserved character, he attracted no personal sympathy, and where the old-fashioned Muscovites bore no good-will to importations from Little Russia. Stephen, in his sermons, praised up Peter, his undertakings, and his conduct, sometimes hypocritically and heavily, sometimes more happily; as, for instance: 'We marvel—not only we who see it, but the whole world which hears of it marvels—at such simplicity, humility, and condescension of so great a person: he eats, drinks, sleeps, and sits with us; he converses as a friend with us; he lives sociably among us as one of our neighbours, and forgetting that he is a tsar and monarch, before whom everything under the sun trembles, he is accessible to every one, he visits our dwellings, he is not unwilling to share our dinner, our supper, our amusements: he leads his life with us as a father with his children, or rather as a brother with his brethren. The first presidency in assemblies, and the first seat at suppers, and greetings in the market-places he has long ago abandoned to the proud Pharisees.'[34] Stephen himself confessed that 'the grace of the tsar's majesty and his fatherly regard were sweet to him as sugar.' Nor had he any reason to complain, as other bishops complained, of any scant in his maintenance under the new order of things. His allowance was 12,000 rubles annually, while other bishops received 1500, or at most 2000. 'From the great hossoudar himself,' says Stephen, 'I often received for sermons, on occasion of his victories, sometimes 1000 gold pieces (2000 rubles), sometimes less; and in like manner from the other members of the imperial family, from the hossoudar the tsarevich and from the tsarevnas, there were many munificent gifts made to me repeatedly for liturgies and sermons,' &c.

Notwithstanding all this, Stephen obstinately petitioned to be discharged from his office and to be allowed to return to his native country, representing his infirmities. But being regarded as a close man who was not frank, he was not believed. They

[34] As if he were himself the humble publican.

supposed that he was discontented at something, that he wanted something that he had not got, that if, for instance, they made him patriarch he would no longer seek to retire. In A.D. 1706 Yavorsky was at Kieff, together with the tsar, and began to beg that they would leave him there, and not force him to return to Moscow. Peter refused, and left. Then Yavorsky applied to the boyar Streshneff, who had been left at Kieff, and petitioned him with tears to the same effect. 'I have been to him more than once,' Streshneff wrote to the tsar, 'and have had long conversations with him; and I sought to move him both by encouraging him to expect your favour, and by threatening him with your anger. At last he determined to leave Kieff, and went off without saying a word to any one: even in the monastery where he lived they did not know. He begged me to intercede that you should not be angry with him for his importunate petitions. I said to him: "You petitioned very hard, and the tsar was pleased—to order you to leave: you have left, and consequently there is now no anger of the hossoudar against you, and his grace towards you will not be less than it was before."'

The grace of the hossoudar was not less than it was before; but the causes for discontent also remained the same as before, and Yavorsky had not the spirit to seek to remove them by a frank explanation; he only fretted in secret, and asked to be allowed to retire. It was disagreeable to him when the tsaritsa Martha Matveyevna made him first do one thing and then just the contrary. But this was a trifle: she was at any rate a tsaritsa. But it was intolerable to have the boyar Mousin-Poushkin made into a sort of colleague even in spiritual things. In A.D. 1707 the archbishop of Kholmogori and Archangel Sylvester was translated to Smolensk. To succeed him, Stephen presented to Peter, who was then at Moscow, the names of two candidates, the archimandrites of the Troitskoy and Znamensky monasteries. Neither of them was acceptable; and Golovkin wrote to Stephen that he was to choose for the see of Kholmogori two or three ecclesiastics of ability and learning, and of civilised manners, seeing that in that diocese (at Archangel) there was a great confluence of foreigners, and there was need of a bishop who could win their respect by his good qualities and his civilised manners, to the honour and glory of the Russian

empire, in like manner as the archbishop Athanasius had done. The tsar rejected the candidates offered to him, and ordered Stephen to choose others. That was bad enough: but what was worst of all was this, that he also ordered Mousin-Poushkin *to assist* the metropolitan in making this fresh choice. Golovkin wrote to Mousin-Poushkin: 'I have written to the metropolitan Stephen that in making this choice your grace will assist him: and when these names have been chosen, be pleased, *together with the metropolitan*, to write of that to the tsar's majesty, whereupon his majesty will send his oukaz directing which of the persons is to be consecrated.' In the middle of the same year there was again a collision between the metropolitan and Mousin-Poushkin, who complained against Stephen to Golovkin: 'In your letter it was written that the tsar had ordered that the protopope Timothy should be in the sobor of the Annunciation, and that I was to notify that oukaz to the metropolitan of Riazan, in order that the present protopope of the Annunciation might be moved to the church of the Resurrection. And I sent to the metropolitan of Riazan notice of that oukaz, but he replied that he would not do it till he shall have himself seen the tsar's majesty; and he is very angry with me, as if I did all of my own head; and he has so changed in his temper since he returned from Kieff that nobody can please him.'

His interview with the tsar at Moscow, after Poltava, did not set Stephen at rest. In A.D. 1710 he wrote letters of congratulation to Peter on the capture of different towns from the Swedes, punning, as he was wont, upon their names. He subscribed himself 'Thy faithful subject, thy unworthy beadsman, thy slave and *footstool*, the humble Stephen, the under-shepherd (*pastoushok*) of Riazan.' But when, in September, Peter called Stephen to Petersburg, the under-shepherd begged for some delay, on the pretext of illness, and went off to Riazan. On the 2d Nov. Mousin-Poushkin wrote to the tsar: 'The metropolitan of Riazan has gone off to Riazan, and I have written to him three letters desiring him to be so good as to come to Moscow, because there are many matters of business needing his attention. To my third letter he replied that he wished that your majesty would not compel him to return to Moscow; and, as for those spiritual matters which were under his direction, that you would order some one else to undertake them. There is a rumour that

he means to take the *schima;* and I have written to him, and have sent a diak, bidding him not to do that without your oukaz to permit it; and I have ordered all the archimandrites to be told that nobody is to make him a schimnik on pain of very severe punishment.'

The under-shepherd of Riazan did not become a schimnik; but neither did he become reconciled to his position, nor make it up with Mousin-Poushkin (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xvi. p. 25).

3. 'The complaints of such a bishop as Demetrius of Rostoff (who died, aged 58, on the 28th Oct. in A.D. 1709) weigh heavily on the memory of *Mousin-Poushkin*, who in cutting down the revenues of the bishops and clergy to supply the wants of the state sometimes pared too close, and cut to the quick, not distinguishing between such bishops as Demetrius of Rostoff or Job of Novgorod and such as Isaiah of Nijny.' So writes Solovieff. In May A.D. 1707 Demetrius wrote to Moscow of his own condition: 'I am often ill, and partly I suffer from grief, being distressed to witness the sufferings of the priests, and to see their tears; and our own house is year by year more and more impoverished. Though I trust in God, still at the sight of their distress I am pained, because human nature cannot but sympathise with those who suffer.' And at another time he wrote in a letter to Job, metropolitan of Novgorod: 'I, sinful man, when I came to the see of Rostoff, would have established a Greek and Latin school; the scholars were under instruction during two years and more, and were already beginning to make a fair proficiency in grammar; but, by the permission of God, the poverty of the episcopal house stood in the way. *He who feeds us* was displeased, as if too much was expended on teachers and scholars; and all those revenues were taken away by which the episcopal house was to be maintained, not only the estates, but also the church dues and the fees for marriages. I say nothing of our other *courses*. *Sat sapienti*' (ib. p. 30).

Demetrius also, like Yavorsky, had had no inclination to be made a bishop in Muscovy. When consecrated in the spring of A.D. 1701 to be metropolitan of Siberia, he wept so, and his health seemed to be so much affected, that Peter took pity on him, allowed him to remain on in Moscow, and in A.D. 1702 gave him instead the see of Rostoff. He too, like Yavorsky, was fond of his books, thoroughly conversant with the Latin lan-

guage, tinged by Latin influences (for instance, in his writings one finds the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception), strongly opposed to all Protestantism and to Protestant tendencies, and as like to a Uniat-Catholic as any one could be who preferred the supremacy of the tsar to that of St. Peter and the Pope. By this obedience, and by his abridgment of the *Lives of the Saints*, a voluminous work in twelve volumes, answering to the twelve months of the kalendar, as well as by his own virtuous life, he has obtained the honour of canonisation.

4. And that the Russian Church as subject to Peter's supremacy may have two witnesses to the continuance of her spiritual life even under the initiative and blessing of tsars and their deputies, another of Peter's bishops, Metrophanes of Voronege, has also been canonised. He too, in his will and testamentary exhortation, has left traces of Latin influences (for instance, he speaks of '*Extreme* Unction'). Two things deserving of notice are related of him: first, that, living before the bishops and monks were put upon state allowances, he showed zeal and sympathy for Peter's efforts to create a navy, and voluntarily gave him all the money that he could save from the revenues of his see, 6000 rubles at one time. Another meritorious act was this: Peter had set up at Voronege some statues of heathen deities, which he had purchased in the West. One day he called for Metrophanes to come to him, but the bishop replied that those statues were a scandal to all Orthodox Christians, and to himself, and so long as they remained where they were, the tsar must excuse him. The tsar sent him word again that he must come: that whosoever disobeyed the sovereign incurred the penalty of death. Presently the bells of the church were heard, and Peter asked what they were ringing for, as the next day was no festival, nor Sunday. Inquiry was made, and he was told that the bishop, having been threatened with death, was going to sing the vespers, that he might celebrate the liturgy, if he were still free to do so, the next morning. Peter's anger had been only momentary, and he had never really intended to put to death so deserving and enlightened a bishop. So he sent to bid him come without fear or scruple, as he should find the images taken away.

Thus Metrophanes deserved canonisation; and in the account of his canonisation, published by the synod and by order of the

emperor Nicholas, he is celebrated for this act, as for an act of heroic and holy firmness. He stood up against stone statues of Venus and Bacchus, but said nothing about the palaces of Anna Mons and Lefort and their living idols. What would have happened to him or to Demetrius of Rostoff or to Stephen Yavorsky, if they had refused to come to the tsar so long as he trampled under foot canon xxxiv. of the Apostles, and set up himself or his deputy as a living idol in the midst of the Church, claiming for it the honour due to the Holy Ghost and to Christ? In that case they would—*not have been canonised* in Russia; but if Nicon was a real confessor, they, treading in his steps, might have had some chance of becoming real martyrs.

5. The guardian of the patriarchate—so Solovieff writes—continued still in A.D. 1711 to feel aggrieved by the secular government. Before it was Mousin-Poushkin who had been made his uninvited counsellor and *assistant* for some spiritual acts, now there was the newly-instituted senate; and the synod of the clergy was *conjointly with it* to make regulations respecting the ordination of priests. The guardian was not without the senate to appoint a bishop to a see. In A.D. 1711 Yavorsky made a representation to the tsar about some episcopal places. For answer there was an oukaz, thus: 'For the vacant see of Rostoff the choice is left to the bishop (*i.e.* to the guardian Yavorsky) *conjointly with the senate*, only there is to be a *bishop* there, but not a metropolitan.'

6. We have already mentioned the sermon preached by Yavorsky on the 17th of March A.D. 1712, as containing a strong passage against the *fiscals* (a sort of government informers appointed by Peter in A.D. 1711), who, even if they accused any one falsely, were to be unpunished. But this was not the only strong passage contained in the same sermon. 'Behold,' he exclaimed, 'ye have your reward, O ye breakers of the law of God. Ye hear the thunders of the commandments of God, O ye transgressors. Therefore wonder not that our much-disturbed country of Russia is still labouring amid bloody storms; wonder not that after such great troubles we have not yet the longed-for peace. Whoso breaks the law of God, from him peace is far distant: where there is justice there is peace. A raging sea, a sea—art thou, O man, who art a transgressor. Why dost thou break through, throw down, and ruin the banks? The bank is the law of God: the bank is not

to commit adultery, not to desire thy neighbour's wife, not to desert thine own; the bank is to keep piety, to observe the fasts, especially the fast of Lent; the bank is to honour the holy icons. Christ says in the gospel: "If any one obeys not the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican."' As this sermon was preached on the 17th March, the day of St. Alexis the man of God, and the names-day of the tsarevich Alexis, Yavorsky concluded it with an invocation of St. Alexis: 'O Saint of God! forget not him who is named after thee, who is an exemplary keeper of God's commandments, and thy most faithful follower. Thou didst leave thy house; he likewise is a wanderer in the houses of foreigners: thou wert separated, and didst go away far from thy parents; he too in the same way: thou wert deprived of slaves, servants, and subjects, friends, relations, acquaintances; he too in like manner: thou wert a man of God; he in like manner is a true servant of Christ. We pray thee, then, O Saint of God, protect thy namesake, *our only hope;* defend him under the shadow of thy wings, as a hen defends her dear chick; keep him as the apple of an eye unharmed from all evil.'

In the church there were present the senators. The next day they went to the metropolitan and reproached him for having preached a sermon calculated to excite disturbance among the people, and offensive towards the tsar's honour. They demanded of him the MS. of the sermon, to send to the tsar, and in the mean time they *forbade him to preach.* Peter, when he had received the sermon, and had read in it the censure of the man who casts off his wife, who observes not the fasts, obeys not the Church, and who, therefore, is to be regarded by the members of the Church as a heathen and a publican, wrote on it, in the margin, with his own hand, '*First to him alone, then before witnesses.*' Stephen wrote to him a letter to justify himself: 'Your majesty knows that it was only at thy command that I gave up the life of a schimnik, which I had vowed to the Lord God when lying, as I supposed, on my deathbed; and though it was a dreadful thing for me to break my vow, still I dared not oppose thy sovereign will; and now I do the duty of that obedience, by the help of God, according to the best of my power; in preaching the word of God I take what pains I can. But the enemy, who envies what is good in a man, hinders me in that in

divers ways; and now he has hindered me thus: I preached a sermon, and cried aloud to the people, and admonished them to keep the commandments of the Lord, if they wish to have happiness in this life, and in heaven life eternal. At that sermon there were present some of the gentlemen senators. The next day they came to me, and began to accuse me, poor wretch, and to revile and rebuke me, as if I were exciting the people to insurrection and disturbance; as if I, by audacious words, impugned your imperial honour. God is my witness that no idea of the sort so much as crossed my thoughts; still less had I any such malicious intention. There are now thirteen years that, in obedience to your imperial oukaz, I labour in this capital in preaching the word of God, and all Moscow has heard me, and your own imperial majesty has been pleased to hear my poor discourses, and no one has ever perceived in my words any disloyalty. But those gentlemen, the senators, bring it as a charge against me that I spoke of the fiscals; and they wish to send my words to your imperial majesty; and they *forbade me* thenceforth *to preach sermons*.' Stephen, as before, asked to be allowed to retire into the Donskoy monastery, and to take the schima there; and, as before, he remained still metropolitan, and 'Guardian of the patriarchal chair.' The admiral Apraxin advertised him of this, and Stephen wrote to the tsar: 'As sailors rejoice when, after the terrible roarings of the waves, they have a calm, so I, after being disturbed by the waves of cares, have now a joyful calm, now that I have been informed by the hospodin admiral of the most gracious regard of your imperial majesty towards me your slave. But if I may be vouchsafed to see though it be only a single letter written by thine own imperial hand, I shall be still more rejoiced, and I shall then forget all the anxieties which gnaw my heart.' The affair of Tveretinoff and his fellows, which followed, produced fresh roarings of the waves. In the proceedings of Stephen the tsar saw an assumption of authority; and Yavorsky thought it necessary to intreat the tsar for pardon, 'by a letter written not with ink, but with tears.'

### § xii. *Collisions of Yavorsky with the tsar.*

1. Peter had placed foreigners of all creeds on a level with native Orthodox Russians, and had admitted them to all offices and ranks, civil and military, under himself; so that the mass of

the Orthodox peasants, with their clergy, were now subject to a government which, except in the single person of the tsar, professed no particular creed. Sheremetieff, as we have seen, had become a proselyte to Catholicism, and a knight of Malta, without incurring any inconvenience from the anathemas of the patriarch Adrian. But then he was the tsar's victorious general, a man of one of the highest historical families, and personally at that time in great favour; and he returned too from abroad without a beard. But it was another thing when, in A.D. 1713, a man of no rank, a regimental doctor named Tveretinoff, who together with medicine had learned Protestantism in the German sloboda from one of the tsar's foreigners, began to make proselytes. The appearance of heresy teaching in the streets of Moscow did not obtain the same favour or connivance which the Jesuits had obtained—though only temporarily—a few years before.

Yavorsky, having first investigated the matter privately, denounced the new teachers to the tsar; the tsar left him free to act: so he called (Oct. 24, A.D. 1714), in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate, *a synod*, the last to be held at Moscow, which, after dealing with them for their conversion, subjected such as were obstinate to an anathema, and delivered over one, named Thoma Ivanoff, to the secular power for capital punishment.

But this drew upon Yavorsky much displeasure from the foreign officers, Lutherans and Calvinists, who were in the tsar's service. And Peter himself was displeased, seeing in the proceedings of that synod something like a resumption of ecclesiastical authority; and he called Yavorsky to Petersburg, to answer for it, and to make explanations and apologies.

2. Notwithstanding this, Yavorsky composed, in refutation of all the errors of Protestantism, a large book, divided into twelve parts, and entitled *Kamen Viri* (*i.e.* the *Rock of the Faith, to the sons of the holy Orthodox Catholic Church for confirmation and edification, but to them that stumble on the stone of stumbling and offence for their rising again and correction*).

This book was powerfully written, as was shown by the attention that it attracted when at length it was published (in A.D. 1727-1728) even out of Russia: for it was immediately and fiercely attacked by the Protestants in Germany, who denounced it (especially its last chapter, *On the punishment of heretics by the civil power*) as in great part borrowed from the Jesuits Becanus

and Bellarmine and other Papists; but at Rome it was translated and republished by the Propaganda. So far Stephen Yavorsky and the Muscovite clergy headed by him make a respectable appearance: Nicon himself could not have done better. But Peter, though he had punished capitally one man in defence of the national Orthodoxy, seeing what great offence had been given to a multitude of his Protestant foreigners, did not allow his 'exarch' to add to that offence by publishing his book in refutation of Protestantism. So the *Rock of the Faith* remained in MS. till after the death of its author, and till after the death of Peter. The Russian hierarchy had done the tsar's bidding to condemn Nicon, and had accepted the tsar's supremacy; and now they must do his bidding, and abstain from the public condemnation of Luther and Calvin and Socinus.

3. But there had already been, and were still to be, worse humiliations than these. In A.D. 1709, in the cathedral of the primacy, of the patriarchate, at Moscow, the 'Guardian' Stephen with the other bishops and clergy present were made to sing publicly a molében and Te Deum, Peter himself singing it with them, *for the birth of an illegitimate daughter:* and in A.D. 1712, without a word of disallowance from any of the clergy,[39] the tsar was publicly married, with all possible pomp and solemnity, to his mistress, while his real wife was known by all to be still living, though tonsured against her will, and shut up in a convent.

4. Meanwhile the tsar took measures to secure himself also from the roarings of waves. In A.D. 1716 the patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah, sent him a *dispensation*, on account of his bad health, to eat flesh meat in all the fasts, except for a week before communicating: he also obtained from the same patriarch a dispensation for soldiers beyond the frontier in time of service to eat meat during the fasts.

5. At the beginning of A.D. 1716 Stephen wished to go to Niejin, where he was founding a monastery; and to obtain permission he betook himself to the infant tsarevich Peter Petrovich: he wrote a letter congratulating him on his entrance into this world, and begged him to obtain for him, from his father, leave

[39] Yavorsky had once said to the tsarevich Alexis: '*They* will not give your father *another* wife (and so there is no prospect of his having other heirs); the only thing would be that he should take back your mother, which he will not do.' All the same, to use the words of Solovieff, '*they did* give Peter *another* wife;' that is, they solemnly blessed and allowed his act of bigamy.

of absence. The leave of absence was granted; but before that the metropolitan received from the tsar a curious letter:

'Though by the constitutions bishops bind themselves by oaths to keep the rules *of the Church* generally, still, on account of some cases of inadvertence (which we have had) among us, I have written, and now send you herewith, a particular explanation:'

According to this particular explanation, 'a bishop, at his appointment', must bind himself, 1. Not of passion or on account of any strife to anathematise and excommunicate either a whole family or an individual, unless any one is an open transgressor and despiser of the commandments of God, or an heretic, who after three admonitions will not submit himself, and then only the individual: 2. With opponents of the holy Church to deal according to the canons, with reasonable persuasion, and meekness; 3. To keep monks to the observance of the canons and rules laid down, &c.; 4. Not to build, nor to allow others to build, churches which are not wanted; 5. Nor to ordain supernumerary clerks for gain, nor for the sake of inheritance; 6. To visit all his flock yearly, if possible, or at least once in every two or three years, &c.; 7. Not to meddle with secular affairs or customs, unless there be any manifest injustice, and in that case first to admonish the parties, then to write to the tsar's majesty, and, according to the Apostle, to succour the helpless.'

6. The roaring waves did not cease. In the same year 1716 a diachok of Riazan, named Popoff, informed against the metropolitan, that he had kept in his house an *agent of Mazepa*, who, dying, left property to the value of 100,000 rubles and more, of which Yavorsky did not give notice: also, that whereas there was an order made in A.D. 1705 to give to the paid people of the bishops *half* the salaries and allowances which had been given previously, and to remit the other half to the Monastirski prikaz, Yavorsky did not remit this, but kept to himself in his cell above 6000 rubles, &c.

7. This affair went on for a length of time, and it was followed by fresh stormy waves, viz. by the affair of the tsarevich Alexis. Peter strongly suspected the metropolitan of Riazan, who had in A.D. 1711 publicly called Alexis 'our only hope:' but nothing was discovered against him. Stephen remained in his former dignity; but his misunderstandings with the tsar did not cease.

8. In A.D. 1718 Yavorsky received an order to go to Petersburg; and he thought that his stay there would be only temporary; but on the 16th July the tsar ordered that he should live at Petersburg, and that with him there should be for the first turn Ignatius the bishop of Souzdal; that the other bishops (who had been brought for the condemnation of the tsarevich) should be allowed to return to their dioceses, and that after the expiration of the first turn (of Ignatius) they should come, each in his turn, to Petersburg, as they had been used before to come to Moscow. Stephen, ill-pleased with this order, presented to the tsar certain heads, to which he received curt answers. 1. He complained at length that he had made no arrangements for leaving Moscow permanently; he had brought nothing with him, and was in a hired lodging at Petersburg at a distance from the church and from everything, and such a lodging as he could not live in. Answer. 'Your grace had notice three years ago that you were to live here, and why in these three years you have not yet got ready I know not: you did more than that, you went to the Oukraine to consecrate a church.' 2. 'I received a gracious intimation as to my residence written to me with your own imperial hand: "Come; there shall be a dvor ready for you." Will this gracious promise be performed, or not?' Answer. 'There is a *site* ready, but you can build yourself, since *there is given* to all the bishops a fixed revenue, and you will have all the same as before, and the diocese of Tamboff has been added.' 3. 'In many dioceses there are no bishops.' Answer. 'Choose candidates, and give in a list: and so in future for such vacancies it will be proper to bring beforehand a number of good monks hither to the Nefsky monastery, to live here, that such men may not be made bishops as the late bishops of Rostoff and Tamboff were. But for a better administration in future, it will be well, we think, to have a Spiritual College, that so it may be possible with more facility and success to manage such great matters.'

§ xiii. *Stephen Yavorsky and Theophanes Procopovich.*

The great reformer found at length among the clergy a man of extensive learning, of brilliant talents, who fully sympathised with the work of transformation; and it is easy to understand that in proportion as the collisions of the tsar with Yavorsky became more sensible, he would be the more drawn towards

such a man. Still, notwithstanding all his collisions with the guardian of the patriarchal chair, notwithstanding the fact that this latter had proclaimed him to be worthy of excommunication from the Church, Peter did not displace Stephen, who in his eyes had certain merits, and was doing him useful service, all the more useful for that time because it was rendered by a double-minded man, who submitted himself, and made others submit, as it were against his own will.

But there had appeared on the horizon a new star—here we are going back to A.D. 1709—there had been preached at Kieff a sermon, such as had never before in Moscow been heard of; the new preacher was a young man, twenty-three years younger than Stephen: he was taken up by the tsar: evidently he would rise. Meanwhile some of those who were about Stephen, and who were of the same mind with him (viz. Theophylact Lopatinsky and Gideon Vishnevsky), discovered that the rising star was a man of very doubtful orthodoxy. He was already in A.D. 1716, *by the tsar's order*, preaching and *exercising spiritual jurisdiction* at Petersburg: before long he would infallibly be raised to the episcopate. Stephen represented to the tsar that Theophanes was disqualified for the episcopate, because his teaching was infected with Lutheran and Calvinistic opinions. Theophanes defended himself. Who was to judge? His adversaries said that Theophanes was infected with Calvinism; Theophanes imputed to them Catholic tendencies. He availed himself of a favourable opportunity at the time of the trial of the tsarevich Alexis, when Peter was irritated against the bishops, in whom he perceived a sympathy for the tsarevich, a sympathy caused by their aversion for his own changes. Theophanes, thundering in his sermons against the tsar's enemies, thundered at the same time against his own: 'Many think,' he said, 'that not *all* people are bound to obey the authorities, that *some* are excepted, that is, the priests and the monks. This is a thorn, this is poison of asps, this is a *Popish* spirit, which I know not how has caught hold of us. The clergy are a separate class within the state, but not a separate state within the state. It has gone so far, that the very idlest and most worthless people have become active in an abominable and audacious way. The dregs of the people, absolute good-for-nothings, people existing only to eat up other men's labours, even

such men as these rise up against their sovereign, against the Anointed of the Lord! Rather, as often as you eat bread, you ought to wonder, and to say: Whence have I this?'

On the 1st of June A.D. 1718 Theophanes was consecrated bishop of Pskoff. When Yavorsky came to Petersburg, Peter desired Mousin-Poushkin to bring Theophanes and him together, and there was effected, at least in appearance, a reconciliation (Solov. *Hist.* &c. vol. xvi. p. 361).

### § xiv. *The affair of the tsarevich Alexis.*

1. Meanwhile the clergy—the successors not of Nicon, but of Pitirim, of Paul and Hilarion, of Joseph bishop of Kolomna, and of the patriarchs Joasaph II., Joachim, and Adrian, represented now by Stephen Yavorsky, by Dositheus bishop of Rostoff, by the confessor of the tsarevich the protopope Yakoff Ignatievich, and by the kliuchar of the Annunciation at Moscow Ivan Athanasievich—had concentrated all their hopes upon Peter's son, the tsarevich Alexis, and on the reaction still possible in a future reign. Peter, aware of their thoughts and hopes, assembled in A.D. 1718 a great council, parallel in many respects to that assembled by his father against Nicon; and in the same stolovaia or granovitaia palata of the palace in the Kremlin; not a secular assembly only, nor an assembly only of the clergy, but a mixed assembly of both orders, his own new senators and civil and military dignitaries, with such as still remained of the old boyars and okolniks, and the synod of the clergy, all together; the whole forming, as Paisius Ligarides had written of the mixed council of Dec. A.D. 1666, not a synod properly so called, but a high court of judicature for a special inquest or trial (see vol. iii. p. 142).

2. This assembly was called together, and in it the clergy were called together, with the so-called 'guardian of the patriarchate' at their head, and with the bishop of Rostoff as one of their colleagues and assessors. The thoughts and the wishes of the tsarevich, which were their own hopes, and even words spoken by him in sacramental confession, were charged against him as treason; and they were required to make themselves parties to an act disinheriting on this ground not only Peter's son, but also his grandson, and arbitrarily transferring the succession to another son, a young child not long before born to

him from his invalid[10] second marriage. This they all unanimously swore to in the palace, and in the cathedral.

3. Next, the same bishops, with Yavorsky at their head, were required to degrade from the episcopate and from all clericature, and to secularise, just as they had degraded and secularised Nicon, without form of trial, one of their own order, the bishop of Rostoff (who had a few days before sat with them, and had together with them sworn to maintain the disinheritance of the tsarevich Alexis), that he might be tortured and beheaded and put upon the wheel for having connived at the disregard shown by the tsaritsa Eudocia, Peter's wife, to her forced tonsure, and for having been cognisant of the fact that she kept up secret communications with her son. The confessor of the tsarevich they were afterwards forced to degrade in the same manner; and he was tortured and put to death for treason of the same kind with that of the bishop of Rostoff.

4. Lastly, after he had been disinherited, the clergy were all made to follow the court to Petersburg, and there, with an hypocritical parade of extracts from the scriptures and from the canons and from the civil laws, not to try and judge the tsarevich, but to name the punishment due to such guilt as was imputed to him by his accuser (just as had been done in the case of Nicon), and to lead the lay judges, by an unanimous declaration that he had incurred the punishment of death, while he was being made to sign confessions accusing himself, as the source of all his treason,[11] of the crime of having frequented the company of ecclesiastics and monks, so as to imbibe their ideas, and their aversion for the antinational innovations of his father.

So the clergy were made themselves unanimously to condemn to death their own last hope and support, and for this special crime or treason, that he was *their own* hope and support, the representative of *their own* ideas, feelings, and wishes. The divine grace they had long before forfeited, and had accepted instead the initiative and the grace of the tsar. Nicon they had unanimously in a mixed council found guilty of innovation and

[10] Doubly invalid; both because Peter's lawful wife was still living, and because Catherine was the goddaughter of Peter's son, the tsarevich Alexis.

[11] Voltaire writes: 'Les mémoires qu'on m'a confiés assurent que la lecture des livres ecclésiastiques fut ce qui le perdit. Le jeune Alexis crut voir dans ces livres la réprobation de tout ce que faisait son père. Il y avait des prêtres à la tête des mécontents, et il se laissa gouverner par ces prêtres' (vol. ii. p. 93).

rebellion; and they had condemned him as a felon worthy of death upon such depositions as (in A.D. 1660) had been prepared and laid before them by the tsar. That supremacy which they had accepted in the tsar Alexis had now in his son Peter alarmed and alienated them; they saw now existing in fact that 'strong will, with no law but its own passion,' which had been anticipated, and in a manner predicted for them in A.D. 1667 by the guilty consciences of Paul and Hilarion, and they shrank from it in dismay. They looked with hope not to any Apostolic power still unbroken, but to the future reign of the tsarevich, who might use his supremacy more after the fashion of his grandfather than after that of his father. And for this reason, that he sympathised with them, and would not conform his will to the will of his father against that of his grandfather, they were made themselves to condemn him unanimously, just as their predecessors had been made unanimously to condemn Nicon for this reason, that he would not conform his will to the will of the tsar Alexis, but preferred before it the will of God. And thus the secular absolutism of the reigning family and dynasty, after destroying the streltsi, the hereditary aristocracy, the canonical primacy, and all the old national institutions, made the clergy not only to assist it but to imitate it in acts of suicide.

§ XV. *Of Theophanes Procopovich.*

1. It was in A.D. 1706, when Peter was for the first time at Kieff, and when he inclosed the Pecherskay Lavra there within the works of a new fortress, that he first noticed Theophanes Procopovich, who, being professor of rhetoric in the Bratsky monastery of the Academy, was put forward (5th July) to make an address to the tsar in the cathedral of St. Sophia. Again, after the victory of Poltâva in A.D. 1709, Theophanes, now become prefect of the Academy and professor of philosophy, greeted Peter in the cathedral (22d July) with a triumphal oration. He was the son of a citizen of Kieff, 'a young man,' according to Solovieff, 'of extraordinary intelligence and of unbounded ambition,' who, like Yavorsky, had studied abroad, and had even been a Catholic, though only hypocritically, at Rome. In flow of words and in unscrupulous venality he was not unlike the Greek Paisius Ligarides. But while Ligarides in his loquacious disquisitions had let out here and there that his real opinions were

rather Roman than Greek, Theophanes, on the contrary, showed a leaning towards Protestant principles; and on this account he was a scandal and an object of aversion for the metropolitan of Riazan Stephen Yavorsky. Peter did not forget those whom he had once noticed as capable of serving him; and in A.D. 1711, when he was again in the south for the Turkish campaign, he took Theophanes (then aged thirty) with himself to the frontier of Moldavia; and on his return to Kieff he caused him to be made hegoumen of the Bratsky monastery there, and rector as well as professor of theology in the Academy. In A.D. 1716 we find Viazemsky, the teacher of the tsarevich Alexis, writing to the tsarevich from Petersburg thus: 'Procopovich has come here, and is preaching sermons; and he *has orders to exercise spiritual jurisdiction* in Pskoff, Narva, Dorpat, and Revel: I suspect we shall not get on very well with him.'

2. There is a letter from Theophanes himself, of the 9th Aug. A.D. 1716, from the village of Yasman, to his friend Markievich, in which he writes thus: 'Perhaps you have heard that I am called away to be made a bishop, an honour which has for me about the same charms as if I were to be shut up in the *carea* of an amphitheatre. No doubt I *ought* to envy those good men their mitres and sakkoses, and croziers, and lights (the episcopal *τρίκηρα* and *δίκηρα*), and thuribles, and other delights of that kind; also their fat and large fishes. If I *do* love or seek such things, may God curse me even with greater plagues than those. I do indeed value the essence of the episcopate; and I would be glad to be a bishop, if I were not obliged as bishop to play the part of *a stage actor*: for so it is in this present *most corrupt* state of things, unless divine wisdom bring some *reformation*. So I mean to do all that I possibly can to decline that special honour, and to fly back to you to Kieff. Pray for me, that I may succeed in this. I have not either yet finished my theological work' (*Epistolæ*, &c., Moscow, A.D. 1776).

If Theophanes had really wished to decline the honour of being a stage actor under Peter's supremacy, he might have found a man to help him in Stephen Yavorsky, the guardian of the patriarchate, who would certainly have been glad to escape having Theophanes for a colleague, and to give him leisure not only to *finish*, but also to *correct* his theological work. But in his next letter, written after his consecration, from Petersburg

in A.D. 1718, and addressed to the body of the professors at Kieff, we read the following: 'One Gideon Vishnevsky (he calls him an 'animal, full of pride'), whom you know, who had been allowed to have too much his own way at Kieff, and to make himself professor of rhetoric, after having removed to Moscow, when he saw that the metropolitan of Riazan and his creature Theophylact Lopatinsky, of extreme envy, were very unjust to us, and were seeking means to prevent us from obtaining the episcopal dignity destined for us by the most sacred emperor, began to calumniate our teaching as heterodox, and so added fuel to the flame. And this their conspiracy they long kept secret, I know not why, unless it were that they might bring it out unexpectedly at the moment of our inauguration. At length an oukaz of the emperor was delivered to the metropolitan of Riazan, that he should come to Petersburg to consecrate us, or, if he were unwell, depute the bishop of Sarai (*i.e.* of Kroutitz), with others. He excused himself, and sent the bishop of Sarai. Meanwhile those zealots for the Church, Theophylact and Gideon, bothered the metropolitan of Riazan with certain extracts, as they called them, from our writings, which he, after hesitating more than a month, till the bishop of Sarai had left, at length sent after him with a memorial against us.[42]

'When the bishop of Sarai arrived at Petersburg, he immediately showed the memorial to the senator Ivan Alex. Mousin-Poushkin, who took it to the tsar; and the tsar, as being a most wise prince, was *greatly offended*. Some of the propositions, if they had really been ours, might have been called slightly erroneous, but they were falsely imputed to us; the others were really orthodox, but by those sage divines were taxed with heresy: and there was added a petition that those propositions should be sent to the Eastern patriarchs; and in the mean time poor Theophanes was to be kept back from episcopal promotion. But

[42] According to the metropolitan Eugenius, in his *Dictionary of R. Ecclesiastical Writers*, Yavorsky *wrote* a refutation against xviii. propositions or extracts taken from the theology taught by Theophanes (A.D. 1711-1715) at Kieff, and sent it to the bishops summoned to join in consecrating him, proposing to them to unite with himself in making a representation to the tsar on the subject of these points, before consecrating, and requiring Theophanes to retract the propositions, and to advertise his pupils of their being erroneous; and in case of his refusing to retract, they were to ask the tsar not to insist on his consecration, but to send and submit those propositions to the œcumenical patriarchs for their examination and judgment.

this move of theirs *caused no delay whatever* in our promotion. *Though it was unnecessary*, I wrote an answer; and, among other things, I proved that the metropolitan of Riazan had never seen my theological writings: and now he says himself—which seems strange—that he had not even read the memorial, though he made no difficulty of subscribing it with his own hand, as if he had read it and made it his own. This answer I wrote in Russ, May 30 (Peter's birthday), and *the next day* but one, June 1, by command of the tsar, I was preconised as bishop before the liturgy in the sobor of the H. Trinity; and the day after that, June 2, being Whit Monday, I was consecrated,[13] in presence of the tsar, bishop of Pskoff, Narva, and Izborsk.

'On Sunday the 8th, to show his grace, the tsar, together with the most illustrious prince[14] (Menshikoff, governor of Petersburg) and many of the ministers and senators, was pleased to dine with me, and he *diverted himself* for the space of *six hours*.

'In the mean time there arrives at Petersburg the metropolitan of Riazan, having been ordered in common with the other bishops to come for a certain affair' (to declare that for the crimes imputed to the tsarevich the proper punishment was death). 'When he learned what bad success had attended the attempts of my enemies, and had read my answer, he, in consternation and shame, confessed, both by word of mouth and in writing, that he had never read my writings, but had been *deceived* by the denunciations of Theophylact and Gideon; that the *blame* lay with *them*; and that *they ought to be made to answer for it*. But he was answered in the tsar's name that he also himself must make it up with us, and *must proceed against* the informers, as *their* names were not attached to the memorial, and

[13] And the *sakkos*, a vestment marking the highest dignity among bishops, was given to him at once by the tsar's orders, instead of the phenolion, at his consecration, as if to make it the more emphatic. Toulini, *Regl. Eccl.* prep. xv.

[14] Of the same *most illustrious prince* Theophanes, in 1728, writing to congratulate the duke and duchess of Holstein on the birth of their son Peter (afterwards Peter III.), says: 'Nuper illacrymabam præ dolore, cum vos a scelestissimo tyranno malè tractatos, abjectos, et pœne oppressos cernerem.' And again: 'Tam atroci luctu sauciatis quid jam videbatur addi posse atrocius? Additum tamen est quod pœne fidem excedit; nimirum vecors homo, scelus ille, ille *omnium bipedum nequissimus*, vos Petri sanguinem, ad eam sortem deprimere attentavit, ex qua ipse parentum vestrorum manu ad regias fere opes evectus erat, addiditque improbus tale ac tantum ingrati animi exemplum, quale ac quantum acceperat beneficium.' . . . '*Immanis ille ex pygmæo gigas* suâ, quâ ebrius furebat, fortunâ excussus, magno cum fragore corruit' (p. 71, 72).

*his was.* And an order was given to the senator Ivan Alex. Mousin-Poushkin to bring me and the metropolitan together, and to sift the mischief to the bottom. And so at a set time this was done; and after a long discussion, the metropolitan of Riazan admitted those doctrines which were really mine to be orthodox, saying that *he himself held the same*, but he had taken my words in another sense. He also plainly confessed not only that he had not read my writings, but that he had not even read his own memorial, or rather the memorial which was put off upon him, and which he had subscribed with his own hand. All which having passed, he rose, and humbly begged my pardon, which I gave him, and we *sealed our reconciliation by kissing one another;* and the most exalted senator and the archimandrite of the Nefsky (for he also was present), and others afterwards, offered me their congratulations. What is to be done with the informers we shall know in due time' (p. 20).

Having begged pardon of Theophanes Procopovich, after the latter had been consecrated bishop by oukaz, and having kissed him, having also joined in disinheriting the Tsarevich and condemning him to death, and in degrading the bishop of Rostoff and the protopope of the Spassky sobor, the author of the *Rock of the Faith* had to stand by and look on with pain while Theophanes—now approved as orthodox—prepared for his master the draft of that organic change which was to be made in the Church.

### § xvi. *Answers to Memorial from the Sorbonne.*

Peter, after his return from abroad in October A.D. 1717, communicated to those two or three bishops who met and received him at Petersburg a memorial sent from certain doctors of the Sorbonne whom he had seen at Paris, and he desired them —according to his promise given to those doctors—to prepare an answer. The memorial was not formally addressed to anybody, unless it were to Peter himself; but it set forth Gallican principles, and indirectly exhorted the Russian Church to renew union with the Roman-Catholic Church upon those principles, enlarging upon the agreement already professed by the Russians as compared with the Protestants, and attempting to show that the difficulties seeming to exist were not insurmountable. The *draft* of an answer prepared by the guardian of the patriarchate, Stephen Yavorsky, has been preserved in the archives of the

Governing Synod, and is printed in the *Journal* of Peter the Great as an appendix, after p. 438 of part ii., where it is described as a '*Second Answer to a* MS. *paper of the Paris doctors of theology of the Sorbonne, respecting a reconciliation of the Church of Great Russia with the French Church.*'

1. After high-flown compliments to the Sorbonne, and a sufficient amount of adulation to Peter, it states that Peter 'on his return was pleased, according to his usual paternal disposition, to impart to us, his most faithful subjects, what he had seen and heard,' &c.; and after speaking of his visit to the Sorbonne, 'he showed us a writing of that most distinguished Parisian college, respecting a reconciliation of the Church of Great Russia with the *French Church.*

'This foreign gift our most illustrious emperor, his most sacred majesty the tsar, delivered to us, his true subjects, the pastors of the Russian Church, for our consideration and information, *not as asking any counsel from us*, or implying *any right of cognisance* (*nadlejnost*) in us,[15] being the complete monarch of his empire, but that, as an Orthodox tsar, he might keep the honour and the congregation of the Church unimpaired and undefiled.

'We received with due honour that MS., from which we recognise the doctors of theology of the school of the Sorbonne, *ut ex unguibus leonem*, and acknowledge its wisdom (*i.e.* learning) worthy of such great men, and honour it accordingly.

'*But*'— (Then follow three quarto pages of rhetoric, in which the Eastern Church is compared to Mary, who sat at Christ's feet, and the Western to Martha, who was cumbered with much serving; and it is said that 'the Eastern Church *has left* the Western *in respect of the bond of union*, while the Western has *left* the Eastern *by corruption and damage and innovation in the Creed*, to say nothing of other articles of faith.' And 'Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes silent. *Therefore* we have not either the intention of discussing these points, lest we should only make the wounds more painful, and, by *moving* logs which are on fire, according to the proverb, make only a greater conflagration.' Then it winds up thus):

'But even if we wished to touch in any way this mischief, we are forbidden by the Apostolic canon, which does not allow a

[15] In fact it was not formally addressed to anybody, nor is this draft of an answer formally addressed to those doctors of the Sorbonne.

bishop *to do anything*, especially in so great an ecclesiastical matter, *without his primate*. But now the *most holy chair of the patriarchate of Russia* is *vacant*, as we suppose is known also to foreigners abroad. And on this account, for the bishops, *without their patriarch*, to be willing to project or to do anything, would be the same thing as for the members *to want to move without their head*, or for the planets to run their course without their first cause (*i.e.* seemingly, without the sun). This is the definitive (or chief) obstacle which, in the present matter, precludes us from either saying or doing anything farther.[46]

'What ultimate counsel, then, ought we to adopt in this present matter? Clearly no other than this, to have recourse to the most holy Apostolical chairs of our Eastern Orthodox patriarchs, on which, as upon its foundations, the whole building of the congregation (or plenitude, πλήρωματος) and of the government of the Church becomingly rests.'

And so with more compliments and thanks 'to *you*,[47] illustrious and most learned men,' &c., and quoting from the liturgy of St. J. Chrysostom the words: 'And grant us with one mouth and one heart to glorify and hymn thy most honourable and majestic name,' &c., the draft concludes: 'Written at St. Petersburg, A.D. 1718, in the *month of September*. The bishops of the Orthodox Churches of Great, Little, and White Russia.'

But there are no signatures; and the date as printed, if accurate, is remarkable. For the answer actually approved by Peter, and sent (according to the metr. Eugenius, in A.D. 1721) to the doctors of the Sorbonne, is dated 'June 15, A.D. 1718,' four months earlier. No doubt Peter, who was already instructing Theophanes Procopovich—though this would not be publicly known—to prepare the Spiritual Regulation, would not approve or send to Paris a document in which the *canonical* headship of a patriarch or primate was spoken of as *necessary* to any legitimate action on the part of the bishops; and so it is quite intelligible that an answer more consistent with his ideas and intentions than one drawn up by Yavorsky was likely to be should have been prepared by Theophanes, even before that of Yavorsky was

[46] So, as a preliminary to the Russian Church acting in any grave matter, or even acting canonically at all, it is necessary that either Yavorsky or somebody else should be made patriarch.

[47] So here they are directly addressed.

submitted to the tsar for approval. Probably Peter, though he could not avoid leaving it to Yavorsky in the first instance to prepare the draft of an answer, gave Theophanes instructions at the same time to draw up an answer in which nothing should be said inconsistent with his intentions. And note that, when Peter returned from abroad, Theophanes was not as yet a bishop.

But there still remains the date, '*Sept.* A.D. 1718,' which has caused the draft embodying the views of Yavorsky to be printed as a '*Second Answer*,' though with a marginal note that 'probably it was only a draft, and never sent.'

If the date is printed correctly from the original, and is not merely the date of a copy made from the original, it may be that the date of the answer prepared by Theophanes and adopted by Peter is Theophanes' own date, and that the document thus dated and presented by Theophanes as ready for signature on the 15th June 1718 was subscribed *afterwards* by Peter's command, and sent in A.D. 1721, so that the names which seem to follow the date are not really connected with it. And this is even *proved* to be so by the fact that Theophanes himself has signed it as '*archbishop*:' but when consecrated in A.D. 1718 he had only the title of *bishop* of Pskoff: that of *archbishop* was not given him till A.D. 1720 (see Eugenius, *Dict. of R. Eccl. Writers*, Part ii. p. 303, 299).

2. The answer of Theophanes, which was actually sent, was addressed directly to the Sorbonne doctors, being headed thus: '*Answer to the illustrious, most honourable, and most learned theologians, members of the College of the Sorbonne, our beloved brethren, grace, mercy, and peace*,' &c.

After mentioning how Peter, 'when on his return from abroad he was met and welcomed by the senate and the people and by the clergy, informed each order of what concerned it,' they say: 'And so he was pleased to inform us also of what concerned us: that is, how he had visited the Sorbonne, &c., and how, when you would have spoken more at length on that subject (of the division between the Greek and the Roman Church), his majesty suggested to you that if you thought it well to do so, you should be pleased to write about this to the Russian bishops. And as he related this to us, he, the hossoudar the tsar, produced and delivered into our hands, beloved brethren, your writing.'

Then, after four or five paragraphs of compliments, and of sympathy in the desire for peace and unity, they write thus:

'Though the work of healing this long-standing schism in the Church is not so difficult a matter, that is, as illustrated by the ecclesiastical history of past ages, especially from the time of Pope Innocent III. to our own, still neither can it be effected so speedily or so easily as you perhaps think, if we are to guess from your writing.

'To say nothing of a council or of a public conference by missives in the name of the *whole Church* on *both sides* (one of which two ways would be necessary), our Russian bishops alone cannot even begin this work, because it is not only Russia (though that is a very large empire), but also many other peoples which together make up the Church of our confession. It would not be without blame if anything concerning the whole community were done among us alone, without their knowledge and consent: and therefore we should be bound in the first place to write to the foreign bishops, our brethren, and especially to the highest bishops, the four Eastern patriarchs, that we may not seem to despise and affront them, nor, seeking a new fellowship, break up that ancient one which we have already. And, in truth, if we committed any such error, the doubtful pacification sought for by one member abroad would infallibly excite intestine war within ourselves: and this is the only reason for which we omit now to answer publicly, in the name of all the Church, to your reflections concerning a pacification. However'—they add—'there is nothing at all to prevent private discussions in writing, if you please to enter into them; and such conferences may indeed be very useful.' And after aspirations to the mercy of God to bring about this wish and desire by his almighty providence, they subjoin the date: 'In the capital city of St. Petersburg, A.D. 1718, June 15' (thirteen days after the consecration of Theophanes Procopovich to be *bishop* of Pskoff, and ten days before the condemnation of the tsarevich to death for having become the last hope of the clergy).

'Farewell, brethren beloved. Wishing you all good things, we, the Russian bishops who were *then* present in the capital city of St. Petersburg,

'The humble Stephen, *metropolitan of Riazan and Mourom.*

'The humble Barnabas, of Kholmogori and Viatka.

'The humble *Theophanes*, *arch*bishop[43] of Pskoff, Narva, and Izborsk.'

3. No doubt Paris was not the head, nor was the Sorbonne capable of treating for the whole Roman-Catholic Church. Nor was the Russian Church, if regarded as only a part of the Eastern, according to old-fashioned traditions, capable of dealing with such a question alone. But in point of fact she *had* dealt with it *alone*, after the Council of Florence; and the civil ruler had then taken the lead in so dealing with it, against the metropolitan Isidore. And since then the Russian Church had been nationalised: and its head, the tsar, made no difficulty of dealing with ecclesiastical questions alone, when it suited his purpose, 'not asking any counsel from the bishops, nor admitting in them any right of cognisance, being the complete monarch of his empire,' by the confession even of those who, with Yavorsky, inconsistently, thought all canonical action to be suspended by the *vacancy* of the patriarchal chair. In A.D. 1718 it did not suit Peter's purpose to treat with the doctors of the Sorbonne; and hence there was returned to them an evasive answer. But in A.D. 1700, when he suspended or abolished the patriarchate of Moscow, and in A.D. 1720 and 1721, when he enacted a new ecclesiastical constitution, and created, instead of the former patriarchs, a spiritual kollegium under himself, he saw no necessity for first consulting the Eastern patriarchs: nor did the bishops then find their action to be paralysed by the want of a *canonical* head. Nor, in the case of Anglican Protestants, did he make any difficulty, in A.D. 1723 and 1724, of ordering his synod to continue to treat with them in a conciliatory spirit, even after the Eastern patriarchs had finally rejected their '*Proposals*,' and their '*Rejoinder*,' and had sent, through the Russian synod, the *Orthodox Confession*, and the *Eighteen Articles of the synod of Bethlehem*, as their ultimatum.

### § xvii. *Institution of a Spiritual College instead of a personal deputy under the tsar to govern the Church.*

1. In the mean time the bishop of Pskoff, Theophanes Procopovich, was preparing an organic statute, containing within itself, as in embryo, a Spiritual College to exercise the tsar's

[43] So these signatures were attached after Theophanes had received the title of archbishop, which was not till A.D. 1720.

ecclesiastical supremacy, instead of any personal vicegerent, such as the metropolitan Pitirim, Paisius Ligarides, and the four titular patriarchs, Joasaph II., Pitirim, Joachim, and Adrian, and the titular exarch or guardian, Stephen Yavorsky, had been since the 10th July A.D. 1658. In Peter's design there was no *essential* change, but he preferred a college to an individual as his instrument, for various reasons, which he will himself give below; but most of all because, so long as a personal primacy of one bishop and the former name of patriarch was retained, though the primate and all the bishops had submitted themselves to the tsar's supremacy, there was always, or at least to his suspicious mind there seemed to be always, a possibility of the old spirit of Apostolic independence returning to the dead form which it had once inhabited. It was desirable therefore to get rid even of this dead form, and to substitute for it not only some one *bishop*, who was plainly a mere commissioner and not a *canonical primate*, nor even a college of bishops, who might still cling to old-fashioned ideas, and claim, if not for a canonical primate, yet at least for the episcopate itself, as one whole, a divine and concurrent authority, but a new committee of delegates in which not only should there be no appearance of a personal primate, but bishops should be only on a par with presbyters and outnumbered by them, if it so pleased the tsar, in any proportion that might happen; for instance, so as to be to the presbyters in the proportion of only one to three.

This projected College, as implied in the statute by which it was to act, and which he ordered to be prepared for it beforehand, or even that statute itself as containing the College in embryo, Peter called jocosely his *Patriarch*, as Solovieff relates, thus:

'Some contemporaries have handed down this scrap of conversation' (as having passed between the tsar and his instrument Procopovich some time before February in A.D. 1720): 'Peter asked Theophanes, "Will our *Patriarch* be finished soon?" (meaning the Spiritual Reglament.) Theophanes answered: "Yes, soon: I am just putting the last stitches into his gown" (his *riasa*). And Peter rejoined: "I have the mitre (lit. cap, *shliapa*) for him all ready."' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xvi. p. 361.)

At length the last stitches of the gown of the puppet-patriarch

having been put in, Theophanes presented him—that is, he presented the *Spiritual Reglament*—to the tsar, who heard it read through (11th Feb. A.D. 1720), and, after making some few alterations and additions of his own, approved it, and ordered that it should be read in the *senate* in presence also of six bishops who were then at Petersburg. With the omission of such portions of its details as are not to our purpose, it was as follows:

2. *Regulation, or Rule, of the Spiritual College,*[49] *from which it is to know its duties and those of all spiritual orders, as also those of lay persons, so far as they are subject to the spiritual jurisdiction, and by which it is to be guided in its proceedings.*

This Regulation is in three *parts*, corresponding to three spiritual points on which information and direction are needed, viz.: 1. The definition of such a form of government and the grave reasons (for its institution); 2. The matters subject to it; and 3. The duty, *mode of action*, and *power*[50] of the governors themselves.

But the basis of (ecclesiastical) government, that is, the law of God proposed to us in the sacred scripture, as well as the canons of the holy fathers, and the civil constitutions agreeing with the word of God,[51] need a book to themselves, and here are not treated of.

*Part I.*

*(Head* i.) *What is a Spiritual College? and what are the grave reasons for such a mode of government?*

A governing College (*Kollegium*) is a governing assembly; when certain particular matters are subject for direction not to an individual, but to a number of fit persons appointed thereto *by the supreme power.*

A College may be either temporary or permanent. Temporary Colleges are ecclesiastical synods, and civil extraordinary inquests, courts of judicature,[52] and councils.

[49] The *Duchovni Reglament*, of which only an abstract follows here, has recently been reprinted at full in the original Russ, in Latin, and in French, with great care and exactness, and illustrated by copious and valuable notes, by the Rev. Father C. Tondini, Paris, 1874. There is also the English translation of Consett, published in London, A.D. 1729.

[50] The last two points in the Third Part were left blank by Theophanes, to be filled up by the tsar, as he might please, after the enactment of a the rest.

[51] *i.e.* properly, those embodied in the Kormchay.

[52] Such as those of A.D. 1666 and of A.D. 1718.

A permanent College is when, for the direction of certain affairs of frequent or perpetual occurrence *in a country*,[53] there is appointed a certain sufficient number of persons. Such was the ecclesiastical synedrion (the *Sanhedrim*) in the Church of the Old Testament at Jerusalem, and the civil court of the Areopagites at Athens, and in the same city other governing assemblies called *dicasteria*, &c.

A number of Colleges[54] of this kind, to suit the diversity of the affairs and needs of the state, has by the wisdom of the tsar Peter been instituted for the benefit of this country in A.D. 1718.

And as a Christian sovereign, guardian of the right faith and of all good order in the holy Church, having considered spiritual needs, and desiring for them the best direction, he has been pleased to erect also a *Spiritual College*, the business of which it shall be diligently and continually to observe what is beneficial to the Church, that all things may be done in order, and that there be nothing unseemly, which is the desire of the Apostle, or rather the will of God himself.

And that no one may imagine that this mode of government is unsuitable, and that it would be better for a single person to direct the spiritual concerns of the whole community, in like manner as the affairs of particular districts or eparchies are directed by individual bishops, there are here set forth grave reasons to show that this permanent *synodal* government, and as it were permanent synod or sanhedrim (*synedrion*), is more perfect and better than government by a single person,[55] especially in a monarchical state, such as is ours of Russia.

For, in the first place, truth is more certainly investigated by a collective body than by a single person; &c.

[53] But what if *one* spiritual society or kingdom of the Church has been established by Christ for all *countries?* Is this to be broken up into fragments, and nationalised in different *countries?*

[54] By oukaz of 12th Dec. A.D. 1718, Peter had instituted nine *Colleges*, viz.: 1. For Foreign Affairs; 2. Revenues; 3. Justice; 4. Revision; 5. War; 6. Admiralty; 7. Commerce; 8. Exchequer; 9. Mines and Manufactures. And by oukaz of 28th Feb. A.D. 1720, he added a '*Generalni Reglament*,' or General Statute, to prescribe to them all one uniform mode of action. However, the system of Colleges was not found to answer; and at length the emperor Alexander I., by his manifesto of 8th Sept. A.D. 1802, suppressed all the *Colleges* of Peter except the Ecclesiastical College or Synod, and substituted the existing *Ministries*. Peter's *reasons* against a *personal* primacy in the government of the Church tell with at least equal effect against '*autocracy*' in the civil government.

[55] Canons Apost. xxxiv. and ix. of Antioch notwithstanding.

And, secondly, as there is greater *certainty* in the knowledge, so is there here also greater *power* in the determination of any matter, because the sentence of an assembly inclines men more to belief and submission than does the order of an individual.

The power of monarchs is autocratic, and God himself commands men to obey it for conscience' sake;[56] and yet they have their councillors, &c. How much more then in the ecclesiastical administration, *where the government is not monarchical*,[57] and the rulers are commanded not to lord it over the clergy? &c. What is ordained by a body is less obnoxious to criticism.

And, thirdly, this consideration has especial force when the governing College is under the reigning monarch and appointed by him. For in this case it is manifest that the College is not any faction the members of which are united together by a secret bond for their own interest, but a body of persons assembled together by command of the autocrat, and chosen by his judgment, assisted by others, for the common good.

Another (fourth) consideration of weight is this: that when the administration is with a single person, affairs are often delayed and stopped through unavoidable hindrances happening to the administrator, and through his infirmity and sickness; and when he dies there is a full stop put to all business. But with a synodal (or collective) administration, if any one person is not present, even though it be the very chiefest of them, the rest act all the same, and business goes on without interruption.[58]

A fifth special advantage it is, that in such a Kollegium there is no room for partiality, intrigue, or bribery to warp judgment. For how can they unite to defend the guilty or to condemn the innocent side, when, though one of them may be partial to the party accused or hostile to him, another and a third and the rest will be free from that hostility and partiality? And how can bribery prevail, when decisions are made not by authority, but upon regular and grave reasons, and one stands in fear of another (if he does not give good reasons for his opinion), lest he should be found out in his corruption? And this holds the more when the College is composed of such persons as cannot possibly all of them

[56] The Latin adds: 'citra reclamationem.'

[57] The Latin version (made in one of the government offices at Petersburg) has: 'utpote absolutâ et independente potentia destitutum.'

[58] This consideration might also lead to the suggestion that the autocrat himself should become only the chief member or chairman of a Kollegium.

conspire together; that is, if they be persons of different orders and callings, bishops, archimandrites, hegoumens, and heads of the white clergy. In truth one cannot see here how such persons could dare even to communicate to one another any dishonest scheme, to say nothing of conspiring together for injustice.

Another like consideration—a sixth—is this, that a College has a freer spirit for judging justly: for it does not, in the same way as a single ruler, fear the anger of the powerful:[59] because it is not so easy to find grounds of complaint against many, especially if they be persons of different ranks, as it is against one man.

Seventhly: This too is very important, that from a synodal administration the country has no reason to fear *revolts and disturbances, such as arise from one personal ecclesiastical ruler.*[60] For the simple people know not what a difference there is between the spiritual power and that of the autocrat; but being dazzled by the great honour and glory of the highest pastor, they think that such a ruler is a sort of second hossoudar, of equal power with the autocrat, or even greater than he, and that the spiritual order is another and a better sovereignty; and thus the people have of themselves been used to think.

But what will happen when to this there are added seditious conversations of ambitious ecclesiastics, who put fire to such dry fuel? To such a degree are simple hearts perverted by this opinion, that they look not so much in any matter to their autocrat as to the chief pastor. And on the report of any quarrel between them, they all side with the spiritual rather than with the secular ruler, no matter how blindly and irrationally; and they are ready to contend and to make insurrection on his behalf, and deceive themselves, poor wretches, with the thought that they are contending for God himself, and that they do not defile but rather sanctify their hands if they even imbue them with blood.

And such opinions of the common people are very acceptable to certain others also, men not simple, but designing intriguers. Such men, having malice against their hossoudar, when they see a quarrel between the sovereign and the pastor, catch at that as

[59] Yet these considerations do not prevent Peter from setting over the College one of his '*officers*,' to 'look sharply' after all its proceedings, by the oukazes of 11th May and 13th June A.D. 1722.

[60] Such as arose, for instance, from Nicon (see above, at p. 1569).

a good opportunity for their malice, and under a show of zeal for the Church scruple not to lift their hands against the Lord's *Anointed*[61] (lit. the *Christ of the Lord*); and to such felony, as if it were a service rendered to God, they stir up the common people.

And what if, besides this, the pastor himself also is intoxicated with such a high opinion of himself, and will not rest quiet?[62] It is difficult to say how great calamities may hence ensue.

And this is not only imagination. Would to God that there had been in this matter only room for conjectures! But these evil consequences have been actually experienced, and not once only, in many states. Let a man only look at the history of Constantinople after the time of Justinian, and he will see many examples of this. Yes; and the Pope too has done the same. By no other way than this was it that he gained such a great ascendancy, that he not only cut the Roman empire asunder into two halves, and usurped to himself a great part, but also many times disturbed other kingdoms, almost to their entire ruin.

Let us say nothing about *similar attempts which have been also among ourselves.*[63]

For such mischief in a synodical (*i.e.* in a collegiate) spiritual administration there is no place. For there is not here, even in the president himself, any great glory[64] to dazzle the people, there is no excessive splendour or pomp, there is no high opinion of him, nor can flatterers by immoderate praises set him up.

[61] The worshippers of the civil power are never tired of repeating these words of their idol. And when an orthodox sovereign is blessed and anointed to his kingdom by *the Church*, no reverence is too great for him: so long as he *obeys* Christ, his royalty is united with that of Christ. But when he has *disobeyed*, and has *made himself the head of the clergy*, though *he* may *use* the hand of a bishop to anoint him (the crown, maybe, he openly takes with his own hand), he is no longer *the Lord's* anointed; no more than a man would be who should rub himself with oil, and call himself '*the Lord's* anointed:' at best he is *his own* anointed. So Nicon wrote: 'If the tsar, after having made himself the head, and Pitirim his vicar, likes to put Pitirim on a beast, and to amuse himself by leading him about, he can do that; but he is not thereby showing humility or obedience *towards Christ*' (see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 165, 240).

[62] Lit. 'will not *sleep*;' the Latin has, 'si ipse pastor eadem elatus opinione hujusmodi occasioni captandæ invigilaverit.'

[63] The way in which Peter and his tool Theophanes connect the arrogance of Muscovite bishops, especially of Nicon, and even that of the patriarchs of Constantinople, with the *Pope* is remarkable.

[64] 'Ne ipse quidem præses justo majores, quibus vulgus rapiatur in admirationem, sibi arrogat prærogativas, nec supervluum præse fert splendorem ac pompam qua possit sese jactare.'

Because whatever good is done by such a form of government, the credit of it cannot be ascribed to the president alone. The name itself, *President*, is not a proud one, for it signifies no more than *sitting first*, so that there is no room either for him to have any high thoughts about himself or for others to have any such thoughts about him. And when, farther, the people see that this synodal (*i.e.* collegiate) government is instituted by oukaz of the monarch and adstipulation of the senate, they will keep more quiet, and will quite give up the hope of getting help in their insurrections from the spiritual order.

Eighthly: This advantage also will accrue to the Church and the state from such a synodal (collegiate) government, that in it not only any individual of the assessors,[65] but the president also himself will be subject to the judgment of his brethren—that is, to the same Kollegium—if he should offend notably in anything; and it will not be in the same way as is practised when one independent[66] pastor has dominion (*vladieyet*): for he is not content to be judged by the bishops who are subject to him. And though he were to be forced to submit to this, still for the common people, who know nothing of *legality*,[67] and who judge blindly, such a trial and judgment would be suspected as invalid, and would incur obloquy. Whence it results, that against such an evil *monarch*[68] there is need to convoke an œcumenical council,[69] which can be done only with great difficulty and inconvenience for all the country, and with no small expense, and which in these present times (when the Eastern patriarchs live under the Turkish yoke, and the Turks fear our empire more than formerly) cannot even be thought of.

Ninthly, and in the last place: In such a synodal (collegiate) government there will be a *sort of school*[70] of spiritual administra-

[65] Lit. *con-sessors*; in the Latin *collegarum*.

[66] '*Samovlastni*,' arbitrary; literally it would be personali vel propria potestate rem gerens; the Latin translation has, 'ubi summâ auctoritate potestateque instructus pastor absoluto regendæ Ecclesiæ jure potitur.'

[67] Or 'of just judgment, *pravosoudia*;' *i.e.* of the right of the *state* to judge, or command the bishops to judge, a primate, alluding to the case of Nicon.

[68] Or *single-authoritative ruler*, '*edinovlastitelia*.' There is need to *transfer* the *authoritative rule* from the *evil* spiritual *monarch*, the *patriarch* or primate (Nicon), to the *good* or less objectionable secular *monarch*, the tsar (Alexis or Peter).

[69] As in A.D. 1666; the Muscovite synods held before to judge Nicon in A.D. 1660, 1664, and 1666 having been found insufficient.

[70] So the Church and all the diocesan bishops are subjected, instead of a primate, to young men, *scholars* of the tsar in his *school* of spiritual politics.

tion. For from the communication of many and divers judgments and counsels and solid arguments, which cases constantly arising call for, every one of the assessors may easily acquire knowledge of spiritual politics, and by daily experience learn how he may best be able to direct[71] (or govern) the house of God: and so the most promising persons of the colleagues or assessors (of the College) will show themselves worthy to *mount*[72] to the rank of the episcopate. And *so* in Russia, by God's help, *barbarism* (*grouhost*) *shall soon disappear from the spiritual order also*, and there will be ground to hope for a general improvement.[73]

*Part II.*

*Affairs subject to this Collegiate Administration.* These affairs are of two separate kinds:

Of the *first* kind (*Head* ii.) are all matters that concern the whole Church, the clergy and the laity, people of rank[74] and people of no rank alike. And herein it is the duty of the Spiritual College to observe, *first*, whether all is done rightly and according to the Christian law; whether there be anything contrary to it. Also, *secondly*, whether there be not any lack of such instruction as is needful for every Christian, of which more will be said below.

Of the *second* kind are all such matters as concern particular orders, viz.: 1. Bishops; 2. Priests, deacons, and other clerks; 3. Monks; 4. Houses for giving instruction, and in them teachers and scholars; also church-preachers; 5. Lay persons, so far as they are subject to spiritual direction, *e.g.* as respects lawful and unlawful marriages, and other matters which concern them.

[71] Under the tsar. But Nicon writes: 'Such a Church is no longer the temple of God, but the house of them who have power over it' (see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 408).

[72] A doubtful *promotion*, unless he is sufficiently in favour with the tsar to be allowed to retain also his seat in the governing Kollegium.

[73] In the Latin: 'Sublatâ inhistrorum Ecclesiæ ruditate, non est dubium, quin in Rossia omnia se in melius sint habitura.'

[74] The first table of Peter's *fourteen* parallel degrees of civil and military rank in the *service* was dated 24th Jan. A.D. 1722. A *bishop* belonged to the *fourth* class, and was on a par with an '*actual councillor of state*' and with a *major-general*; if '*gratified*' (*pojalovan*) with the title of *archbishop*, he was raised to the *third* class, and was equal to a *privy councillor* and to a *lieutenant-general*; if gratified with the title of *metropolitan*, he rose to the *second* class, and was equal to an '*actual privy councillor*' and to a *full general* (*Polnoe Sobr.* vol. vi. No. 3890, p. 486, quoted by Tondini, *Regl. Eccl.* p. 34, 98, 104).

Concerning all these heads what is (more especially, and for this present time) of importance is here set forth in order.

1. As regards the first kind, or *general* matters, the College is, *first*, To examine newly-composed *Mathists* and other *Services* and *Molebens*, and to see that there is nothing unscriptural (fabulous or superstitious), &c., in them.

*Secondly:* It is also to decide that those numerous prayers, though they be unexceptionable, are not a matter of duty for every one; that they may be said at will in private, but are not to be said in the congregation in the church, that they pass not by custom into law, and become a burden to men's consciences.

*Thirdly:* It is to revise the histories of the Saints, and to see if some of them are not lying forgeries, containing falsehood, heterodoxy, or frivolous and ridiculous stories.

*Fourthly:* It is to examine specially and diligently inventions of superstitious practices and observances, *e.g.* not to work on a Friday out of fear of *Piatnitsa*, &c.

*Fifthly:* Some ceremonies may be found which are unprofitable, or even hurtful. It is reported that there is in Little Russia in the Starodoub polk such a custom, and somewhere else such another. The College should ascertain whether it really is so; and whether the diocesan bishop knows of it; for such customs, if they exist, lead people to open and shameful idolatry.

*Sixthly:* It is to make inquiry about doubtful relics. For instance, at Venice and at *Rome*[75] there are the relics of St. Stephen, the first martyr; in many places of Italy nails of the Lord's Cross, and milk of the most holy Mother of God, and other like things without number. The College must see whether there be not also among us some such vanities.

*Seventhly:* With respect to holy icons, it is to have an eye to that which is written in the promise or oath[76] made by bishops at the time of their consecration.

*Eighthly:* It is to take care that bishops do not (as some are said to have done in time past), in order to help some poor church, or to build a new one, discover, or cause to be discovered, miraculous icons.

[75] The zeal of Peter and his agent against superstition, and the way in which they connect Russian abuses and superstitions with *Rome* is remarkable.

[76] To take care that the icons be not improperly worshipped, nor false miracles ascribed to them (in the articles added by Peter in 1716, see p. 1590).

*Ninthly:* It is to put an end, wherever it still exists, to the bad and hurtful and altogether ungodly practice of reading or singing in the church, with two or more voices, different things at one time.

*Tenthly:* There is another very shameful practice said to have existed, viz. that of sending prayers to a person at a distance by a messenger in a cap. But it is needless to enumerate. To speak generally, whatever is superstitious, that is, idle, unedifying, devised by hypocrites only for the sake of their own interest, whatever deceives the common people and, like snowdrifts, prevents their walking in the straight way, is to be looked after by the College as a common evil, since it may occur in all orders.

The other point of general interest was, to see if there be among us sufficient instruction for Christian development and correction (*ispravlenia*).

Few can read the scriptures: few of the priests are capable of preaching: so there is an absolute necessity to have a few small books, intelligible and plain for common people, and containing all that is sufficient for popular instruction: and these ought to be read, section by section, on Sundays and holidays in the church before the people. . . . There need to be composed *three* small books, to be so read, viz.: The *first*, concerning the most essential saving doctrines of our faith, also of the commandments of God called the Decalogue:[77] the *second*, about the duties specially belonging to each order:[78] the *third*, containing a collection[79] of plain sermons from different holy doctors, both concerning the chief doctrines, and especially about sins and virtues, and, lastly, of the particular duties of each order. The first and second of these books should have proofs, but short and clear, taken from the scriptures themselves; the third should give the same teaching as is given by the first two in passages taken

[77] Such a book, entitled *First Instruction for Children*, &c., was drawn up by Theophanes Procopovich himself, and published without his name at Petersburg in A.D. 1720 (before the publication of the *Reglament*). An English translation of it was published A.D. 1723 in London. It is reprinted in the volume entitled *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*. By an oukaz of 26th Feb. 1723, it was ordered to be read in the churches during Lent.

[78] Such a book, composed by *Tichon*, bishop of Voronege, and entitled an *Instruction on the particular Duties of each Christian*, was printed by the synod A.D. 1784 and 1789, and sent to all the churches.

[79] Such a *Collection of Sermons for the Sundays and Festivals* was published by the synod A.D. 1776 and 1779, and ordered to be read in the churches, in like manner.

from the Fathers. There are to be two readings of short sections from the first and second of these books during the matins, and a third from the third book (on the same subject with the sections read in the matins) in the liturgy: and thus all the three books shall be read through once in every three months.

II. *Then, secondly, as regards matters specially concerning particular orders of men:*

(*Head* iii.) *First*, of affairs (or duties, *munia*) of bishops (wherein also, *secondly* and *thirdly*, of priests and monks).

1. Every bishop should have with him and should read the canons of the general and local councils.

2. Especially he should know well the degrees of relationship and affinity, and what marriages are allowed or forbidden.

3. The Spiritual College shall send an order to all the bishops to cause the canons relating to them to be read aloud during their dinner, &c.

4. If a bishop be in doubt about anything, let him first write and ask the advice of some other neighbouring bishop, or other capable person; and if he is still unsatisfied, he must write to the Spiritual College at St. Petersburg, clearly and circumstantially, in the form of an official report or application.

5. A bishop detained by any necessity out of his diocese (as when called to reside in his turn at the capital), or incapacitated by sickness or infirmity, is to appoint some special competent person, some archimandrite or hegoumen, with assistants, to do the business of the see for him; and this administrator, if he cannot refer to the bishop, is to write in case of need, like the bishop, to the College.

6. The like shall be required by the bishops of archimandrites, &c., and of parish priests, in similar cases of necessary absence or incapacity.

7. A bishop permanently incapacitated is to write, or the administrator is to write for him, to the Spiritual College, and it will determine what to do, whether only to appoint an administrator or to consecrate a new bishop.

8. A bishop must see to that which he promised with an oath at his consecration to see to, viz. that monks be not suffered to wander about; that churches be not built where they are not wanted; that forged miracles be not ascribed to holy icons (and other like matters). And that all this may be the better executed,

he shall give order in all the towns that such persons as he commissions, or specially appointed *blagochinnie*,[50] like spiritual fiscals, watch over everything, and make reports to him, the bishop. If any such abuse be discovered anywhere, he who has sought to screen it shall incur the penalty of degradation.

9. It is very desirable for the reformation that every bishop should have in his house, or near his house, a school for the sons of the clergy, or *of laymen too*, who may be placed there with the hope of their obtaining the priesthood.[51] In it there should be a capable teacher, &c. Scholars, as soon as it is clear about them that they will never make good priests, should be dismissed.

10. Such scholars only, educated in the episcopal school, if there are enough of them, shall be promoted to the priesthood, or if any of them choose the monastic order, they shall be preferred to be archimandrites or hegoumens, &c. And if any bishop ordains to be priest or to any monastic rank a person not taught in that school, passing over one who has, he shall be subjected to such punishment as may be determined by the Spiritual College.

11. That the parents of scholars may not murmur at expenses imposed on them for schooling, and for books, and for maintenance of their sons, if the school be at a distance from their homes, it is proper that the scholars be taught and fed gratuitously, using books found ready for them by the bishop. And that this may be possible, it is proposed from the chief monasteries of each diocese to take of all the corn one-twentieth, and from the corn of all the (other) church lands, wherever they are, one-thirtieth part, and to let the number of scholars be determined by its amount, to be as many, that is, as this corn will suffice for, for their food and all other needs (except clothing), and for the servants necessary for them, the teacher or teachers being main-

[50] Lit. '*conservators of good order*.' The civil *Fiscals* (or *spies of the Fisc*) were instituted by oukaz of 17th March A.D. 1714.

[51] So these episcopal schools, unlike the '*Academy*' and the '*Seminary*' the erection of which will be proposed farther on, have distinctly for their main object the formation of clergy: still they are not strictly ecclesiastical: they are merely 'under a *capable* teacher,' and yet the scholars are to have a clear preference for all *spiritual* appointments. By oukaz of 28th Feb. A.D. 1714, there were to be schools at all the episcopal residences and in the chief monasteries, of the same mixed kind. In A.D. 1723 the synod remarked that the *only* see which had the episcopal school required by the *Reglament* was that of Novgorod (then held by Theodosius Yanovsky. *Regl. Eccl.* p. 69). In A.D. 1727 these schools had in all 3000 scholars.

tained and paid from the episcopal treasury, in such wise as shall be fixed, according to the place, *by the Spiritual College*.

12. Such collections from the monasteries and church lands will cause no kind of privation to the churches and monasteries, if only there be good and faithful management in them. And there should be yearly information given to the bishop what quantity of corn of all kinds has been collected, &c. And to this end there shall be kept in the Spiritual College books of the incomings and the outgoings of all the chief monasteries in Russia, &c.

13. That the bishops may not murmur, as if losers by having to maintain a teacher or teachers, they are required not to keep superfluous servants, nor to erect unnecessary buildings; likewise not to multiply sacred vestments, nor their personal clothing, beyond what is necessary and becoming for their position. But in order that all shall be better administered, there shall be account-books of the incomings of the bishops kept in the Spiritual College. The rest that concerns teachers and teaching shall be found in its proper place.

14. Let every bishop know the measure of his honour, and not think highly of it. The '*work*' indeed is great, but scarcely any distinguished honour is assigned it in the scripture. The Apostle, overthrowing the vain opinion of the Corinthians, who were puffed up about their pastors, says that the pastoral work has all its success and fruit from God himself, who works in the hearts of men. 'I,' he says, 'planted, Apollos watered, but it is God that has given the increase:' and therefore, he argues, for this increase there remains to man no glorying whatever.

And in the same place he calls the pastors *servants of God, and stewards of his mysteries*, if only *they abide faithful in that work*. For it is only the outward work which belongs to the pastors, to preach, to be instant, to rebuke in season and out of season, and to perform the ceremonies of the holy mysteries; but the inner work, that of changing the heart to repentance and to renewal of life, belongs to God alone, who by his grace, through the word and sacred ministrations of the pastors, as through an instrument, works invisibly.

15. This, moreover, is proposed, in order to mitigate that very offensive[82] grandeur of bishops, that they should not, so long as

[82] *jestokouyou*, fierce.

they are well and able to walk, be held up under the arms, and that no obeisances to the ground be made by the brethren who are subject to them. And those, their worshippers, voluntarily and shamelessly throw themselves on the ground, and that with an evil cunning, in order to obtain for themselves some step of which they are not worthy, in order so to dissemble their insolence and knavery.

It is true that the pastoral *work*, if it be only *done*, though it be outward, still is not a small matter, as being *an embassy*[83] *from God*. And God commands that the presbyters who show good diligence be counted worthy of double honour, especially they that labour in the word and doctrine (1 Tim. v.). Still this honour is (to be) moderate: but any extravagant and all but royal honour there is not to be. And that moderate honour is not to be sought by the pastors themselves, and exacted from their subordinates, but they must be content with what is freely given them.

16. There follows hence this also, that a bishop should not be audacious and hasty, but long-suffering and discreet, in using his power to bind, that is, in (the use of) excommunication and anathema. '*For the Lord has given this power for edification, but not for destruction*,' says the Apostle (2 Cor. x.).

And the intention of the same Teacher of the Gentiles was to deliver the Corinthian who was an open sinner to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved (1 Cor. v.). As regards this power then, that it may be rightly used, two things are to be considered: *First*. What sin deserves so great a punishment? *Secondly*. How is a bishop to proceed in inflicting the same?

*Of Anathema.*

If any one openly blasphemes the name of God, or the sacred scripture, or the Church, or is an open sinner, without being ashamed of his sin, but rather glorying in it, or if without valid reason he lets pass more than a year without approaching the sacraments of penance and of the holy Eucharist, or does anything else with open contempt and mockery of the law of God, such a one, if after a second admonition he remains obstinate and proud, is to be judged worthy of so great a punishment. For it is not for the sin, taken by itself alone, that he is subjected to anathema,

[83] An embassy or mission from *God*, not from the *state*: but this Regulation and the Spiritual College are from the state, not from God.

but for open and proud contempt of the judgment of God and *of the Church*, with great scandal of weak brethren, and because so he gives out from himself an odour of atheism.

But for the execution, such a method of proceeding as the following will be regular:

First, the bishop shall send to the offender the confessor of this latter, &c.; and if this has no effect, then, after letting some time pass, he shall request him civilly to come to himself, and shall repeat to him the same admonition as was made before privately, in presence only of that same confessor who had been sent to him. But if he does not go to the bishop when called, then the bishop shall send to him the same confessor as before, with some other honourable persons, spiritual and secular, especially friends of the offender, to admonish him again as before.

And if he is still unmoved, the same may be done even a third time.

But if all is in vain, then the bishop shall direct the protodiakon, on some festival in the church, to make to the people a notification in the following or like terms: 'A man who is known to you, N. N.,' &c. (desiring all to pray for his repentance, as otherwise he will be cast out from the Church). And if no conversion follow, the bishop shall write a report of all to the Spiritual College, and then only, *having received from it a written permission*, he shall publicly deliver over the sinner to anathema by the following or other like form: 'Since N. N. has (in such and such a way) given scandal to the Church, &c., on this account *your pastor*, by the command of Christ, by the power given *him from the same Lord*,[81] casts him out from the Christian community, and cuts him off as an unprofitable member from the body of Christ's Church,' &c. (forbidding him to enter the church; and if he enter by force, and they cannot put him out, then, except it be in the liturgy, they are to cease from all service till he goes out; and priests are forbidden to go to him for any ministration on pain of being degraded). 'Also, let it be known to all, that it is only he himself, N. N. personally, who is subjected to this anathema, but not also his wife nor children, nor the other people of his house, unless they also imitate his contumacy, and proudly and openly revile the Church of God.'

This, or some other like form of anathema prescribed by the

[81] By permission of the Spiritual Kollegium, and of the tsar.

Spiritual College, shall be stuck upon the doors of the church, either of the cathedral alone, or of all the parish churches of that eparchy, as the College may direct.

If the person so anathematised repents, he shall, unless incapable of coming to the church, publicly ask the bishop for absolution, and the bishop shall publicly question him if he is truly penitent, &c.; and if he believes that the pastoral power to loose and to bind is not vain, but potent, and effective, and terrible; and if he promises that he will be in future an obedient son of the Church, and not despise the pastoral authority, &c. And the bishop shall publicly absolve him, and appoint some Sunday or festival on which, after confession to his ghostly father, he may be publicly admitted to communicate in the holy mysteries.

But if, on the contrary, he remains still contumacious, and speaks against the anathema of the Church, or even insults the bishop, or others of the clergy, the bishop shall then send a *petition* about that to the Spiritual College; and the College, after having ascertained the truth, shall with urgency apply for judgment to the secular powers, or to H.M. the tsar himself.

This only shall be strictly enjoined on the bishops by the Kollegium, that they shall neither inflict anathema nor give absolution for their own gain, or for any other private interest, but seek in that so grave a matter, '*not their own things, but the things of the Lord Jesus.*'

Such a method of proceeding in this matter is regular (or canonical, *pravilni*), in accordance with the word of God, and *not open to suspicion.*

But what has been hitherto said relates to the anathema, which is a curse, a punishment like death. For by anathema a man is cut off from the mystical body of Christ, *i.e.* from the Church, and no longer remains a Christian; he is excluded from the inheritance of all those good things which have been obtained for us by the death of the Saviour. For that appears from the divine words: '*Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican;*' and, '*It is fit to deliver such a one unto Satan;*' and other like passages.

### *Of the Lesser Excommunication.*

There is also a lesser punishment, called *segregation* (*otlouchenie*, ἀφορισμὸς), or *interdiction* (*zapreshchenie*). This is when

the Church does not deliver over the sinner to anathema, nor expel him from Christ's flock, but only humbles him by separating him from union with orthodox believers in the common prayers, does not allow him to enter the churches, and for a certain time forbids him the communion of the holy mysteries. In brief, by anathema a man becomes like one put to death, but by separation or interdiction he is like a prisoner under arrest.

Of both these punishments, the greater and the lesser, there are examples in the synods of the Church, when they decree against heretics *anathema*, while transgressors of the synodal canons are punished by *separation*.

A cause deserving the lesser punishment, that is, *interdiction*, is any great and open sin short of such enormities as have been mentioned above. For instance, when any one is openly disorderly, long absents himself from the public services of the Church, after openly wronging or insulting any honourable person does not ask pardon, in the case of such persons, the bishop, after having personally or through their confessor admonished them to give public satisfaction, if they will not do so, though it may be without showing any great pride or contempt, may humble them by interdiction, without those solemn preparatory notices through the protodiakon, only writing on a *small paper*[85] the offence of the transgressor and his interdiction.

And in such a case the bishop is not obliged to write to the Spiritual College for permission, but he has liberty and power to do this of himself; only he must not do it of passion, nor without making careful examination previously. But if he interdicts any one without just cause, and that person seeks judgment against him in the Kollegium, the bishop shall be punished in such manner as the Spiritual College shall judge to be proper.

17. It has been said above that the bishops are to have in their dioceses certain inspectors, as spiritual *fiscals*, but this is not enough;[86] for those fiscals also, befriending their benefactors, or

[85] Here P. Tondini takes occasion to notice the fact, that there are four divisions of *Ecclesiastical* matters which in Russia must be treated on *stamped* paper, viz. of 15 kopecks (or 60 centimes), 30, 60, and 90 kopecks respectively (p. 88).

[86] Peter found that it was 'not enough' in the civil government. In A.D. 1724 he had to put to death his Ober-Fiscal, Nesteroff, and two of the subordinate fiscals for corruption. The civil fiscals were suppressed in the reign of the empress Anna (A.D. 1730-1740).

taking bribes, conceal much: therefore it is proper that the bishop yearly, or once in two years, go about and *visit* his diocese. And for this, besides many others, we have the great example of the Apostle Paul, as appears in the Acts (Acts xiv. 21, 22; xv. 36, &c.; Rom. i. 11, 12; 1 Cor. iv. 12; 1 Thess. iii. 2; 1 Thess. iii. 10).

As directions how this *visitation* is to be made, the following rules will serve:

In the *second* of fifteen rules or directions which follow it is written that 'a special *kanon* for a moleben to be sung at episcopal visitations for all needs,' especially 'the health and victory of the most potent monarch, the reformation and welfare of the Churches, and the conversion of the raskolniks,' &c., 'shall be composed.'[87]

In the *third* it is written that since not every bishop is able to compose a fair discourse, it is proper that such a *discourse*, to be read by the bishops on their visitations, *be composed in the Spiritual College*.

The *thirteenth* article stands thus: 'But let every bishop, of whatever rank he may be, simple bishop, archbishop, or metropolitan, know that he is subject to the Spiritual College, as to the supreme (spiritual) power, has to obey its orders, is amenable to its judgment, and must be content with its determinations. And therefore, if any one has a matter against another bishop his brother, he must not avenge himself, neither by making charges against him, nor by notifying to others, though it be with truth, his sins or offences, nor by engaging any powerful persons, spiritual or secular (to avenge him); above all, he must not presume to deliver over the bishop his enemy to anathema: but he must by a report lay his wrongs before the Spiritual College, and ask for a judgment from it.'

The *fourteenth* directs that in the same way complaints against the bishop, or appeals against his judgment, may be made freely from all under him to the Spiritual College, without let or hindrance from him; only the Spiritual College will punish not lightly those who falsely accuse their pastors, or who make causeless appeals.

The *fifteenth*, lastly, enacts that every bishop twice a year (or

[87] And such a kanon, composed by Theophanes Procopovich, was printed at Petersburg in June A.D. 1721, to be sent to all the churches.

as often as the Kollegium shall direct) shall send to the College detailed *reports* of his administration of his diocese; even though all be going on well, he must report that this is so. But if he reports that all is well, and from other sources it is discovered that there is something superstitious or ungodly which the bishop may seem to have concealed by not reporting it to the College, the College will call him to appear personally for trial before itself, and, on sufficient conviction, will subject him to such punishment as shall be decreed.

*Of Houses of Instruction, &c.*

(*Head* iv.) Here there is, first, a disquisition on the necessity of instruction and learning for the reformation and welfare of the Church, and on the distinction to be made between a mere show of learning (with a covert allusion to Stephen Yavorsky), the professors of which, *inter alia*, cannot avoid heresy because they are proud and obstinate, and will not give up their own opinions, and true learning and enlightenment, the possessors of which (like Theophanes Procopovich) understand the proverb that it is *one of the characteristics of a wise man to change his opinion*.

'It is known,' this section begins, 'to all the world how great was the insufficiency and the weakness of the Russian *army*, when it had no regular instruction, and how incomparably its force was increased, and how it became beyond all that could have been expected great and formidable, when our most potent monarch, his majesty the tsar Peter I., had disciplined it with excellent rules.'[33] The same may be said of architecture, and of medicine, and of political government, and of all the other institutions.

'And, above all, the same reflection is to be made about the government of the Church. When there is not the light of instruction, it is impossible for the Church to go on well; it is impossible but that there should be disorder, and many ridiculous superstitions; and more than that, schisms also, and most absurd and senseless heresies.'

[33] In A.D. 1699 the Dutch general Adam Weyde composed for Peter in Russian first *Military Statute*, source of the *Manual of Military Manœuvres* and the *Book of Exercises* of A.D. 1715. Peter's own *Military Statute* (*ustav*) was completed at Dantzig 30th March A.D. 1716, and sent thence to Petersburg to be printed (Tondini, p. 105; and see above, p. 1233).

Farther on we find these words: 'If we look through history as through a telescope at past ages, we shall see that all was worse in dark times than in those times which were enlightened by instruction.

'Till A.D. 400 the bishops were not so haughty as they afterwards became, especially those of Constantinople and of Rome; for then (*i.e.* in the first four centuries) there was learning, but afterwards it failed.'

And after the general disquisition on the necessity of learning, there is a long and detailed plan for an *Academy*,[89] not a mere spiritual Academy, such as those already existing at Kieff and at Moscow, but rather, as P. Tondini observes, the germ of what was founded afterwards as the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, which it was proposed by the Spiritual Regulation to connect with the Spiritual College; and Peter had long before, after his return from abroad in A.D. 1698 and 1699, proposed to the patriarch Adrian to widen the basis of the Academy of Moscow, so that it might furnish civil and military engineers, architects, and physicians and surgeons for the service of the state (Tondini, *Regl. Eccles.* p. 116).

'This it has been thought well to premise, in order that, if the tsar's majesty should wish to found an Academy, the Spiritual College may be able to judge what teachers first to appoint for it, and what form of instruction to prescribe for them, that the

[89] P. Tondini, quoting from the *Polnoe Sobranie*, &c. vol. v. (3208), 11th June A.D. 1718, says that Fiche having observed to Peter that it would not be difficult to teach and form Russian boys and youths, the tsar replied: 'We mean to set up an *Academy*, and in the mean time we must try to find among the Russians some well-furnished man who has a turn for that.' The intended Academy was to be at first school, university, and academy proper, all in one. The Spiritual College was the only one of the Colleges then existing with which an Academy of Sciences could well be connected. When Peter changed his plan, he determined to place the Academy directly under the sovereign. Nearly all its first members were foreigners. In March A.D. 1721, Wolff having shown some hesitation about coming to Russia, lest he should be persecuted by the Orthodox clergy (since even in Protestant Germany he had not escaped persecution), he was answered officially, that 'the *supreme pontiff* here is the emperor himself, who does not govern at the beck of the clergy, but they are obliged to obey him (*Regl. Eccl.* p. 120). The first idea of an Academy is said to have been suggested by Leibnitz, in a letter written to Peter in A.D. 1712; and in A.D. 1711 there was a rumour about it in Germany. Peter announced its foundation, by an oukaz of 20th Jan. A.D. 1724, as at hand; it was actually erected, 7th Dec. A.D. 1725, by Catherine I. The Academy proper was not separated from the university at first combined with it till A.D. 1747.

outlay of the hossoudar may not be wasted, and, instead of the expected benefits, the result be only something vain and ridiculous.

'But that in this matter we may act with caution and wisdom, the rules which follow will be serviceable,' &c.

After mention of the choice of masters to teach Latin and Greek grammar, and of rhetoric, and logic and philosophy, it is laid down, in Paragraph vii., that 'as regards theology, the professor shall be ordered to teach the *capital* truths of our faith, and of the divine law: he must study the holy scripture, and know the rules for its interpretation, in order to base afterwards *all* dogmas on testimonies of the *scripture*.' He may also use modern heterodox writers, 'but with caution, for they often lie, *e.g.* in interpreting those words of the Lord to Peter: "*I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.*" That was said of Peter individually; but the Latins make a forced application of it to their Pope, and they conclude from it that the Pope cannot err in the faith, *even if he would*,' &c.

Then (viii.) of a library, and of the order or method to be followed, viz.: 1. Grammar, conjointly with geography and history; 2. Arithmetic, with geometry; 3. Logic or dialectics; 4. Rhetoric, and versification; 5. Physics, with a short treatise on Metaphysics; 6. Abridged *Politics* of Puffendorf; 7. Theology. The first six sciences to take each a year, and theology two. The study of Greek and Hebrew (if professors can be found for those languages) to be a matter apart from the general course.

Paragraph ix. is of the choice of the Rector and the Prefect, and of their duties, for the due performance of which they are to be amenable to the *Spiritual College*.

xii. In case of any professor offending, the rector is to denounce him to the College.

xiii. Inspectors, or *fiscals*, can be appointed to watch how all goes on.

xiv. As regards scholars, all the protopopes, all the other priests, rich and poor, shall be obliged to send their sons to the Academy: the same may be required of the chief magistrates of the towns: as for the nobles, that shall depend on the will of the tsar's majesty.

Paragraph xvi. gives such as have obtained the certificate of the Academy a preference over such as have not both for spiritual and for secular appointments.

At the end of Paragraph xxi. it is observed: 'Thus it will be possible to present them, after they have completed their course, to the tsar's majesty, and to appoint them, according to his oukaz, to different works.'

Paragraph xxii. (which is the last) is this: 'But what is above all, and one may say alone, *necessary* (*i.e.* for the Church) and profitable is this, that there be near the Academy, and even at first without any Academy (*i.e. before its foundation*), a *Seminary* for the instruction and education of boys, like those which have been founded in numbers in foreign countries.

'*Of this a sort of sketch is here given*' (and then follows the plan for a *Seminary*, in twenty-six paragraphs, like those for the Academy which have preceded).

This projected '*Seminary*,' however, is not a seminary like those prescribed by the Council of Trent for the training of boys to become clerks; but, like the '*Academy*,' it is to train boys at once for civil and for spiritual appointments. It may be called a boarding-house in connection with the Academy, and subject, like it, to the Spiritual College. It is to have at least three learned men, monks *or laymen*, of whom one is to be rector and two examiners; the boys are to be admitted at the age of ten in such number as the *tsar* directs; those of them who are poor are to be maintained at the *tsar's cost*;[90] they are all to be bound to complete the whole course; on arriving at a certain age they are to take the oath of fidelity to the tsar in presence of all the seminarists in the church, swearing to remain faithful to the tsar, and to render him such services as they may be capable of and as they may be called to by his the tsar's decree; and on completing their course they are to be presented to the tsar by the rector before he gives them their certificate, and allows them to leave the seminary.

Paragraph xxvi. directs thus: 'Those seminarists who, after having finished their studies, shall appear most fit for spiritual work[91] shall have a right to be preferred before all the rest who

[90] This provision sufficiently shows that this Seminary, like the Academy with which it is to be conjoined, is to be a *mixed* institution, and even to serve the state more than the Church; whereas the funds for the episcopal schools (see above, p. 1616) were not to come from the tsar. Procopovich, in a 'Plan for a Seminary' which he presented to Peter soon after the *Reglament* had been approved, wished that the Seminary should be named the '*Sad Petroff*' or '*Peter-Garten*' (Tondini, *Regl. Eccl.* p. 162).

[91] *i.e.* if they wish it. But when Theophanes Procopovich had been charged

have not been in the Seminary, and to come first with the bishops for all degrees having authority, unless there be manifest in the seminarist some notable vice, and that not imputed to him calumniously.'

The boys and youths shall be eight or nine together in a room, the mere boys, the lads, and the young men being kept apart in three divisions: in every room there is to be a prefect or inspector, a respectable man, though it may be unlearned, from thirty to fifty years old. All is to be done on notice given by a bell, as with soldiers at the sound of the drum. During dinner-time there is to be read some history, *either military* or ecclesiastical, and on some days lives of men distinguished for learning, great teachers of the Church, ancient and modern philosophers, astronomers, orators, historians, and the like. There should be in the Seminary a church, a dispensary, and a doctor. 'For instruction the seminarists are to go to the schools of the Academy. Or, if there are schools and teachers in the Seminary, in that case the Academy and the Seminary will be one joint foundation; and there may be lodgings near, outside the Seminary, to be hired by those students of the Academy who do not wish to be seminarists.'

Then there follow *about Preachers* ten paragraphs, in which the holy scripture, literally interpreted by private judgment, is made the basis. No one is to preach but such as have studied in the Academy, and have been approved by the Spiritual College; however, men who have studied *among the heterodox*, *i.e.* abroad, if they wish to become priests, may be approved by the Spiritual College, after a certain examination, as preachers. But the thing most to be noticed about these observations and disquisitions put forth to guide and form the style of preachers is this, that there runs through them a covert vein of hostile allusion to Stephen Yavorsky, as in the following passages: 'Not only is the preacher not to name any one as a sinner, but when there is any unfavourable rumour about any person, that he has been

to do something for clerical education, and had been left free to do what he thought best, the youths whom he had sent to become *theologians* in Germany, all on their return entered the *civil* service. In the ookaz of Catherine I. (31st Oct. A.D. 1726) it is said that she has decreed the erection of a *Seminary* at Petersburg, in conformity with the *Spiritual Reglament*, to teach sciences useful to the Church and the state, and in particular arithmetic and geometry (Tondini, *Regl. Eccl.* p. 150).

guilty of this or that sin, the preacher ought then *to be silent about that sin* in his sermon. For if he mentions it, though he do not name that person, the people will think that that thundering is against the person; and so he will be the more grieved, and, instead of thinking of correcting himself, he will think only how to take vengeance on such a preacher.

'It is the way of some preachers, if any one angers them, to revenge themselves on him in a sermon, not directly detracting *from his glory*, but still speaking so that the hearers may know at whom he is pointing; and such preachers are the very greatest of rogues (*nebulones nequissimi*), and they are to be subjected to severe punishment.

'Every preacher should read carefully the homilies of St. John Chrysostom; but he should not read those of light-minded sophists, such as the *Polish* preachers are par excellence.

'It is a senseless thing for preachers to draw up their eyebrows and shrug their shoulders. . . . A preacher should not gesticulate much, nor sway himself about as if he was rowing in a boat: he should not strike his hands together, nor put them to his haunches, nor give starts, nor laugh, nor should he either sob or weep,' &c.

(*Head* vii.[92]) Of secular people, so far as they come under spiritual direction (or discipline). On this subject there are twelve paragraphs. It is laid down that it is the duty of every Christian to listen to *orthodox* teaching[93] from *his pastors*: for as the pastors are not pastors unless they feed, so the sheep are not sheep unless they are willing to be fed. It is the duty of every Christian to receive the holy Eucharist even frequently, but at the least once in the year. The bishops are to require of all their parish priests to make them a report every year of all such of their parishioners as have not communicated once in the year, or not in two years, or who never communicate. And such are to be forced to declare on oath that they are sons of the Church, and to anathematise all congregations (lit. *polki*,

[92] Heads v. ('Rules for priests, deacons,' &c.) and vi. ('Rules for monks') of the eight heads enumerated by Theophanes below as forming the Regulation seem to have been omitted, in order to be treated more fully in that document which was added afterwards as an appendix to the Regulation.

[93] But *what* is *orthodox* teaching? this, that the tsar is supreme in ecclesiastical matters? or, *who* are my pastors? the tsar with his delegates, such as Pitirim, Paisius Ligarides, and Theophanes Procopovich?

regiments) of raskolniks found *in Russia;* or else they are to be denounced as raskolniks by the bishop in writing (to that governor) to whose jurisdiction the person belongs, and he is to send him to the Spiritual College. It is desirable that the College should know how many raskolniks there are in each diocese. The clergy ought not to be silent, but they ought to denounce to the Spiritual College such lay persons (governors and proprietors) as *screen* raskolniks, and the College shall proceed against them, if there be need, even to anathema. No raskolnik throughout all Russia is to be capable of holding any civil post or office, however low, any more than any spiritual, that we may not arm against ourselves fierce enemies who are ever thinking evil thoughts both against the empire and the sovereign. If any one is only suspected, he shall be called to clear himself by oath. Henceforth no lay person (except the family of his majesty the tsar) shall have in his house a chapel and domestic priests. No one shall take to himself to be his confessor a vagabond priest. Lay people shall not without some pressing necessity make priests come to their private dwellings to baptise their infants. The College shall confer about difficulties relating to marriage, and compose clear resolutions of each such question from the sacred scripture, and from the judgments of the glorious ancient teachers, *and from the imperial constitutions.*

## *Part III.*

(*Head* viii.) *Duty of the governors* (*i.e. the members of the College*) *themselves, their mode of acting, and their power.*

In the first place, as regards the number of the governing persons, a sufficient number is *twelve.* They shall be persons of different orders, bishops, archimandrites, hegoumens, protopopes; of which number (of twelve) *three* shall be *bishops,*[91] and of the

[91] By the oukaz of 25th Jan. A.D. 1721 creating it, the College or Synod was to consist of *eleven* members, that there might be less chance of the votes being equally divided; however, in his first appointment of the *persons* to be members Peter named *fewer* than *eleven*, and afterwards more than *eleven*, as the members subscribing the supplement, printed 14th June A.D. 1722, are *fifteen.* Also note that while in the 'Reglament' it is proposed that *three* out of twelve members, or one fourth part, shall be *bishops*, bishops as such are not named in the oukaz; nor indeed does the oukaz name clerks at all. Only in the oath imposed by that oukaz on members of the Spiritual College, and identical in all besides with the oath of a senator, there is a special clause by which the tsar himself is recognised as the *Supreme Judge* of that College. To acknowledge the tsar to

other orders more or fewer of each, according as there may be men of each found who are worthy.

This is to be attended to, that there be not as members in this assembly archimandrites and protopopes who are subject to any bishop who is a member of the same: for such an archimandrite or protopope will constantly be watching to see to which of the two parties in any judgment his bishop inclines, and he will lean to the same, and so two or three persons will be the same thing as one man.

It remains to consider: i. *What* is it the duty of the Spiritual College to do? ii. *How*, in the affairs brought before it, is it to proceed? and iii. What power has it for the decision of affairs?

### i. *Of the duties of the governors.*

1. The first and in a manner the sole duty of this spiritual government is to know what are the duties both of all Christians generally, and especially of bishops, priests, and the rest of the ministers of the Church; of monks, of teachers and scholars; also of secular persons, so far as they are subject to spiritual direction. And it is the duty of the Spiritual College[95] to watch that every man abides in his own calling, and to admonish and punish transgressors. However, some particular duties also of this government shall here be mentioned.

2. To publish to all Christians of all orders that every one who sees anything making to the better administration of the

be supreme judge of the Senate, a civil institution, would have been quite superfluous; the addition therefore of such a clause in the oath of members of the Synod implies certainly, though indirectly, that the members of the Synod belong to that clerical order which alone could be suspected of still claiming an independent authority.

In A.D. 1730, the 30th May, Procopovich presented to the Synod a note intended to show that the *bishops* ought to be *more numerous* than they were in the composition of the Synod, and this note (which still exists in MS.), as a rule, was accepted (Philaret, *Hist. of the R. Church*, quoted by Tondini, p. 206). He also, in another note of the same date, suggested that *some* of the members of the Synod should be *permanent*. In A.D. 1763 Catherine II. agreed to a recommendation made by the commission for managing the church lands, that the Synod should be composed of three bishops, two archimandrites, and one protopope: so the bishops would have *half* the votes, three against three. By the present custom there are eight members, and six of the eight are bishops; and besides *members proper*, there are temporary assessors or assistant members, called *prisoutstvouyoushchia*.

[95] Nicon thought *this* was *his* duty; but the College is to watch that every man abides in that calling to which he is called by the tsar.

Church is invited to suggest it in writing to the Spiritual College, in the same way that it is free to every one to submit a report to the Senate about any just increase of revenue or other advantage obtainable for the state. And the Spiritual College will judge whether the suggestion can be acted upon with advantage or not.

3. No theological writing shall be printed till it has been presented for examination to the Spiritual College.

4. If anybody be found uncorrupted, or there be rumours of any visions or miracles, it is the duty of the College to inquire into the truth of these things, calling before it those whom it thinks proper to give evidence.

5. If any one blames another as a raskolnik or inventor of any new sect, the matter shall be tried in the Spiritual College.

6. It shall decide cases of conscience.

7. Those who are to be promoted to the episcopate are first to be examined here, whether they be not superstitious? hypocrites? purchasers of holy things? where and how they have lived? whence they have acquired wealth? if any one shall be discovered to be wealthy.

8. To the Spiritual College shall be made appeals against the judgments of bishops: it shall judge questions of doubtful marriages, of grounds for divorce, of wrongs done to clerks or to monasteries by their bishop, or by one bishop to another; and in brief all those matters which belonged formerly to the judgment of the patriarchs.

9. The College shall see who hold and manage, and how they manage the church lands; and whither go the corn and the revenues in money, if there are any, and for what they are expended? and whether any one appropriates feloniously the goods of the Church? In that case it is the duty of the Spiritual College to proceed against him, and to recover from him that which he has embezzled.

10. When a bishop or any inferior clerk suffers wrong from any powerful layman, though it is not in the Spiritual College, but in the Justitz-kollegium, and in last resort in the Senate, that redress is to be sought, still the party wronged must make known his case to the Spiritual College also; and then the president and all the College, helping their brother who is wronged,

shall send from themselves honourable men to ask for prompt justice in the proper quarter.

11. The wills or testaments *of persons of distinction*, if they seem in anything doubtful, are to be submitted to the Spiritual College, and to the Justitz-kollegium, and both these Colleges shall judge, and make a determination.

12. The Spiritual College shall compose an *Instruction* on the subject of improper alms-giving, and mendicity of idle people who ought to be compelled to work (on this there is a long disquisition). And when an Instruction has been prepared, the College should request his majesty the tsar to confirm it by his oukaz.

13. This too is one, and not the least, of the duties of the College, to restrain the clergy from simony and shameless effrontery. For this it is well to consult with the senators what number of dvors is to be fixed for each parish, from which each shall give so much to the priests and the inferior clerks of their church, that they may have perfect sufficiency, according to their measure, and in future may not demand fees for christenings, burials, marriages, and the like. However, this does not forbid gifts to be given to the priests of free liberality.

14. Every member of the College (every *kollegiat*), both the president and all the rest, on first taking upon them their office, must take an oath, each of them personally, that he is and will be faithful to the tsar's majesty; that he will judge matters and give counsel, and weigh the opinions and counsels of the others, his brethren, and accept or reject them not according to his own passions, nor for bribery, but for God and for the benefit of the people, with the fear of God and a good conscience; and he shall make aloud such an oath, and bind himself on express pain of anathema, and of corporal punishment, if afterwards he be discovered and convicted of acting contrary to his oath.

All this that has been written above the monarch of all Russia, his most sacred majesty the tsar, was pleased himself, in the first instance, to hear read through in his presence, and to consider, and correct on the 11th day of Feb. of this year 1720. And after that, by oukaz of his majesty, the most reverend the bishops, and the archimandrites, and together with them the governing senators heard it read likewise, and, considering it, made (some additional) corrections on the 23d day of this same

month of February. Moreover, for its confirmation and exact execution, after it had been subscribed by the hands of the spiritual and senatorial persons present, his majesty the tsar himself also was pleased to sign it with his own hand.

The humble Stephen, unworthy metropolitan of Riazan.
The humble Sylvester, metropolitan of Smolensk.
The humble Theophanes, *bishop* of Pskoff.
The humble Pitirim, bishop of Nijgorod.
The humble Barlaam, bishop of Tver.
The humble Aaron, bishop of Korel.
Theodosius, archimandrite of the Alexandro-Nefsky monastery.
Antony, archimandrite of the Zlatooustoff monastery.
Jonah Salnikeyeff, archimandrite of the Spass-Preobrajensky monastery at Kazan.
Peter, archimandrite of the Simonoff at Moscow.
The humble Pachomius, metropolitan of Voronege and Eletz.
Gabriel, archimandrite of the Troitskoy-Hypatsky monastery.
Hierotheus, archimandrite of the Donskoy monastery.

The admiral count Apraxin.
The chancellor count Golovkin.
Prince Yakoff Dolgorouky.
Prince Dmitri Golitsin.
Count Andrew Matveyeff.
Peter Tolstoy.
Baron Peter Shaphiroff.

*Signed by his most serene majesty the tsar, with his own hand,* PETER.

§ xviii. *Account of the composition of the Spiritual Regulation written by Theophanes himself.*

Theophanes Procopovich, in a letter to a friend dated from Petersburg May 10, A.D. 1720, giving an account of what he

had done in the preceding year, says that within this time he has written:

*a.* A *Catalogue of the grand dukes and emperors of Russia* from Ruric to the present emperor.

*b.* *Notes on the geography of the journeys of the Apostles*, written at the desire of the tsar.

*c.* An *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, with a paraphrase of the Nicene Creed and of the Lord's Prayer, to be printed with the First Primer for teaching boys to read.

*d.* Lastly, for the Ecclesiastical College or Consistory, Constitutions, commonly called A *Regulation* (*Regulamentum*), treating of eight heads, viz.:

i. The causes for which it is better to have this government of a permanent synod than for the Church to be governed by one man, that is, by a patriarch.

ii. Common or general rules, for the direction of all orders of Christians.

iii. Rules for bishops.

iv. Rules for academies and seminaries; also for teachers and preachers.

v. Rules for priests, deacons, &c.

vi. Rules for monks.

vii. Rules for lay people, so far as they are under the priests.

viii. Rules for the presidents and assessors of the College.

All these rules together are in number about three hundred.

This writing his majesty ordered to be read through to him (Feb. 11, A.D. 1720); and after altering some few things, and making some few additions of his own, he gave it his most decided approval. Then he ordered it to be read in the *senate*, where the senators were present, and six bishops, viz. those of Riazan, Smolensk, Tver, Nijny Novgorod, Korel, and I, the *bishop* of Pskoff, also the father archimandrite of the Nefsky, Theodosius, and two other archimandrites. It was read twice, on two different days, and was again improved by the addition of some new observations. Then the bishops and archimandrites subscribed it (23d Feb. A.D. 1720), and in another column opposite to them all the senators, and lastly the emperor subscribed it himself.

Two identical copies of it were written out, and both subscribed in the way just mentioned. One of these is kept in the imperial archives; the other has been sent to Moscow and to

other places, *to be subscribed by all those bishops and chief archimandrites who were not present here;* for which subscription your bishops also, of Chernigoff and Pereyaslaff, will perhaps soon be called to Moscow. And when so it shall have come back here with all the subscriptions, it will be printed, and that College or permanent governing synod *will be set up*[96] (et inchoabitur Collegium, seu illa perpetua synodus gubernatrix), which God grant.

*c.* I am now writing a treatise, in which I shall explain, *What is a Patriarchate;* and when the patriarchate began to be in the Churches; and how, for four hundred years, the Churches governed themselves without patriarchs; and how some Churches, even to the present day, are not subject to the greater patriarchs. I have undertaken this work to defend the College which is now being instituted, that it may not seem to be a thing new and strange (novum et insolens), as *assuredly it will seem* to the *ignorant* (rudibus) and *malicious*' (*Epist. Th. Proc.* p. 30).

Ignorance and malice, such as had just been condemned to death as unpatriotic and treasonable in the tsarevich Alexis, would no doubt find it difficult to reconcile the new Spiritual Kollegium of Peter and Theophanes with canon xxxiv. of those called the Canons of the Apostles; canons which, for the most part, represent accurately the Apostolic and universally-received rules of the first four centuries, before the greater patriarchates —*according to Theophanes*—had begun to be in the Churches: 'In every nation let the bishops know their own *primate*, and regard him as their *head*, and do nothing without him, except what belongs to each bishop to do in his own eparchy; nor either is he (the primate) to do anything of greater moment without consulting the bishops.'

§ xix. *Continuation of the history of the institution of the Spiritual College.*

1. 'And in the dioceses (lit. *eparchies*) the bishops and the other spiritual orders' (*i.e.* heads of monasteries, to whom one

[96] This was done by the *Oukaz* of 25th Jan. A.D. 1721, which is *prefixed* to the printed copies of the Spiritual Regulation; but it will be given by us below, according to the chronological order of the two documents. The *Oukaz* was printed Feb 11, A.D. 1721. The *Spiritual Regulation* with the *Oukaz* prefixed was first printed at Petersburg Sept. 16, A.D. 1721; again at Moscow Feb. 23, A.D. 1722; and a third time at Petersburg Jan. 18, A.D. 1723 (with the new titles of 'The Great' and 'Emperor' given to the tsar).

copy of the two copies of the Spiritual Regulation subscribed at Petersburg was sent about, and whose signatures were *required of them separately and individually*) 'subscribed the same Regulation thus:'

The humble Ignatius, metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk (*i.e.* of Kroutitz).

The humble George, bishop of Rostoff.

The humble Barlaam, bishop of Souzdal and Yourieff.

The humble Joannicius, metropolitan of Kolomna.

The humble Paul, bishop of Vologda.

The humble Cyril Shoumliansky, bishop of Pereyaslaff.

The unworthy Antony, archbishop of Chernigoff and Novgorod Sieversk.

The humble Tichon, metropolitan of Kazan.

The humble Alexis, bishop of Viatka.

The humble Joachim, the unworthy bishop of Astrachan.

The humble Barnabas, bishop of Kholmogori.

The humble Bogoliep, bishop of Oustiog.

Gennadius, archimandrite of the Choudoff.

Sergius, archimandrite of the Novospass.

Serapion, archimandrite of the Andronieff.

Leonidas, archimandrite of the Petrovsky.

Laurentius, archimandrite of the Donskoy.

Hyacinth, archimandrite of the Bogoyavlensky.

Serapion, archimandrite of the Znamensky.

Theophylact, archimandrite of the Spasski.

Macarius, hegoumen of the Vozdvijensky.

Silvester, hegoumen of the Novinsky.

Macarius, hegoumen of the Daniloff.

Tichon, archim. of the Sviato-Troitsky Sergiefsky monastery.

Cyriacus, archim. of the Spass-Euthymieff mon. at Souzdal.

Gideon, archim. of the Rojdestvensky mon. at Vladimir.

Leo, archimandrite of the Goritsky monastery.

Adrian, archimandrite of the Bogoyavlensky Abramieff monastery at Rostoff.

Cyprian, archimandrite of the Spassky mon. at Yaroslaff.

Sergius, archimandrite of the Loujetsky monastery.

Silvester, archim. of the Sabba-Storojevsky monastery.

Antony, *archimandrite of the Voskresensky* monastery.

Arsenius, archim. of the Paphnutieff mon. at Borovsk.

Germanus, archimandrite of the Josiphoff mon. at Volotsk.
Misael, archim. of the Spassky monastery at Riazan.
Joasaph, archim. of the Vozmitsky mon. at Volokolamsk.
Barlaam, archim. of the Daniloff mon. in Pereyaslaff Zaliessky.
Joseph, archim. of the Borisoglebsky mon. at Rostoff.
Isaac, archim. of the Solochinsky monastery.
Joseph, archim. of the Nikitsky mon. at Pereyaslaff Zaliessky.
Tichon, hegoumen of the Kolotsky mon. at Mojaisk.
Theophanes, heg. of the Nikola-Ougrieshsky monastery.
Adrian, archim. of the Borisoglebsky mon. at Dmitrov.
Gerasimus, archim. of the Visotsky mon. at Serpouchoff.
Paul, heg. of the Vladichny mon. at Serpouchoff.
Aaron, archim. of the Bogoslovsky mon. at Riazan.
Leontius, heg. of the Macarieff mon. at Ounji.
Irenarch, archim. of the Kyrilloff monastery.
Jonas, archim. of the Kamenni monastery.
Arsenius, archim. of the Priloutsky monastery.
Theophylact, archim. of the Pauloff monastery.
Macarius, archim. of the Cornelieff monastery.
Philip, heg. of the Therapontoff monastery.
Damascene, heg. of the Michaelofsky mon. at Pereyaslaff.
Raphael, heg. of the Spass-Zolotonosky monastery.
Eustratius, archim. of the Eletsky mon. at Chernigoff.
Germanus, archimandrite of the Sviatotroitsky-Ilinsky monastery at Chernigoff.

Epiphanius, archimandrite of the Nazaret-Blagovieshchensky monastery at Niejin.

The hieromonach Nilus, hegoumen of the Mokoshinsky monastery of St. Nicholas.

The hieromonach Zosimus, hegoumen of the Liubetsky monastery of St. Antony.

Joannicius, archim. of the great Pecherskay *Lavra* at Kieff.

*I* (*Peter*), *the archimandrite of the Simonoff at Moscow, subscribe a second time* (see above, p. 1633).

The hieromonach Gideon, vicar of the Zlatoverkhovni monastery of St. Michael at Kieff.

The hieromonach Benedict, vicar of the Vidoubetsky monastery of St. Michael at Kieff.

Herodion Jourakofsky, archimandrite of the Cœnobite Mejigorsky monastery at Kieff.

Gregory Goshkevich, vicar of the monastery of St. Sophia.

Christopher Charnoutsky, hegoumen of the Nikolsky hermitage (*poustin*) at Kieff.

Silvester Pomofsky, vice-rector of the Bogoyavlensky Bratsky monastery (that of the Academy) at Kieff.

Joasaph Tomilovich, superior (*nastoiatel*) of the Kyrilloff monastery of the Holy Trinity at Kieff.

Simeon, archimandrite of the Bogoroditsky mon. at Sviajsk.

Joasaph, hegoumen of the Kizichesky monastery at Kazan.

Barnosophius, archimandrite of the Pechersky monastery at Nijny Novgorod.

Philaret, archimandrite of the Troitsky-Macarieff monastery at Jeltovodsk, in the district of Nijgorod.

Joel, hegoumen of the Gloushitsky monastery at Vologda.

Barlaam, archimandrite of the Tichvinsky monastery at Great Novgorod (*Douchovni Reglament*, 1818, p. 119).

2. A year after the *Spiritual Reglament* had been subscribed by the chief ecclesiastics who were present at Petersburg, and by the senators and by the tsar himself, and after the other bishops and heads of monasteries all over Russia had been made to subscribe, one by one, that duplicate copy of the *Reglament* which had been sent to Moscow on purpose, Peter at length actually instituted the College to which he had made all the clergy submit themselves by anticipation. He instituted it by the following oukaz:

*Oukaz for the institution of the Spiritual College (Synod*[97]).

By the grace of God, we, Peter the First, tsar and autocrat of all Russia, &c. Among our many cares, according to the duty of the power given us by God, for the reformation of our nation and of the other realms subject to us, casting our eye also on the spiritual order, and observing in it great disorder and great insufficiency in the management of its affairs, we conceived in our conscience a not unreasonable fear, lest we should appear ungrateful to the Most High, if, after having obtained from Him such great successes in the reformation both of the military and of the civil order, we should neglect the reformation of the

[97] This parenthesis is added in the title of the oukaz printed as a prefix to the Reglament after the College had been actually set on foot, and had had the title of '*Synod*' given to it.

spiritual order; and lest, when the impartial Judge shall require of us an account of so great a charge by Him committed to us, we should be without an answer. We therefore, after the example of former religious kings both in the Old and in the New Testament, having taken upon us the care of the reformation of the spiritual order, and not seeing any better means towards that end than a collegiate (or synodal) government (because the government of a single person is not exempt from passions, and besides that the power is not hereditary, and so they are more negligent in it), we institute a Spiritual College, that is, a Spiritual Collegiate (or synodal) Government, which, in conformity to the Reglament here following, is to direct all spiritual affairs in the Church of all Russia. And we command all our faithful subjects of every order, spiritual and temporal, to regard this as a government having weight and force, and to seek from it the supreme (or ultimate) direction, resolution, and determination of spiritual matters, and to be content with its definitive judgment, and to obey its orders (its oukazes) in everything, on pain of severe punishment for any opposition or disobedience, as in the case of *the other* Colleges.

This College, moreover, must hereafter complete its Reglament with such additional rules as the various matters which may arise shall require; however, the Spiritual College must not do this without our consent (and approval).

We appoint that there be in this Spiritual College the members here named, viz. one president, two vice-presidents, four counsellors, and four assessors.

And[98] since it is mentioned in this Reglament, in part I. points vii. and viii., that the president is to be subject to the judgment of his brethren, that is, of the same College, if he does anything notably amiss, we ordain that he shall have a *single* vote, on a par with the rest.

Farther, all the members of this College must, at entering on their office, take an oath, or promise before the holy Gospel, according to the annexed form. Given at Petersburg, the 25th day of January A.D. 1721.

[98] What follows from this word to the end is added in Peter's own hand; and just before he has made by this oukaz the College to consist of eleven members, an odd number, instead of the even number of twelve proposed in the Reglament, with the idea seemingly of giving a casting vote to the president.

Under this is the subscription of his majesty the tsar with his own hand. PETER.

*The oath for members of the Spiritual College.*

I, the undersigned, promise and swear by Almighty God, before his holy Gospel, that I am in duty bound, and, according to my duty, desire, and will by all means endeavour, in consultations and judgments and all affairs of this Spiritual Governing Assembly, to seek out always the very truth itself, and very justice itself, and to do all things according to the rules written in the Spiritual Reglament, and such others as may hereafter be prescribed by agreement of this Spiritual Government, and by the will and consent of the tsar's majesty.

And all this I will do conscientiously, without respect of persons, without enmity, jealousy, or obstinacy, and to speak simply, without yielding to any passions, but with the fear of God, keeping ever before my mind His incorruptible judgment, with sincere love of God and my neighbour, proposing for all my thoughts and words and actions, as their final end, the glory of God and the salvation of the souls of men, and the edification of all the Church, not seeking my own things, but the things of the Lord Jesus.

Also I swear by the living God that always, remembering His terrible word, *Cursed is every one who doeth the work of God with negligence*, I will in every work of this Governing Assembly, as in a work of God, exert myself without slothfulness, with all diligence, to the utmost of my strength, setting aside all considerations of my own gratification and ease. And I will not make a pretext of ignorance; but if in anything I am at a loss, I will by all means strive to obtain intelligence and knowledge from the sacred scriptures, and from the canons[9] of the councils, and from the consent of the ancient great teachers.

I again swear by Almighty God that I desire to be, and am bound of duty to be, a faithful, good, and obedient servant (or slave), and subject to my natural and true tsar and hossoudar, Peter the First, autocrat of all Russia, &c.; and after his decease to those the high *lawful* heirs of his Tsarish Majesty, who by the will and autocratic power of his said Tsarish Majesty *have been*[1] designated or shall hereafter be designated, and

[9] *e.g.* from canon xxxiv. of the Apostles?

[1] *i.e.* when this oath was worded for the *Senators* (before 25th Apr. A.D.

accounted worthy to inherit the throne, and to her majesty the hossoudarina the tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna.

And (I swear) to protect and defend, to the utmost of my wit, strength, and ability, all the rights belonging to the high autocracy, power, and authority of his majesty the tsar, and all *its* prerogatives (or superiorities) which are legally established or shall hereafter be legally established, and for them in case of need not to spare my own life.

And withal I promise to strive to the utmost to promote on all occasions all that may pertain to the faithful service and advantage of his majesty the tsar. And as soon as I learn anything making to the prejudice, hurt, and damage of his majesty's interest, I will not only give timely information of it, but will endeavour by all means to prevent it, and not to allow it.

And when, for the service and advantage of his majesty or of the *Church*, there be any secret matter, or anything whatever which I shall be ordered to keep secret, I will keep that entirely secret, and reveal it to no man who is not to know it, and to whom I am not ordered to disclose it.

*Moreover I acknowledge upon oath that our most gracious sovereign (hossoudar) the monarch of all Russia himself is the supreme judge of this Spiritual College.*[2]

I swear yet farther by the all-seeing God that, as regards all these things which I have now promised, I do not explain them in my mind otherwise than as I utter them with my lips; but I promise all in the same force and meaning which the words here written signify to those who read and hear them.

This I confirm by my oath. May God, the searcher of hearts, be witness of my promise, that it is not insincere. But if it is false, and not conscientious, may He, the same God, the just Judge, punish me.

And in conclusion of this my oath, I kiss the words and the cross of my Saviour. Amen[3] (*Douchovni Regl.* 1818, p. 1-8).

1719). Peter also made Theophanes Procopovich compose a treatise *Of the Right of the Will of the Monarch in the Designation of the Heir (or successor)*, which was published in A.D. 1722, and again in A.D. 1727.

[2] The rest of the oath (all but the word *Church* substituted for *State*, and the like) is word for word the same with that taken by the members of the parallel College of the Senate; but this clause is a special addition for the benefit of the clergy, to cut up by the roots all idea of a *dualism* of authorities.

[3] An oath of like nature is taken, at their ordination, not only by bishops,

3. As president of the Spiritual College there was nominated (1) the metropolitan of Riazan, Stephen Yavorsky; after him, as first vice-president, (2) Theodosius (Yanovsky), archbishop of Novgorod; then as second vice-president, (3) Theophanes Procopovich (now *arch*bishop) of Pskoff: and after these three bishops three counsellors, viz. (4) Peter, archimandrite of the Simonoff; (5) Leonid, archimandrite of the Petrovsky; (6) Philotheus, archimandrite of the Donskoy: and three assessors, viz. (7) the Greek priest Anastasius Kontoides; (8) John, protopope of the Troitsky sobor; (9) Peter, protopope of the church of SS. Peter and Paul in the Fortress; and as ober-sekretar, the hieromonach Barlaam Ovsiannikoff.

4. Of the first meeting of this body—this Church commission, presbyterian rather than episcopal in its composition—the *Journal of Peter the Great*[1] gives the following (not quite accurate) account:

'In this[2] month of February his majesty heard read the *Spiritual Reglament* which had been composed, and approved it; and in conformity with it there was instituted a Spiritual *Synod*, which took its beginning on the 14th of the same month, thus:

'In the morning his majesty and the ministers, as well as the bishops and other spiritual persons, heard the liturgy in the Troitsky sobor; and after the liturgy there was a predica by the archbishop of Pskoff, Theophanes Procopovich, respecting the institution of that Spiritual College.

[In this sermon, published at Petersburg in A.D. 1760, in the

but by all who are ordained to any inferior order, down to the lowest clerks: 'I swear to execute conscientiously the office committed to me in the manner which has now been prescribed to me, or which shall be prescribed to me hereafter in the instructions, reglaments, and oukazes which shall be communicated to me by my superiors *in the name of his majesty the tsar* (*Prisiaga proizvodimomu v' prichetnika*, Moscow, A.D. 1855, Tondini, *Regl. Eccl.* p. 163).

All bishops at their ordination, from A.D. 1725, instead of the former oath to the patriarch of Moscow (already omitted in the ordinals of A.D. 1719), were required to swear obedience to the synod 'as to a *legitimate* power *established by the late emperor Peter*, who *died in piety* and is worthy of everlasting remembrance, and confirmed by the order of her majesty the empress now happily reigning,' 'ad libitum imperatoriæ majestatis' (Tondini, *Regl. Eccl.* p. 101).

[1] Part II. p. 151, under the year 1721.

[2] Really in February of A.D. 1720, a year earlier. But the reader must remember that this *Journal* was compiled by order of Peter and under his eye only after the peace of A.D. 1721; and when he died in Jan. A.D. 1725 only the first part of it had been finished, and revised and corrected by him.

*Complete Collection of the Speeches and Sermons* of Procopovich,[6] the preacher, who had himself *stitched* the robes for the new patriarch, called upon the audience to appreciate and admire the new creation of himself and his employer in the following flight of eloquence, worthy of Paisius Ligarides:

'If any one takes it into his head to ask what advantage can result from the institution of this College, I will give him an answer borrowed from Aristotle. "Why is it," some one asked this philosopher, "that when one sees a beautiful person one loves that person immediately?" "That question," replied Aristotle, "can come only from a blind man." Well, this is my answer also now to him who asks me such a question.']

'After the sermon was ended, and they had all gone out from the church, they met again at that Spiritual College' (that is, in the place appointed for its sessions), where [after the members had first taken the prescribed oath either there, or before in the church] his majesty appointed that that Spiritual College should be of equal dignity with the senate, and that in the church proclamations (*i.e.* those made in the church services) it should be commemorated as *The Most Holy Governing (or Directing) Synod;* about which there is a special book printed.

'And after the inauguration of this Most Holy Governing Spiritual Synod, his majesty worked all this month at the composition of the *Reglaments* for the Admiralty and for the Post-office on the forenoons and afternoons.'

5. Polevoi, in his *Life of Peter the Great* (vol. iv. p. 213), after making mention of that oukaz of 25th Jan. A.D. 1721, by which the Spiritual Kollegium, or Kollegium of Spiritual Government, was created, writes that its first meeting and session was on the 14th of Feb. following, there having been named as its members, according to him, besides the president Yavorsky and the two vice-presidents Theodosius and Theophanes, four archimandrites as counsellors, and four protopopes as assessors, with an ober-sekretar who was an hegoumen.

'The idea'—he continues—'of the separation of spiritual matters from the authority of the sovereign was *still* so rooted in men's minds, that even at *this first session* of the Spiritual Kollegium some of the members ventured to ask the emperor: "But is then the office of patriarch suppressed, without a word

[6] Quoted by P. Tondini, p. 219, from Pekarski, vol. ii. p. 520, 521.

being said about that?" "I am your patriarch!" the emperor answered angrily, striking his breast. The questioners were dumb.'

But this story ought to have been connected rather with that meeting of the year before in which the Spiritual Reglament was read out to certain bishops and other ecclesiastics present in the *senate* at Petersburg, and to the senators, before they were called upon to subscribe it. *Then* some such inquiry would be natural; and indeed it could scarcely fail to be made by the metropolitan of Riazan, who was entitled *Guardian* of the *Patriarchate*. But after he and all then present, and all the senators and the tsar, had subscribed the Reglament, and it had been sent to Moscow and to all the dioceses, and had been subscribed by all the other bishops and heads of monasteries throughout Russia, and after the Spiritual College had been actually instituted, and its members had just taken the oath required of them, such a question would be quite too late and out of place. Polevoi is not to be trusted for accuracy; and in fact, in a treatise entitled *A Hammer for the Komen Vieri*, which appeared in A.D. 1727, and which may have been written by Theophanes Procopovich, it is mentioned against Yavorsky that he had opposed the institution of the synod and the *subscription* of the Spiritual Regulation. His opposition, therefore, was made in A.D. 1720, at the mixed assembly in the *senate*, before the synod was actually instituted.

6. Peter had the crown or mitre ready to put on to the head of his new patriarch, now created, and vested in the robe, the *riasa*,[7] prepared for him by Theophanes. On that same day, the 14th Feb. A.D. 1721, at its first session, the new College submitted to the autocrat certain 'Points,' or Questions, and he wrote over against them, 'Resolutions,' or Answers: and when, later in the same year, the *Reglament* was printed with the *Oukaz* instituting the synod prefixed, these *Points* and *Resolutions* of the 14th Feb. were subjoined, after all the signatures of A.D. 1720, with a notice on two points before left blank, thus:

[7] Why did Theophanes call it only a *riasa*, a *gown*, and why did Peter speak only of a *shliapa*, a *cap?* Why not a *sakkos* and a *mitre?* Was it because they knew the whole thing to be a farce? But, more seriously, the sakkos had never yet been given except to *bishops*, and Peter's mock *patriarch* was to be a *Presbyterian* college.

*Mode of action of the Spiritual College.*[8]

Nothing is here particularly specified about this, because the tsar's majesty has ordered that it shall act according to the *Generalni Reglament* (which gives general directions for the mode of action of all the Colleges).

*Power of the Spiritual College.*[9]

But for the power of the Spiritual College, his majesty has been pleased *by his supreme authority* to *give it such power* as is declared in his majesty's special oukaz printed before the beginning of this *Reglament;* also in those his majesty's *Resolutions*, subjoined below, which his majesty was pleased to write with his own high-monarchical hand, on *Points* proposed to his majesty by the Spiritual College, wherein his majesty also has assigned to the Spiritual College the title of *The Most Holy Governing Synod.*[10]

*Points on which the tsar's most serene majesty has vouchsafed, with his own high-monarchical hand, to write Resolutions* (*i.e. decisions*).

To the tsar's most serene majesty, as a *doklad* (*i.e.* the following points are respectfully submitted for decision):

i. In church services, where the name of the patriarch used to be uttered aloud, is it fit that, instead of it, the title of the *Governing Spiritual Assembly* be uttered aloud in the following form?

. . . '*For the Most Holy Governing Assembly* (*Sobranie*), *the venerable presbyterate*,'[11] &c.

And this title, *Most Holy*, is to be appropriated to no one[12] (member) personally, but only to the whole body of the assembly.

Opposite to this his majesty's autograph 'resolution:' '*For the Most Holy Synod*, or *For the Most Holy Governing Synod*,' &c.

[8] Which had been left blank by Theophanes in A.D. 1720, to be filled up afterwards by the tsar as he should please (see p. 1606, and p. 1629).

[9] Left blank in the same way in A.D. 1720.

[10] May not this *title* be the mitre, to complete and set off the robe embroidered for the new 'patriarch' by Theophanes Procopovich?

[11] In the Latin, '*Pro Sanctissimo Regente Collegio, venerabili Sacerdotum ordine*,' &c.: and for Peter's reply: '*Pro Sanctissimâ Synodo*, vel *pro Sanctissima Regente Synodo*.'

[12] In the Latin, 'Cum toti adæquato collegio sit proprius, nulli separatim synedrii collegæ potest tribui.'

ii. In case of the Governing Spiritual Assembly (*Sobranie*) having need to make any communication to the Governing Senate, or to the (other) Colleges, or they to the Spiritual Assembly, after what form are they to make written communication? In time past no oukazes were sent from any quarter to the address of the Patriarch.

But the Spiritual College has the honour, power, and authority of (the former) Patriarch, or even greater, since it is a *sobor* (*i.e.* assembly, or *synod*).

Opposite to this the tsar's autograph 'resolution:' 'To the Senate in the form of a *Notification*, and with the signatures of all, but to the (other) Colleges in the same way as the Senate writes to them, and with the signature only of the secretary.'

iii. For vacant sees[13] is the Spiritual College to elect persons for the episcopate; and after making report to the tsar's most serene majesty, to order them to be consecrated, and to institute them to their places?

Opposite to this the tsar's autograph 'resolution:' 'It is to elect two persons, and the one that we designate it is to consecrate and institute.'

iv. As regards the estates of the (former) patriarch, of the bishops, and of the monasteries, which, for the collection of dues and for their management, have been hitherto under the Monastirski prikaz, may they henceforth be managed only by the Spiritual College?[14] for this reason, that through the management of civilians they have been brought to poverty and desolation. And the Spiritual College has bound itself by oath, not only to fidelity, but also *to seek the (financial) interest* of the tsar's majesty in like manner with the other Colleges, no less (than any of them). And in the *Spiritual Reglament* it is laid down that such administration appertains to the Spiritual College.

Opposite to this the tsar's autograph 'resolution:' 'Let it be so.'

7. Other *Points* were submitted to the tsar in like manner, and *Resolutions* of them given by him on the 15th March, and on the 19th Nov. A.D. 1721, and again on the 12th Apr. A.D. 1722; and all these Points and Resolutions, collected together, were

[13] In the Latin, 'et postquam a Regia Majestate mandatum eos ordinandi per litteras impetratum fuerit, ad suas sedes suntne designandi?'

[14] Lit. 'shall the Spiritual College alone manage them?'

printed and published 7th July A.D. 1722 at Moscow. The synod in these already complains to the tsar that it is treated with disrespect, and invokes his support (*Douch. Regl.* 1818, p. 123-155).

8. Before long two *Supplements* to the Reglament were drawn up by Theophanes Procopovich.

The first of these, after being adopted by the Synod, was approved and published by Peter in A.D. 1721, under this title: *Judgment of the Most Holy Synod respecting mixed marriages of Orthodox persons with heterodox.* By it mixed marriages are freely allowed; but the heterodox party must enter the Russian service, and the children must be baptised and bred up in Orthodoxy. This document has only since A.D. 1781 been attached, as a last Appendix, to the printed editions of the Spiritual Regulation (*Dict. of Russ. Eccl. Writers*, Part ii. p. 305).

Of the other Supplement, which was published in June A.D. 1722, and appended to all later editions of the Spiritual Regulation, the following account is given in the preamble of the document itself.

'Though in what has been said above (in the Reglament) of the *Duties of the Bishops*, there are also various rules for the reformation of the clergy and the monks, still, since they are not enough, and the Most Holy Synod is required by special oukaz, printed at the head of the *Regulation*, to complete it by new rules, there are added here, by virtue of that oukaz, special rules for the reformation of the secular clergy, and of the monastic order.[15] They have been confirmed by the *approval of his majesty the Tsar*, the consent of the Most Holy Governing Synod, and the signatures of all the members of the Synod.'

This Supplement has two parts: the first treats of *the priests, deacons, and the rest of the clergy*, and contains thirty rules, or

[15] This Supplement was translated by Consett into English and published in A.D. 1727, as appended to the third edition of the Spiritual Reglament. In the second part of it, No. 36, at p. 173, there is repeated, from an oukaz of 31st Jan. A.D. 1701, a provision that monks shall not transcribe or write anything in their cells, nor write nor receive any letter, without special permission of their superior, *on pain of a severe corporal punishment*; nor shall they have ink or paper more than what is *specially* allowed by their superior for their common spiritual use. And this guard against monks is especially necessary, because nothing so much disturbs *the monastic* solitude as *their superstitious and mischievous writings*. And the same prohibition was once more made and published through the Synod by an oukaz of 19th Feb. A.D. 1723. Tondini, *The Pope of Rome*, &c. p. 31.

heads. In this part it is, under No. 11, that confessors are required, under pain of death, to reveal in certain cases the secret of confession. 'He is to denounce, according to the tsar's oukaz of 28th April A.D. 1722, the design of robbery or treason, in general terms only, and the offender shall be tried only in the *Chancery of secret affairs* and in the Preobrajensky prikaz at Moscow, and the confessor is to be bound over to appear and to give his evidence, with all the details.' And there is an allusion to a case[10] which had occurred in that very year. And accordingly in the oath to be taken by every priest there occur these words: 'I will denounce it, and reveal the whole truth, without any artifice of falsehood or evasion, having before me the fear of losing my *honour* and *my life*, and the *constant thought of the incorruptible judgment of God*' (Tondini, op. cit. p. 248).

The second part of the Supplement treats of the monks, and contains sixty-two rules, or heads, divided into five chapters. i. Of those who are to be received into the monastic order, and how to proceed in this matter; ii. Of the life of the monks; iii. Of the nuns; iv. Of the monasteries; v. Of the superiors of monasteries. At the end of all, in article lxi., it concludes as follows:

'All these rules, and what more shall be issued from the Most Holy Governing Synod, shall be read over in every monastery in the refectory on Sundays and Holy-days, so as to be read through once in every month, that none may transgress them out of ignorance, &c.

'This appendix to the Spiritual Regulation his majesty the tsar has been pleased to allow to be read in his own august presence, and *to add amendments to it with his own hand*, and after approving it, to order it to be printed and published at the end of April and the beginning of May in this year 1722.

'And by consent of his majesty the tsar, and by virtue of his special oukaz, the undersigned members of the Most Holy Governing Synod have also subscribed this appendix.

[10] 'The allusion is to the case of the parish priest of a church built by prince Menshikoff at St. Petersburg close to his own house, whom the said prince called to Moscow by his majesty's order in Jan. A.D. 1722, in consequence of the accusation of a prisoner who, under torture, among other crimes, had acknowledged a design against his majesty's person, which he had told *in confession* to that priest, and the priest had made no disclosure of it. It was remarked that this priest had no thought of such a fatal conclusion of his journey; but instead of being promoted as he expected, he was beheaded, and his head fixed on a spike in the *ploshchad* or public place at Moscow' (Consett, p. 140).

1. 'Stephen, metropolitan of Riazan.

2. 'Theodosius, archbishop of Novgorod, and archimandrite of the Alexandro-Nefsky monastery.

3. 'Theophanes, archbishop of Pskoff.

4. 'Leonid, archbishop of Kroutitz.

5. 'Gabriel, archimandrite of the Troitsko-Sergiefsky mon.

6. 'Theophylact, archimandrite of the Choudoff.

7. 'Hierotheus, archimandrite of the Novospass.

8. 'Peter, archimandrite of the Simonoff.

9. 'Athanasius, hegoumen of the Tolgskoy.

10. 'Barlaam, hegoumen of the Ougreshky.

11. 'The hieromonach Theophilus Kroulik.

12. 'John, proto-presbyter of the Troitsky (sobor).

13. 'Peter, proto-presbyter of the Petropaulovsky (sobor).

14. 'Anastasius Naousi.

'The *ober-sekretar*, Timothy Paliechin' (*Douch. Regl.* 1818, p. 179).

9. There was still wanting only the crown—so Tondini writes, perhaps alluding to Peter's own words—and this was soon put on. Prudently distrustful of all the world, his own favourites included, Peter had attached to the Governing Senate (27th Apr. A.D. 1722), in quality of the *Tsar's Eye*, a man whom he trusted, with the title of *General-Prokuror*[17] *of the Senate*. Fifteen days later (11th May) he made an oukaz that 'a man *of resolution*, chosen *from among the officers*,' should be similarly attached to the Synod, with the title of *Ober-Prokuror of the Most Holy Governing*[18] *Synod*. He did not choose to change a single letter of the *Instruction* given to the General-Prokuror of the Senate, but made it serve exactly as it stood, only changing the word *senate* into *synod* for the Ober-Prokuror of the Synod. It shall be given here at full.

*Instruction for the Ober-Prokuror of the Most Holy Synod.*

The Ober-Prokurer must assist at the sessions of the synod, unless he be prevented by some legitimate cause. He must watch carefully over the synod, in order that it may perform its duties, and that the matters submitted to its inspection

[17] There being simple Prokurors attached before to the senate and to all the Colleges by oukaz of 12th Jan. A.D. 1721.

[18] The common official rendering of the word *pravitelstvouyoushchi* in French is for the senate *Législatif*, for the synod *Dirigeant*.

and decision may be treated conformably to the statutes and oukazes, according to truth, with order, with zeal, and without waste of time. The Prokuror is bound to keep a register and to enter all these things in his journal. Farther, he shall watch carefully that affairs be not only treated in the sessions of the synod, but that they be also carried into execution, and brought to good effect, in such wise as shall have been decreed. To this end, he shall ascertain whether they who have received any orders have done what they were directed to do within the time specified; and if not, it shall be his duty to examine what has been the cause of this; whether there has been some hindrance which made it impossible, or only a perverse will, or lazy negligence; and he shall forthwith acquaint the synod with the truth. For this he must keep a book, in which he is to note on one-half of the page the date on which any decree has been made, and on the other half if the decree has been perfectly executed or not, with the date, the cause that has hindered the execution, and other necessary circumstances.

*Secondly:* The Prokuror must watch carefully *and severely* over the synod, that it may perform its duties in accordance with justice, and without respect of persons: if he observes anything worthy of blame in this respect, he must immediately treat fully of it with the synod, stating without reserve in what the synod, or certain of its members, have not acted as they ought: so the fault will be amended. If they *do not obey*, he must protest at once, *stop* the progress of the affair in question, and, if it is urgent, refer immediately to *us;* if it is not urgent, the affair shall be *treated* in the synod *in our presence* within the space of a week or a month, as shall be directed. It will be the duty of the Ober-Prokuror to be prudent and circumspect in his public reports addressed to us, in order to avoid bringing any undeserved discredit on those of whom he speaks. Consequently, if the affair on which his opinion differs from that of the others seems to him obscure, and capable of being viewed in two ways, in that case, after stopping the execution of it, as has been said above, he shall not refer at once to us, but shall first take the advice of some one whom he thinks capable of throwing light on the matter. If he finds that the case is really such as he had judged it to be, or if he cannot arrive at the truth, so as to rid himself of his doubt, he shall then refer to us within at most a week.

If the matter is quite clear, and urgent, he shall refer to us at once. But in no case shall he delay more than one week, but he shall do as we have just said; and he shall not excuse himself on the ground of any hindrance, unless we are absent. In that case he shall write to us within the time specified a report, which shall be sent to us by a special courier. If under the influence of any passion he writes a report not consistent with the truth, he shall be punished according to the gravity of the affair.

*Thirdly:* He shall watch over all the Prokurors,[19] that they perform their duty according to truth, and with zeal; and if any one fails in anything, he shall cause him to be judged by the synod. In like manner he shall be bound to present to the synod all the reports of the different Prokurors, requiring the synod to attend to them. Lastly, if reports should be made to him against the said Prokurors, as not executing their duties with honesty and with zeal, he shall submit them to the judgment of the synod.

*Fourthly:* The reports which the *fiscals* are obliged to furnish conformably with what is prescribed in article vii., about their duties, shall be received by the Ober-Prokuror, who shall present them to the synod, *in order that they may be acted upon.*[20] It is he who is to watch over the *fiscals*, and if he sees any disorder, he is immediately to inform the synod of it.

*Fifthly:* It is he who is to *have under his direction the Chancery of the Synod*, as well as the clerks and servants attached to it.

*Sixthly:* The *executor* of the synod shall be under the direction of the Ober-Prokuror.

*Seventhly:* The fiscals attached to the Colleges and to the superior courts of justice[21] must address all their reports to their respective Prokurors. The fiscals attached to the district tribu-

[19] *i.e.* of the different Colleges, which after the institution of the synod on a par with the senate might have to communicate with it on spiritual or mixed matters, as with the senate on all matters purely civil. However, these provisions seem to suit rather the ordinary relations of the Colleges to the senate than their occasional relations with the synod.

[20] The *fiscals* here meant are not merely *blagochinnie* or inspectors in the patriarchal, now become the synodal, diocese, like those which the bishops have been directed above in the *Reglament* to appoint under themselves each in his own diocese; but the synod had under it a system of ecclesiastical espionage extending over the whole Russian Church, and exactly corresponding to that of the civil fiscals.

[21] '*Nadvornie soudi*,' palace tribunals at St. Petersburg and at Moscow, each of which had its Prokuror.

nals must address them to the Prokurors of these latter. And in case of these tribunals neglecting the prosecution of any affairs, or not proceeding in accordance with justice, the fiscals must inform the respective Prokurors attached to the Colleges and to the superior courts of justice. And if the Prokurors delay beyond the time fixed to prosecute any affair, or seek to gain the fiscals, these latter are to give information to the Ober-Fiscal, and he to the *Prokuror-General*.[22] And if the Ober-Fiscal neglects to furnish his report, or is behindhand with it, they must apply directly to the *Prokuror-General*, and complain against the Ober-Fiscal himself.

*Eighthly:* All the oukazes relating to affairs of importance, as also all communications respecting faults into which one or other of the members of this (spiritual) government may fall, the papers of inquest, and demands for the punishment of those culpable, shall not be sent by the post, but by special couriers of the *executor*, in order that they may always return with a complete report of what has been done in consequence of the communications received, or of the causes which have prevented their being acted upon. But to the Colleges and to the other authorities which are near at hand, these communications shall be delivered by the executor himself, who in return shall bring to the synod a receipt, signed by the respective presidents, of the papers which he has carried to them, with indication of the date of the delivery of each. This declaration shall be registered in a book kept on purpose, in order that, if within the time necessary for the termination of the affair the synod receives no communication, it may serve as ground for prosecution.

*Ninthly:* The Ober-Prokuror is not subject to the judgment of any one whatever, except our own. If, during our absence, he were to be guilty of any great crime, not admitting of delay, as, for instance, of treason, the *synod* ought to *cause him to be arrested*, open an inquest, and commit his functions to some one else. However, the synod shall not subject him to any torture, nor penalty, nor punishment.

*Tenthly:* If anything is not clearly expressed in the oukazes of the synod, the Ober-Prokuror shall point this out to the synod, in order that the oukaz may be more clearly worded, according

[22] *i.e.* the *General-Prokuror* of the senate, or the *Ober-Prokuror* of the synod, the Ober-Fiscals secular and spiritual being universal spies over all.

to the rules contained in the oukaz of 1st Apr. A.D. 1722, which shall always be kept *on the table*. The amendment shall afterwards be communicated to us.

The Ober-Prokuror shall also communicate to us all that he thinks may serve to complete this present Instruction.

*Eleventhly:* And since the Ober-Prokuror is by his charge set to be as it were *Our Eye* and agent (or advocate) for the affairs of the *state*,[23] he must conduct himself with fidelity, for it is against him that we shall proceed in the first instance. And if in anything whatever he allows himself to be corrupted, or in any other way violates knowingly and willingly his duty, he shall be punished as for disobedience to an oukaz, and as a manifest disturber of the state. If he should so have done without premeditation, that shall not be made a crime against him; for it is better that he should do amiss in making reports than by keeping silence. However, if that were to be the case with him *often* he shall not be held blameless.

The original of this *Instruction* has been signed in the absence of *His Imperial Majesty*, and in virtue of a special oukaz of *His Imperial Majesty*, by the senators whose names follow:

Count Golovkin, chancellor.
Prince Gregory Dolgorouky.
Baron Peter Shaphiroff.
Baron James Bruce.
Count Ivan Mousin-Poushkin.
Count Andrew Matveyeff.
Ivan Poznakoff, first secretary.
Ivan Larionoff, secretary.
Theodore Neronoff, greffier. The 13th June A.D. 1722.[24]

10. The *Spiritual Regulation* was printed for the first time at Petersburg, 16th Sept. A.D. 1721, with the following title:

'By the grace and mercy of God, the lover of men; by the care and order of Peter the First, given by God, adorned by God with wisdom, our hossoudar the tsar, grand prince, autocrat of all Russia, &c., there has been established in the holy Orthodox Church of Russia a *synedrion* or *Spiritual Synod*, that is

[23] Thus all Church matters or '*spiritual*' matters are here called plainly affairs of the *State*, though it would have been as easy to put '*Church*' for '*State*' here as to put '*Synod*' for '*Senate*.'

[24] Tondini, *Reglament Eccl.* &c. p. xxiv. and 256.

to say, a Collegiate (or synodal) Government for spiritual affairs, with the consent and adstipulation of the Spiritual Order of all Russia and of the Governing Senate in the capital city of Saint Petersburg, in the year of the birth of Christ 1721, the 14th February.

'This Spiritual Regulation is printed by order of his majesty the tsar, *with the blessing* of the Most Holy Governing Synod, at the press of St. Petersburg, A.D. 1721, the 16th September.'

This first edition was in the new characters: a second edition, in the Church or Slavonic character, reprinted word for word from the first, appeared at Moscow 23d Feb. A.D. 1722; and a third edition, also in the Slavonic character, and with the new titles of '*The Great*' and 'Most serene and most potent *Emperor*,' &c., inserted, though in the oukaz prefixed not even this change is made.

11. In A.D. 1711, 17th March, Peter had organised a vast system of police, or espionage and delation, by the appointment of fiscals under ober-fiscals and a general-fiscal, to whom he at the same time gave an *Instruction*. He now, through the Synod, established a parallel system of ecclesiastical espionage to overlook not only the patriarchal (now become the synodal) diocese, but the whole Russian Church. The first '*Proto-inquisitor*' or chief fiscal (*Glavni Fiskal*) was an hieromonach named Paphnutius, of the Daniloff monastery at Moscow; and there is an *Instruction* on his office and duties, addressed to him by the Synod at the end of A.D. 1721, which refers him to the parallel Instruction given by the tsar on the 17th March A.D. 1711 to the civil fiscals:

'He and his subordinates are to examine attentively if the *bishops* conduct themselves in all things according to *the canons*, to the *Spiritual Reglament*, and to *the oukazes* of his majesty the tsar, and the decrees and dispositions of the Most Holy Synod which confirm and complete the *Reglament*. If they discover anything contrary, they are to denounce it in the form prescribed.

'They are to watch and observe scrupulously if the bishops give to the Most Holy Governing Synod the honour which is due to it, if they make commemoration of it in the liturgy in the manner prescribed, and if they order the same to be done throughout their dioceses; if they enjoin on all to recognise in

the Most Holy Synod *the authority and the power which have been conferred on it by his majesty the tsar;* if they show themselves submissive towards the government of the Synod, and do not in any way whatever show towards it contempt and indocility; in which case they shall immediately denounce them' (*Polnoe Sobr. Zak.* vol. vi. at the end of the Laws of A.D. 1721 (3870), p. 470, No. 2 and 3; Tondini, *Regl. Eccl.* p. 63, 209).

§ xx. *From Voltaire's 'Life of Peter the Great.'*

At the same time (A.D. 1718, when he instituted his other Colleges instead of the old prikazes, &c.) Peter was working more actively than ever for the reform of the clergy. He had already abolished the patriarchate; and this exertion of his authority had not gained him the hearts of the ecclesiastics. He wished the imperial administration to be all-powerful, and the ecclesiastical administration to be *respectable* and *obedient*. His design was to establish a permanent council for religion which should depend on the sovereign, and which should give no laws to the Church but such as should be approved by the master of the state, *of which the Church forms part*. He was assisted in this undertaking by an archbishop of Novgorod [such at least he became afterwards], named Theophanes Procopovich. This prelate was learned and wise; his travels in different parts of Europe (especially his studies at Rome) had made him aware of the abuses which reign there. . . . The tsar worked himself, in 1718 and 1719, together with this ecclesiastic; and a permanent synod was established, consisting of twelve members (three of them bishops), all chosen by the sovereign. This College was afterwards increased to fourteen.

The motives for this institution were explained in a preliminary statement. . . . He thought and he said publicly that the idea of *two powers* was an *absurdity*.

The tsar *gave* to this tribunal the right of regulating all the discipline of the Church, the examination of the fitness of those who are named to bishopries by the sovereign, the judgment of religious causes in which formerly there was an appeal to the patriarch, the superintendence of the revenues of the (bishops and) monasteries, and of the distribution of alms.

This assembly had the title of '*Most Holy Synod*,' the same title, 'Most Holy,' which had belonged before to the patriarchs.

So the tsar virtually *re-established* the patriarchal dignity, divided among fourteen members: but these were all dependent on the sovereign, and all took an oath to obey him, *an oath which had not been taken by the patriarchs.* The members of this holy synod, when assembled together, had the same rank as the senators; but they also collectively depended on the prince no less than did the senate.

This new administration and the new ecclesiastical code were not actually in force nor put into permanent shape till four years later, in 1722.[25] In 1724, Jan. 31, Peter added a supplementary *Oukaz* concerning the monastic state, composed, like the Regulation itself (and its two Appendices), by Theophanes Procopovich, and corrected or added to by the emperor's own hand. *Voltaire* thinks this oukaz 'worthy at once of a minister of state and of a father of the Church.'

'I find,' he adds, 'in some curious memoirs written by an officer much beloved by Peter the Great, that one day they read to him a paper from the English *Spectator*, in which a parallel is drawn between him and Louis XIV. After having heard it, he said: "I don't think I deserve the preference given me over that king; but I have been fortunate enough to surpass him in *one essential point*: I have *forced my clergy to obey me*, and to be quiet, while Louis XIV. allowed himself to be controlled by his."'

*Epilogue to Part* III., *respecting punishments.*

Thus we have seen how the curse testified of by Nicon, when he thrice shook off the dust from his feet, took effect; how the punishments predicted by him fell visibly upon many *individuals*, on some *families* (as on those of the tsar Alexis and of the princes Dolgorouky), on the old nobility, the streltsi, and the clergy as *classes*, and above all, most terribly and most remarkably, because in this case the punishment was self-inflicted, on the reigning dynasty and the crown itself. They that sowed the wind reaped the whirlwind; they that dishonoured God were themselves lightly esteemed; and the word of Nicon has been accomplished: *God has swept them all away from the face of the earth!*

[25] Really in A.D. 1721, *three* years later than the time mentioned above: the latest of the two Appendices to the Spiritual Reglament, viz. that concerning priests and monks, was added in A.D. 1722.

# APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I. *In connection with p.* 1036 *and the account given there, and at p.* 1061, *of Katerina Basilievska.*

THERE is preserved in the imperial archives a letter from Peter Bestoujeff to Catherine, dated from Riga 25th June A.D. 1715: 'In the last year, at St. Petersburg, by oukaz of your majesty, Matthew Alsouphieff informed me and gave me a list, with orders that I should seek out in Krishborg the family of the Veselevskys and the Douglases; and in pursuance of that order of your majesty, I went to Krishborg and sought out every member that I could of those families, and I herewith subjoin my most humble report of the result.

'Wilhelm Gan (Hahn?), a Courlander. He had four sisters:

1. 'Katerina Lisa, married in Krishborg to Yan Veselevsky.

2. 'Dorothea, married to Skovorodsky; she had two sons and four daughters: she was of the Lutheran religion. One son is named Karl, the other Fritz, (both) in Polish Livonia: one daughter named Anna, another Dorothea, both married in Polish Livonia; *the third, Katerina, lived in Krishborg with her aunt Maria Anna Veselevska, whom, in the twelfth year of her age, the pastor of Marienburg took to Swedish Livonia;* the fourth, Anna, died in the plague.

3. 'The third sister of Gan, Sophia, married Henderberg; she has two sons in Courland, at Soubocha, living.

4. 'The fourth sister of Gan, Maria Anna, was married to another Veselevsky. They had a son, Andrew Veselevsky, who is still living in Krishborg.

'Katerina Lisa, having been left a widow after the death of her first husband, Veselevsky, married again, Laurin Douklas (Laurence Douglas), and bore him six sons. She died in the plague. One son of hers, Simon Douglas, is still living in Krishborg.'

Catherine was born in A.D. 1683; for on the 5th of April A.D. 1724 she completed her forty-first year, according to the statement of the Dutch resident (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xviii. p. x. of the Notes, at the end, Note 210).

APPENDIX II. *In connection with p.* 1233, 1633, 1653, *and with the appointment of Gregory Theod. Dolgorouky in* A.D. 1716 *to be plenipotentiary to mediate between the king of Poland and the Polish 'confederates.' Also in connection with vol. iv. p.* 772, 783, 800, 853, *and* 1026: *About punishments falling even on the third and fourth generation.*

Almighty God said to his people in the Old Testament: 'The Lord thy God is a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers *upon the*

*children.*' We have seen this exemplified in the case of several of Nicon's enemies, who perished miserably *together with their sons*, or whose sons were murdered first, so that they, the fathers, might taste that additional bitterness, and then be murdered themselves afterwards. So it was especially with the boyar prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, one of the chief enemies of Nicon, who, after having lived on to old age, when he was sick in his bed, had the body of his only son, the prince Michael, murdered by the streltsi, brought to him, and then was murdered himself, hacked to pieces, and cast out on to a dunghill.

But in the scripture just quoted God says farther, that he punishes the iniquity of the fathers upon the children '*even to the third and fourth generation.*' And this too was strikingly exemplified in the same family of the Dolgoroukys, not indeed on the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the prince Youry, who had been most prominent in the reign of the tsar Alexis, nor with such extreme severity upon the descendants of his brother the prince Dmitri Alexievich, who was joined with the prince Youry and with Matveyeff in expelling Nicon for the last time, in Dec. A.D. 1664, from Moscow, though the descendants of the prince Dmitri did not altogether escape. But there was another branch of the Dolgorouky family, not then equally prominent, represented by the okolnik Theodore Theodorovich, who died in that same year, 1664, in which Nicon shook off against them all the dust from his feet. Nothing has been recorded of him to show that he was personally concerned in any act done against the patriarch, or that he bore him any special malice; only it may be understood that he shared the feelings of his relations and of the whole order of the nobility. Yet it was on his grandchildren and great-grandchildren in the third and fourth generation that vengeance was to fall so heavily, that all who witnessed it or heard of it felt instinctively that there must have been some special cause beyond what appeared or was known.

The okolnik Theodore Theodorovich left four sons, the eldest of whom, Yakoff, was twenty-five years old in A.D. 1664, when his father died. He was taken prisoner by the Swedes before Narva in A.D. 1700, and regained his liberty only in the summer of A.D. 1711. In the spring of A.D. 1712 he headed the senators in denouncing to the tsar a sermon preached by Stephen Yavorsky, and he even took upon himself to forbid that bishop to preach, so showing his zeal for the tsar's spiritual supremacy. He died in A.D. 1720, and neither he nor the third brother, Boris, left any son. But the second of the four brothers, Luke, left two sons, named Basil and Alexander; and the fourth brother, Gregory Theodorovich (who was the tsar's ambassador and plenipotentiary in Poland in A.D. 1715 and 1716, and who died in A.D. 1723, aged 67), left four sons, Alexis, Ivan, Serge, and Alexander. It is of Alexis Gregorievich, with his three brothers, his first cousin Basil Lukich, and his relatives, descendants of the prince Dmitri Alexievich, and of the four sons and three daughters of Alexis Gregorievich that we are now going to speak.

Ivan Alexievich Dolgorouky, a profligate young man, having in A.D. 1727 become the favourite of the boy-emperor Peter II., raised thereby his father and his family to supreme power. They betrothed the young

emperor, in A.D. 1729, to Ekaterina, the second of three sisters of the favourite; and when their hopes were cut short by the death of Peter, and with him the male line of the Romanoffs became extinct, they even ventured to claim for the young princess Ekaterina Dolgorouky the succession. But for this ambitious thought they paid dearly.

Anna, the widowed duchess of Courland, who was the second of three surviving daughters of the tsar John Alexievich, having been invited to take the crown with certain limitations, but having assumed absolute power, soon disgraced all the Dolgoroukys of the branch descended from Theodore Theodorovich, confiscated their properties, and banished them to Berezoff in Siberia. This was in A.D. 1730; and in the next year the fieldmarshal the prince Basil Vladimirovich, his brother Michael, and his nephew the prince Youry Yourievich, grandson and great-grandson of Dmitri Alexievich, and two others of the same family of the Dolgoroukys were also disgraced and banished.

Nine years later, in A.D. 1739, when Alexis Gregorievich, after causing the ruin of all his family, had died at Berezoff—he died in A.D. 1734—and had so escaped from further personal sufferings, an informer, hoping to please the suspicious favourite and tyrant Biron, who, though a foreigner and a Protestant, then oppressed Russia, laid an information against the Dolgoroukys, as if in their exile they had spoken disrespectful words of the favourite and of the empress. In consequence the three surviving brothers of Alexis Gregorievich, and their first cousin Basil Lukich, and their nephews the sons of Alexis were brought back from Siberia to Novgorod, to be judged there by a court of high commission: and on the 12th Nov. A.D. 1739 it was made known by an oukaz that Ivan Alexievich Dolgorouky (the favourite of the preceding reign) had been broken alive upon the wheel, and afterwards beheaded; that Basil Lukich and Serge and Ivan Gregorievich had been beheaded (Alexander Gregorievich having ripped up with a knife his own belly), while the princes Basil and Michael Vladimirovich (grandsons of Dmitri Alexievich) were to be kept close prisoners in the places of their banishment. The second and third sons of Alexis Gregorievich, named Nicholas and Alexander, were knouted, and had their tongues cut out; his fourth son, Alexis, was sent to Kamchatka, to be a cabin boy and a common sailor. Of his three daughters, the second, Ekaterina, who had been betrothed to the emperor Peter II., had already died, like her father: the other two, Helena and Anna, were kept on imprisoned in a convent at Berezoff.

'People would not believe'—so Solovieff writes—'that the Dolgoroukys were thus savagely dealt with only for a design which they had formed ten years before, and which had never been executed, and for which they had already suffered very long and severe punishment: and so they imagined false and even absurd explanations;' as if, for instance, in their exile in Siberia the Dolgoroukys had conspired for the overthrow of the government. Certainly they had done nothing of that kind. But the grandfathers of the elder and the great-grandfathers of the younger victims, Theodore Theodorovich and Dmitri and Youry Alexievich, had no doubt conspired with the Odoefskys, Soltikoffs, Miloslavskys, Khitroffs, and the rest, and with the tsar Alexis Michaelovich against God and against the

Church: they had *prepared the way* for Peter the Great, for Procopovich, *and for Biron;* and when the male posterity of the tsar Alexis had for that public sin become extinct, it was not fit that a branch of the Dolgorouky family should thereby be raised to power and empire; on the contrary, it was made to share in the punishment of the extinct dynasty. (See Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xx. p. 411.)

APPENDIX III. *In connection with p.* 1065 *and* 1067, *in ch. vii., where mention is made of the murder of four Uniat monks committed by Peter and his suite at Polotsk,* 30*th June* A.D. 1705; *and with ch. viii., p.* 1574-1578, *where notices are given respecting Peter from Latin sources.*

*From a Report of the vice-chancellor of the crown of Poland, addressed to the Papal nuncio,* 21*st Nov.* A.D. 1705.

On the 25th Oct., after his return from Grodno to Tikotina, when he had gone to the pro-chancellor of the kingdom with his ministers, he took the said pro-chancellor and the most reverend the referendary of the grand duchy of Lithuania, the bishop designate of Souchava (*Cajacien sem*), aside with himself, and addressed them to the following effect: 'I well know that some of the grandees of this nation, and perhaps of the common people who do not know how the thing was, are alienated from me by that misfortune at Polotsk, which I can never enough lament. But I call to witness our crucified Saviour, under whose image we are standing (this was in the refectory of the Bernardine fathers, where supper had been served), that that was done by me without any bad premeditated intention, and not of any hatred or rancour against the Roman-Catholic faith (for elsewhere in places where there were Uniats they had never suffered any harm from me); but it was occasioned by those religious who, in replying to my question, Who had so wounded the head of (their) saint Josaphat? stigmatised me as an heretic, saying: The heretics, such as I was. This answer caused that accident, which, that I may freely open my mind, gives me the greatest pain; and whatever may be proper in the way of satisfaction, I will not fail to do. Wherefore, as I have already given orders to issue the necessary injunctions for the conservation and protection in all ways of the episcopal sees of the Greek churches united to the Apostolic see, and of the property belonging to them, so whatever shall be farther desired, to show my goodwill towards the Roman Church and those united to it, I am ready to do both willingly and zealously.' Farther, to attest this to be his true, real, and undoubted profession, his majesty the tsar, as often as he said anything, called God to witness, directing all his discourse to the justification of himself, and saying: 'So may God punish me in all my actions, and not grant me a safe return into my own dominions, if I then entered *the church* of the Basilians with any malice, or intention of doing that which was done, or if that which I with grief confess to you was done on purpose, and not by the merest chance, the most unthought of and the most unexpected.' . . . So the pro-chancellor replied: 'Since your majesty confesses that which happened at Polotsk to God, the searcher of hearts, and intends to deprecate His anger, I am full of a good hope that the divine goodness will forgive you all.' In farther conversation,

his majesty the tsar again, in proof of his goodwill towards the Catholic faith, promised, according to his former intention, to found a house for the reverend Capucin fathers in his capital city of Moscow, with the *full exercise of the Catholic religion*;[1] and a diploma, already written in Latin, is now being translated into the *national Greek* language, and is shortly to be submitted to him to sign. There are not wanting other favourable signs. . . . So, when he visits our churches, he behaves himself with all reverence; and quite lately in the church of our Jesuit fathers, when the king (Augustus) knelt, at the giving of the Benediction, before the Blessed Sacrament, the tsar also knelt by his side. p. 398.

. . . And the tsar desires reciprocally the confirmation of the free exercise of the Greek Orthodox faith anciently guaranteed in Lithuania and Poland.

And Mgr. Spada, archbishop of Thebes, and bishop of Lucca, and nuncio for Poland, writes, from Troppau, 25th Jan. A.D. 1706, to the cardinal secretary of state, after having seen the *act* for the foundation of the Capucin convent at Moscow, and the other correspondence about reciprocal toleration or free exercise of religion: 'I confess, however, candidly, that . . . I had flattered myself that the declaration of the tsar (in favour of religious freedom) was to be more ample and decisive: however, one must hope that this first step may lead to others.' p. 402.

From a *Relation of the present state of things in Muscovy*, presented in A.D. 1707 to the Pope by a Jesuit father of the Moscow mission; the same from which some passages are given at p. 1076.

. . . After mentioning how the tsar makes no difficulty of being present in the Catholic church at Moscow; and has given them the same liberty as the others, which formerly was not so; and has given them permission to erect a new church of brick or stone, himself giving the materials; and after stating that he had in A.D. 1704 been desirous of making a league with the emperor against the Turks, and of cementing this league by a marriage between his son and a princess of the imperial family, he goes on to say: That, though the former idea of an alliance with the emperor's family is now at an end, the tsar shows some disposition towards union, or at least gives us Catholics more liberty for the exercise of our religion, in order that the great Catholic sovereigns may have less repugnance to give to his son the prince of Moscow a daughter in marriage.

It may be said that quite the contrary appears from the barbarity shown by this prince, when he killed with his own hand an archimandrite of the Order of St. Basil at Polotsk, and left unpunished those of his suite who did the same to four others of the monks.

But it should be known that nearly all the preceding night before the day (11th July N.S. A.D. 1705) on which this horrible crime was perpetrated, he had been at a great banquet given him by the palatines and princes of Lithuania at Polotsk, and had drunk immoderately, and had scarcely slept at all, so that he was still drunk when he went to the monastery of the Basilians; and on seeing there[2] the statue of blessed Josaphat

[1] That is, for themselves, and for the foreign Catholics in the tsar's service or otherwise residing at Moscow, not to proselytise the Russians.

[2] In another similar account, also printed by P. Theiner (p. 411), it is said

Kunchevich with an axe sticking in his head, having asked who had killed him, and being told in reply that it was the schismatics of his own rite,[3] he exclaimed in a fury: 'So then we are persecutors, are we?' and struck the archimandrite who had made him this answer:[4] and seeing that he had wounded him mortally, he finished him with another blow: after which two others were killed on the spot by his suite, and two more mortally wounded, so that they died soon afterwards.

But, recovering himself almost directly afterwards, he was horror-struck at his own madness, and said repeatedly to all that he was drunk when he did that act, and set the example to others to do the like, and that he feared for that to be punished by God. He went to one of *his own* monks to get absolution. He begged afterwards the bishop of Vilna not to excommunicate[5] him, and showed by other signs the great remorse which he felt.

He declared that, as some satisfaction for what he had done in his madness, he would build at Moscow a convent for the Capucin fathers, and three colleges for our (Jesuit) fathers, one there, and the other two in two of his chief cities.

The most certain knowledge of all this and of the rest which will be subjoined I have from the father Christopher Losievsky, one of the electors of the province of Lithuania, who was rector of the university of Polotsk at the time that this atrocity occurred, and who conversed personally *during three successive days after it*[6] *with the tsar*, from whom he heard the above-mentioned declarations: and the same father is worthy of all credence for his great religiousness, learning, and prudence, besides being of very noble birth, and related to some of the first lords of that kingdom.

He bore witness of those religious that they were all men deserving of the great lot (of martyrdom) which fell to them, especially the archimandrite, who had been appointed to another monastery, and was to have left Polotsk the next day.

A *few days after* that sacrilegious act the tsar came to our church (to

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'in the cloister,' but Peter himself mentions 'the church:' and in a memorial of the superior of that monastery, addressed to Pope Clement XI. in A.D. 1710 it is said that it was 'in ipsa ecclesia' that four of the monks were killed in A.D. 1705, and the monastery had been occupied by the Muscovites ever since, and the desecrated church filled with military stores, till on the 1st May A.D. 1710 it was destroyed; and after that many other parish churches also were taken and spoiled, churches both of the regulars and of the seculars (which he names), the chief monks of monasteries being taken as prisoners or flying. And after the murder in A.D. 1705 the rest of the monks were clearly kept prisoners, because Peter soon afterwards ordered them to be set free, and their property restored to them. (Tourgenieff, *Monumenta*, &c. p. 298.)

[3] In the other account above referred to: 'to whom *he* adhered' (p. 414).

[4] In the other relation: 'with his sword, and he was finished directly after by those of the suite, by whom two other monks were also sabred' (p. 414).

[5] Probably this means that he said something to the coadjutor (*Catholic*) bishop of Vilna, that he should take no public notice of the act done by him at Polotsk, when he was there as a *friend* and *ally* of the king Augustus.

[6] Not really *after*, but *before*, the murder of the 30th June, for the tsar left Polotsk the next day; and it is mentioned below, that when the tsar dined with the Jesuits it was in the Muscovite fast *preceding* the 29th June.

the church of the Jesuit fathers), and there heard, apparently with much devotion, one of our Latin masses, without using the prie-dieu set for him to kneel at; and then, after having asked who was represented in the painting of St. Francis Xavier, and having been told, he observed: 'That is the great saint who baptised with his own hand a million and two hundred and fifty thousand persons. And where,' said he, 'is St. Ignatius?' And when he was shown, he said: 'That is the founder of the institute of these great men, who are scattered over all the world.'

Having been begged,[7] as he was leaving, to honour the college by coming to dine there, he readily accepted the invitation; and as it was known that he observed the fast of the Greeks *before the festival of St. Peter*, the dinner served was all meagre. He would not take the seat set for him apart, but would sit on a bench, and have next to him the father rector, to whom he always gave the title of archimandrite. It was admirable the affectionate familiarity which he showed to all the fathers on that day that he dined with them (and on two other occasions on which he returned to the college, and when they came to his tents, which he would not ever allow the father rector to do merely to return his visit, because he had something the matter with his leg).

They remained at table nearly four hours, and when the tsar drank one of his sergeants made a sign from the window to fire the cannons, of which (there being many fired each time) there were fired a hundred and twenty. He was not at all displeased with our wine, but was all the time exceedingly merry, and showed the utmost affection towards us,[8] blaming some of his own people for the lies told by them against these holy (so he said), learned, and most courteous fathers.

The father rector having expressed a wish that when the war was finished he would go to Rome, as he had gone on different occasions to so many other parts, he said: 'I was intending to do so after being at Venice;[9] but I was obliged to return hastily, because *these barbarians of mine* were making a rebellion: I hope still to go some other time; and I have a great wish to see that most famous city, and the supreme Pope, as I knew in Poland his predecessor. But that Pope was already old when I saw him (as cardinal); this time they have made a Pope who is still young.' The rector replied: 'He is not old, but he is incomparable;' and being

[7] In the other similar relation: 'two days after (that atrocity) by the same father rector to honour our church and college by dining with us, he readily accepted the invitation; and there, with lively tears, repeated that he detested his own madness, which had been caused by his being drunk, swearing before the crucifix that he had not been a man, but a brute-beast, in that transport of rage' (p. 411).

[8] However, Mgr. Passionei, the Papal envoy extraordinary to the Hague, wrote thence, Oct. 10, 1709, to Card. Paulucci and Clement XI., an account of his dealings with the Russian ambassador, observing that 'the main business was to obtain *a public declaration of liberty for the exercise of our religion*, and on this I shall chiefly insist: but I know not if the establishment of a College of *Jesuits* will be easy, because some time ago the ambassador said to me that the tsar would perhaps have given the permission to *any other* missionaries *except* them' (p. 135).

[9] In the original: 'quando fui a Venezia;' and so too below, at p. 411, 'quando era in Venezia;' but this is a mistake of the rector of Polotsk, who must have misunderstood Peter's words.

asked what were his most remarkable qualities, he added that for many centuries there had not been a Pope so holy and so learned; and the tsar said that he believed it.

He has *done away with* the patriarch who used some time ago to be in Muscovy, saying that in the West there was no other patriarch except the Roman.

To the archbishop (Yavorsky?), who complained that our fathers taught school publicly in Moscow, and drew over their scholars to the Roman faith, the tsar once replied sharply: that he and his fellows, not being able to teach themselves, were jealous of others who were able; and as for the youths, if they became Catholics, so much the better for them (buon per loro).

So he let four German fathers remain near his own palace, and lately there has stopped with them a fifth, a Pole, because it was not practicable for him to pass into Persia, as he had designed.

The father rector of Polotsk sends every year four fathers on mission to those borders of Muscovy, into which they penetrate, with much fruit, the tsar knowing this, and rejoicing at it.

He is equally well pleased that Sheremetieff, his generalissimo, who was at Rome, professes himself openly to be a Catholic; as also Ogilvie, another of his generals, who is a Scotchman.

In all that he does he shows himself well disposed towards those of the Latin rite, and little favourable to his own monks of the Greek rite, having taken from them all their revenues, and assigning them only fifty florins a year for the maintenance of each of them.

I will mention some other things which show his turn and genius, and whether there are grounds or not for hoping for good from him. From the executions which he makes, he seems cruel; but he excuses himself by saying that he cannot in any other way control the barbarism of his subjects.

It is a great misfortune that he took an extraordinary aversion for his *consort*, through some sorcery, as is supposed, practised against him: and for this cause he keeps her shut up in a distant monastery, and in his palace he keeps *two sisters of a great prince*.

If it were not that by this sin he puts a great obstacle in the way of any increase of divine grace, there would be much reason to hope for his conversion.

For the rest, he is a prince of great capacity, and extremely desirous of introducing innovations, and of establishing the best form of government in his immense dominions.

He is so strict about military discipline that he would not accede to the request of the father rector, that his only son, who is a young man seventeen years of age,[10] should come as well as himself to dine in the college, because it was his turn to mount guard *as a common soldier*. Such for a time it pleased the tsar to be also himself; and having once come to his post too late, he desired to have inflicted on him the usual punishment of holding on his neck a bundle of muskets, from which he was set free,

[10] This agrees with thirty-five given below as the age of his father, and with the date of the document itself in A.D. 1707.

an hour or so later, on the intercession of an old commandant to the general. Now the tsar is *captain* of a company, and he is looking forward to being made lieutenant-colonel, and to rising in due time through the other steps to the highest (he is now thirty-five years old).

Though it cannot be said that he is at present disposed himself to profess the holy Catholic faith, this at least seems certain, that he would be very much pleased to receive an envoy from the Apostolic See, as he much valued the letter of congratulation written to him by Innocent XII. on his recovery of some very important places which had been occupied by the Turks.

As for his being well pleased that the truths of Catholicism should be preached to his subjects, and not displeased with those that embrace them, of this there can be no doubt, since this in some parts is actually taking place, and he knows of it, and approves. p. 413.

And in a letter from the Jesuit father Giovanni Ambrogio Centurione, rector of the college of Florence, about the arrival at Rome of a Muscovite envoy, Friday, 1st Apr. 1707:

. . . 'I think it right first to do away the unfavourable idea which was formed of him on account of his having killed a Ruthenian archimandrite at Polotsk. I know exactly how this misdeed occurred, having had it related to me by our father rector of that college and university, who was there at the time, and had been visited only the day before by that same archimandrite, to whom he had given a license to go away to govern another monastery.' Then he relates the whole story just as above, with only those slight variations and additions which have been given in the footnotes.

'Having thus made it clear that our hopes ought not to be destroyed by that passing access of madness by which he was transported with only the guilt of his preceding drunkenness, less than the sin of the holy king David when he ordered Uriah to be killed, and than that of Theodosius the Great in the massacre of Thessalonica, I will go on to enumerate the grounds of my hope.' And then, after enlarging upon Peter's expressions of respect for their *modern* Catholic Saints, his affectionate familiarity to 'our fathers' when he dined with them, and at other times (all being from the relation heard by him from the father rector of the college of Polotsk), he continues:

'Standing up, he proposed the first toast to the health of the most holy Pope, extolling him highly, according to his merits, and declaring that he was most desirous, whenever the war should be finished, to go to Rome,' &c., as above.

'*He thanked* the father rector for sending annually four of his fathers as missionaries into Muscovy, and *said* that it pleased him well that his subjects should gain the enlightenment of the true faith.[11]

'Speaking of the schools which we had begun to open in Moscow, his capital, he said that it gave him the greatest pleasure, and *he related* how he had answered an archbishop who complained because the scholars were

[11] *Perhaps* should gain enlightenment, and should even become Catholics (or Protestants *!*) if they pleased.

drawn by their teachers to the Roman faith. "You are jealous," he said, "of those excellent fathers, because you *animals* (*voi altri bufali*) know not yourselves how to teach. If the young nobles and the others like to declare themselves Roman Catholics, so much the better for them (buon per loro), and I shall be well pleased.

'In telling the story of the answer which he had made to that archbishop, he added that he could not make it to the *patriarch*, who had in these last times (*i.e.* since 1589) been set up in Muscovy, because he had done away with him (deposto) some years ago (in A.D. 1700), as he knew that there had never been *in the West*[12] any other patriarch but the Roman. p. 414.

'The generous spirit which shows itself in him, greatly superior to that of all the former rulers of Muscovy; his anxiety to free his subjects from barbarism; his having sent so many gentlemen (*cavalieri*) to Rome, and *his satisfaction* that *some of them have returned Catholics*, as, among others, the general Sheremetieff, whom he himself said 'he knew to be such,'[13] and was glad of it,' to the father rector of Polotsk; his being earnestly desirous that his subjects should learn the sciences, the study of which was formerly forbidden, as Jovius, Herberstein, and Possevin relate, . . . and the wise direction of his government in all other matters, joined to the considerations stated above, and to the signs shown that he has some inclination himself to profess the holy faith of Rome, render it very probable that he is inclined to cause it to be spread over all his vast dominions.' p. 415.

Tourgenieff has printed a brief of Pope Clement XI. of 18th Oct. A.D. 1707, addressed to the tsar in acknowledgment of the mission of prince Kourakin (which brief, however, Kourakin would not receive, because it did not give to the tsar the title of Majesty). In it the Pope writes: 'Certiores nos fecit constitutum tibi esse liberum ac publicum Catholicæ Romanæ religionis exercitium in universa tua amplissimâ ditione permittere;' and he mentions also the foundations granted for the Capucins and the Jesuits at Moscow. p. 285.

And P. Theiner has printed a despatch in which Mgr. Passionei, writing on the 15th Oct. A.D. 1709 at the Hague, represents to the Russian envoy Matveyeff that Kourakin, in A.D. 1707, 'in order to confirm His Holiness (Clement XI.) the more in these sentiments (of not recognising Stanislas as king of Poland, for which he had then been sent to thank the Pope), promised in the name of the tsar an act or diploma by which he would permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion in his empire, and also to grant the foundation of a convent of Capucins, and of a college of Jesuits with schools in Moscow' (p. 438). And he pleads for the execution of this *pro-*

[12] And Peter wished to make the *West* his model!

[13] See the speech of Boris Pet. Sheremetieff, made in Apr. 1698, to Pope Innocent XII., which is certainly that of a Catholic. He says that the tsar had enabled him to gratify his wish of long standing to come in pilgrimage to Rome, and to obtain the Pope's blessing; and that the tsar and the emperor of Germany (Leopold) had given him letters of recommendation. Five other Russians seem to have gone to Rome at the same time with him from Malta. He calls the Pope 'the infallible director (*magistro*) of the orthodox Church of the Christians.

*mise*, especially for the manifesto of toleration. But this was after the victory of Poltava; and the promise was *not* performed.

Later, by oukaz of 17th Apr. (28th N.S.) A.D. 1719, Peter expelled the *Jesuits* altogether from Muscovy, not objecting any personal offences, but on the ground that it was necessary to make '*reprisals*' against the emperor, whose subjects they were, and at whose instance they had been admitted. ib. p. 517.

In A.D. 1706 the Uditore of the nunciature of Poland wrote to cardinal Paulucci, that he had seen the Jesuit father Elia Broggi of the Moscow mission on his way to Vienna, with a letter to the emperor from the tsar, inclosing the act itself already signed, granting, *or rather confirming*, the liberty of the free exercise[14] of our holy religion. This document P. Broggio had *seen* before it was inclosed; and he also said that the tsar requested the emperor to send on that same act to the Pope in sign of his, the tsar's, sincere intentions (ib. p. 405). Perhaps the promise made by Kourakin in A.D. 1707, and the instances of Mgr. Passionei in A.D. 1709, are all threads spun out of this. At p. 403 P. Theiner has given the document itself. It is not from the tsar himself, but from Menshikoff: 'Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, knight of the Orders of St. Andrew and of the White Eagle, governor-general of Ingria and Esthonia, commander-in-chief and general of all the tsar's cavalry, &c. By the full power granted us by the tsar's majesty, we hereby reverently make known to his holiness Pope Clement XI., &c., that at the recent instance of the emperor Joseph I., made to his majesty the tsar through the father Elia Broggi, S.J., procurator of the mission at Moscow, (he. the tsar) through us as his constituted plenipotentiary, not only confirms the free exercise of the Romano-Orthodox faith in the city of Moscow, but also allows the school already begun and well attended *for the instruction of the Muscovite nobility* to be erected, as also the church, formerly allowed only to be of wood, now to be built of stone (as is being done); and he opens most fully the lands and regions of Muscovy (formerly closed), that so by our help they may be able to go more safely and speedily to China. In attestation whereof we have affixed our chief seal, and have subscribed with our own hand. Given in the camp at Petrikov, 20th Oct. O.S. A.D. 1706, Alexander princeps Menshikov.' The good father himself, after enlarging on the tsar's disposition to welcome a nuncio, if sent, adds: 'And after that, recently, at the instance of the emperor made through me, the procurator of this mission, a formal decree has been sent on three points to his imperial majesty by the absolute plenipotentiary of the tsar, the most exalted prince Alexander Menshikov, by which both *the freest exercise* of the Orthodox faith *in Muscovy* is confirmed, and the transformation of a mere school of letters hitherto existing into an absolute gymnasium of schools is allowed,' &c. ib. p. 403.

In A.D. 1718, or thereabouts, there is an answer given from the Muscovite chancery to a question on three points from the palatine of Culm, viz.: 1. freedom of religion; 2. the erection of a brick church at Moscow; and 3. a free passage for missionaries. On the first point thus: 'Prout

[14] That is, for the missionaries sent by the emperor to attend to the spiritual wants of the Catholic foreigners at Moscow.

hactenus fidei Catholicæ Romanæ exercitium in sede et alibi locorum sacra Tsarea majestus non prohibendo pleno concedit, ita in futurum eidem se numquam opponet' (Tourgenieff, *Monumenta*, &c. p. 336).

## Appendix IV. *In connection with the spring and summer of* A.D. 1718, *and with p.* 1336-1493.

*Extracts from foreign newspapers, and other contemporary correspondence. From the 'Collection of Documents,' &c., Moscow,* A.D. 1861, *p.* 206-213.

From the Haerlem *Courant*, No. 14. Hamburg, 1st Apr. 1718: Prince Menshikoff was in the greatest favour with the tsar; but fourteen dignitaries had, on account of the tsarevich, fallen under inquest; and they, seemingly, have had to pay heavy sums. The change of the position of the tsarevich is regarded with *approval* in all Muscovy, because he, after the death of his father, would probably have made again very great changes, for he does not like the Germans.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 15. Moscow, 1st March: At the time of the abdication (of the tsarevich) the tsar discovered farther some very grave circumstances, in which, seemingly, there were implicated many persons of note, who intended, as it is said, after the death of his majesty, to raise to the throne the elder grand duke Alexis.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 15. Vienna, 2d Apr.: The Russian resident has now communicated to the emperor and his ministers the renunciation by the tsarevich of his right of succession to the throne. But when they asked him what was the reason for this, he replied that the tsar is lord in his own country, and can do what he likes.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 16. Hamburg, 15th Apr.: The tsarevich Alexis is in a monastery, four miles from Moscow.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 18. St. Petersburg, 15th Apr.: The eldest son of his imperial majesty, the tsarevich Alexis, has arrived in this city, and will henceforth reside here.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 21. St. Petersburg, 29th Apr.: The tsaritsa, the mother of the disinherited heir-apparent, and the tsarevna Maria Alexievna, sister of his majesty the tsar, have been brought from Moscow to this city, from whence they will be sent to a distance. The tsar has required from all the foreign merchants and traders at Moscow, St. Petersburg, Archangel, and all the other towns of the empire, an oath of renunciation of all fealty to his eldest son; and the English and Dutch, notwithstanding all their objections and representations, have been forced to take this oath. His tsarish majesty ordered that a similiar oath should be required also from the inhabitants of Riga, Revel, and generally of all the provinces which he has acquired by conquest.

May 13 (2d o.s.), the Polish resident writes from Petersburg: 'PS. There came to Moscow (*i.e.* before the court and the writer had left Moscow) a courier with despatches from the emperor, but they were received with displeasure; and the courier who brought them was ordered to go back *immediately* (*au même instant*). It is supposed that those despatches had been sent to maintain the right to the crown of the tsarevich Alexis,

and of all his line, descending from the sister of the empress of Germany. They already pretend here to the title of Emperor; and we must expect them to require it of us also; such is their way here of doing everything from ambition, and with contempt of their neighbours' (Theiner, *Documents*, &c. p. 495).

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 23. Warsaw, 20th May: They write that the Russians still continue not to allow any one to cross the frontier, either into or from Poland, in order that—so they say—not a soul of the friends of the disinherited tsarevich may be able to escape.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 26. Hamburg, 21st June: At St. Petersburg the inquest was still going on on all who were suspected of disapproving of the disinheritance of the tsarevich from the right of succession.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 30. Hamburg, 19th July: As they have printed the reasons which have moved the tsar to give orders to pass sentence upon the disinherited tsarevich, they expect to see published also the whole trial which is to be held on his criminal acts, as well as the sentence, which is to be drawn up and presented to the tsar by the spiritualty, the senate, and the military chiefs.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 31. Hamburg, 29th July: From Petersburg they write that the tsarevich died on the 26th of last month, at six o'clock P.M., of an apoplectic stroke, which took him upon the announcement to him of his sentence. At the same time there were capitally punished some persons who had belonged to the party of the late tsarevich; and against a certain foreign minister, residing at St. Petersburg, displeasure was shown because he had allowed himself to say certain words respecting the tsarevich.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 31. Hamburg, 26th July: From Petersburg, 27th June, they write that, after careful consideration of the grave crime of the tsarevich, the spiritual and secular officials have passed a sentence that he has deserved death, and ought to be punished capitally. On the announcement to the tsarevich of this decision, he was so horrified that he had an apoplectic stroke; and on the same evening, the 26th June, he was near death. However, when he had a little recovered himself, he was communicated in the holy mysteries in presence of the tsar, who came, on receiving this information, with all the senators and many dignitaries, and of whom the tsarevich asked forgiveness and grace.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 32. Hamburg, 5th Aug.: From the court of the emperor they write, that the Russian resident, in execution of the instructions of his sovereign, attempted to obtain and to send to the tsar the original letter of the tsarevich written by him to the emperor at the time of his flight into the dominions of the latter, and in which *he called his father a tyrant*. But the imperial court did not consent to this; so the tsar, imagining that the imperial resident at St. Petersburg had acted in favour of the tsarevich, in a manner forbade him to appear at court, and demanded that he should be recalled. The Russian resident at Vienna will probably have the same fortune.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 32. Hamburg, 2d Aug.: By advices received from St. Petersburg, the body of the deceased tsarevich, after having been for some days, by the tsar's command, exposed in a coffin covered with

black velvet in the church of the Holy Trinity, where all who pleased could see it, and were allowed to kiss his hand, was buried in the church of the Fortress, by the side of his wife. It was said that when, after the announcement to the tsarevich of the sentence of death, he was struck by apoplexy, and by advice of the physicians it was thought necessary *to bleed him, too much blood was taken from him*, and that so he died in the prison, *in the most excruciating sufferings*.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 32. St. Petersburg, 16th July: The disinherited tsarevich Alexis Petrovich died on the 6th of this month (25th June o.s.). On the 8th the tsar ordered the body to be transported to the church of the Holy Trinity, where it was exposed till the 10th, that all might be able to see it. After that there followed the funeral in the Orthodox Church, with all the ceremonies usually observed at the burial of persons of royal families. At the funeral there were present the bishops and the rest of the clergy. The body was buried in the family vault of the imperial family, in the new church (*sobor*). The tsar and the tsaritsa, with all the tsar's household, were also present at the burial.

'*Vienna, 6th Aug.*: Letters from Petersburg give sad accounts: that the disinherited prince Alexis died of apoplexy in a few hours after the announcement to him of the sentence of death; that a sister of the tsar, and his first wife, whom he had put away, have been beaten with rods, after the fashion of Muscovy; and other grandees condemned to divers torments for a supposed conspiracy against the government and the life of the tsar' (Tourgenieff, *Monumenta*, &c. p. 337).

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 34. Hamburg, 16th Aug.: The minister before alluded to at St. Petersburg remains still under arrest, as it were, in his house, and none of the other foreign ministers are allowed to see him, till the answer shall have been received from his court. The imperial minister, who strongly opposed, as it is said, the conclusion of the treaty of marriage between the late tsarevich and his late wife the princess of Wolfenbuttel, will have in this case to be removed from the court.

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 35. The Hague, 25th Aug.: A very circumstantial manifesto of his tsarish majesty, respecting the affair of the late tsarevich Alexis Petrovich, is now in the press, and will be published next week.

'*Vienna, 10th Sept.*: There has arrived here, a day or two ago, an adjutant of the tsar; and, from what is heard, his chief commission is to recover possession of some letters and writings of the deceased tsarevich Alexis, which are supposed to be with this court' (Tourgenieff, *Monumenta*, &c. p. 338).

Haerlem *Courant*, No. 51. Vienna, 3d Dec.: Now there is an end of those reports which were current, of an intention on the part of certain persons to refute certain passages in the published *Inquest* respecting the late tsarevich; so that probably they consider the representations made to the tsar's minister to be sufficient.

'*Vienna, 18th Feb.* 1719: On Wednesday it was intimated to the Muscovite resident (Mr. Veselovsky) that he must leave this city within six days, and so also all the hereditary dominions: to which end his passports were delivered to him, &c. The motive for this is, because his imperial majesty had not been able to obtain satisfaction from the tsar for the pro-

hibition notified to the imperial resident (Pleyer) accredited to him, that he was not to appear at court, and for the insults received in Russia by two couriers of the emperor,' &c. (Tourgenieff, *Monumenta*, &c. p. 338).

'Meanwhile there was received information from Vienna, from the resident Abram Veselovsky, that on the 4th Feb. the imperial vice chancellor count Schönborn, having called him to him, notified to him that he was within eight days to quit Vienna, and the emperor's hereditary dominions, without any audience to take leave; and therewith delivered to him his passports. And so, in spite of his remonstrances, they sent him away, without giving him any sort of reason for it. At the same time the Russian agent at Breslau, and a little later the agent at Vienna, were also sent away' (*Journal of Peter the Great*, vol. ii. p. 75).

And below: 'And on the 17th Apr. a *reprisal* was made, by sending out of the Russian empire the Jesuits, as being missionaries sent and maintained by the emperor. But priests of the other orders of the Roman confession, except this order of the Jesuits, were allowed to remain' (ib. p. 75).

'On the 25th Apr. the hossoudar the tsarevich Peter Petrovich died, and on the 26th he was buried' (ib.). (But after the mention of the death of the tsarevich Alexis in the same journal, at 26th June A.D. 1718, there is no mention of *his* funeral, though there follows at great length a description of the funeral of a rear-admiral, which was attended by the tsar and by all his ministers and officers.)

APPENDIX V. *In connection with the death of the tsarevich Alexis, and with* *p.* 1481.

1. *From an unsigned but contemporary record of the secret archives.*

'On the 26th (June), at seven o'clock P.M., the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich died in (the Fortress of) St. Petersburg.

'And on the 27th the body of the tsarevich was placed, according to custom, in a coffin which had been prepared, and which was covered around with black velvet, and it was set in that coffin in the Fortress of St. Petersburg, in the wooden chambers which to one entering the Fortress from the St. Petersburg gate adjoin the sobor on the right-hand side, near the house of the commandant; and the priests of the sobor read over it by turns the psalter.

'On the 28th June, by order of his majesty the tsar, the body of the tsarevich was carried out to the church of the Holy Trinity: and at its transportation there were present the bishop of Korel and Ladoga Aaron, with the archimandrites and priests; and from the ministers of the tsar's majesty, the chancellor of the empire count Gabriel Iv. Golovkin; and from the Preobrajensky regiment of the body-guard, major Andrew Iv. Oushakoff; and from the same guard, from the bombardiers, the lieutenant-captain Gregory Greg. Skorniakoff-Pisareff. And after the body of the tsarevich had been carried out to the church of the Holy Trinity, the priests and clerks of that church read over it there by turns the psalter. And at the coffin, till after its burial, there were stationed two sergeants from the Preobrajensky regiment; and it was allowed to the people of

all classes, whoever would, to go up to the coffin of him, the tsarevich, and to see his body, and to take leave of him.

'On the 30th June, by order of his majesty, notice was given to all the bishops present at Petersburg, to the archimandrites, and to all the rest of the spiritual order from all the churches, priests and clerks; also to all the gentlemen, the general-fieldmarshal and knight the most illustrious prince Alexander Danilovich Menshikoff, and the ministers, and the senators, and the generals, governors, and vice-governors; and to the staff and superior officers of the Preobrajensky and Semenofsky regiments, and of the garrison; and to the inhabitants of St. Petersburg; and to all the people of distinction staying there, stolniks, strapchis, dvorianins, and landrichters, and landraths, and diaks, with their ladies, to be present at the burial of the body of him, the tsarevich, at four o'clock P.M.; and that they should come together to the church of the Trinity, and there await the coming of his majesty the tsar. And the above-mentioned persons so assembled on that day at four o'clock P.M.; and at seven o'clock P.M. the tsar's majesty came to the church, and after him her majesty the hossoudarina the tsaritsa Ekaterina Alexievna.

'And there was performed and sung, according to the Christian law, the customary funeral office for burial, with the usual spiritual ceremony; and at the time of the verse, *Behold me speechless*, &c., after the bishops and the rest of the spiritual order had taken their leave of the body of the tsarevich, the tsar's majesty and her majesty the hossoudarina the tsaritsa took leave of the body of the tsarevich, *and kissed it;* and then afterwards the gentlemen, the ministers, and the rest of the persons present took their leave, and kissed the body of the tsarevich, kissing his hand. And when they had finished the singing of the funeral office, they bore out the body from the church of the Trinity to the Fortress of St. Petersburg, to the church (the *sobor*) of the princes of the Apostles Peter and Paul, to a place which had been prepared for its burial.

'The transportation (*elatio*) of the body of the tsarevich to its burial was made in the following order: 1. They carried a holy icon. 2. After the icon there went singers. 3. Then the priests and hieromonachs, and archimandrites, and bishops. 4. Before the coffin there went protodeacons, and deacons with thuribles. 5. The coffin with the body of the tsarevich. 6. After the coffin there was pleased to go in his own exalted person his majesty the tsar. 7. After his majesty the above-mentioned gentlemen, the general-fieldmarshal the most illustrious prince Menshikoff, and the ministers, and the senators, and the rest of the persons (above enumerated). 8. Then there was pleased to go her majesty the hossoudarina the tsaritsa; and after her the ladies, the wives of all the persons above mentioned. 9. They bore the body to the aforesaid church (the *sobor*), to the burial place prepared for it, with the usual chantings and prayers; and they buried that body of him, the tsarevich, near the grave and body of his wife. 10. And then, by order of his majesty the tsar, all the spiritual persons and all the secular persons of distinction were invited into the above-mentioned chambers, from which, after the death of the tsarevich, his body had been borne out, and they were gratified, in memory of him, with the usual funeral repast (lit. *table*),

and the clergy also with payments (of fees in money); and afterwards they dispersed. 11. After the burial an order was given to read at the tomb in memory of him the psaltor; and there were set watches of four men at a time, of the distinguished dvorianins inhabitants of Petersburg, to watch by turns at the tomb for the space of six weeks.

List of those who were present at the burial of the tsarevich, and of those who bore the coffin with the body: Stephen metropolitan of Riazan, Theophanes bishop of Pskoff, Alexis bishop of Sarai (*i.e.* of Kroutitz), Ignatius bishop of Souzdal, Barlaam bishop of Tver, Hilarion bishop of Korel, the bishop of Vologda, Joannicius (a Greek) metropolitan of Stauropolis, Arsenius (a Greek) metropolitan of Thebes: archimandrites, of the Troitsa of St. Sergius, of the monastery of St. Alexander Nefsky, and the teacher (or preacher) Gabriel; protopopes, of St. Isaac's, and of SS. Peter and Paul, the pope of the Trinity church, of hieromonachs and sacristans (*riznichays*) twelve persons, of hierodiakons nine, of protodiakons four, of subdeacons nine, of parish priests eighteen, of deacons sixteen, of the tsar's singers thirty-four, of the singers of the bishops nine bands, of clerks and psalm-readers twenty-nine. (Farther on: all the ministers, senators, generals, staff and superior officers of the guard, by name.)

Note of those of the stolniks and of the dvorianins who bore the coffin of the tsarevich: Ivan Rod. Streshneff, Michaelo Sobakin, Ivan Iv. Streshneff, prince Theodore Alex. Golitsin, prince Ivan Iv. Dolgorouky, Stephen Neledinsky, Theodore Emil. Boutourlin, Ivan Kalinin Poushkin, Ivan Step. Potemkin, prince Theodore Volkonsky, Peter Sobakin Karavaeff, prince Nikita Jirovo-Zasiekin, prince Michaelo Valbonsky, Matthew Alex. Golovin, Theodore Verderevsky, Pancratius Somorokoff, Peter Lobkoff, Ivan Kojin, prince Athanasius Boriatinsky, prince Michaelo Shakhofskoy, Gregory Nashchokin, Nikita Bornovolokoff, Michaelo Groushensky—in all, twenty-four persons.

2. *From the day-book of the acts of prince Menshikoff:*

On Friday the 27th his splendour went to the general-admiral Apraxin, and they went together to the Trinity church, where the tsar's majesty also came, and they congratulated him for the battle of Poltava, and they heard the liturgy. After the dismissal his majesty the tsar and his splendour (the prince Menshikoff) went out to the review, and the battalions fired each a salute, while the cannon were discharged from the ramparts. Then they went to the post-office, where there were tables set, and, after a little time passed in conversation, they dined. After the dinner they went into the garden of the tsar's majesty, where they *were very merry*. After that, at twelve o'clock (P.M.), they dispersed to their homes.

3. *From the minute-book of the chancery of the Fortress:*

After the liturgy in the church of the Trinity and the moleben of thanksgiving for the battle of Poltava, at two o'clock P.M., on a signal given by a rocket from the Fortress, they fired from the Fortress for the first time thirty-three guns; then immediately the men of the Preobrajensky and Semenofsky regiments, who were drawn up on the Troitsa ploshchad in battalions, fired a salute with a running-fire from their small arms: then again there was a second discharge from the Fortress of forty-

three guns, and a second salute of musketry: then a third discharge from the Fortress of fifty-three guns, and after it a third salute of musketry; after which they were dismissed. There was sung a moleben behind the church on the ploshchad, at which were present both his majesty and the rest, the gentlemen senators and ministers. And the same day they dined in the dvor of the post-office, all together. On the Fortress there was hoisted the standard.

On the 27th June, at nine o'clock P.M., the body of the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich was carried out from the Troubetskoy bastion, from the guard-chamber, into the governor's house, which is in the Fortress. It was conducted by the priest of the sobor Theodore Timotheyeff: the coffin was carried on a bier by four soldiers of the body-guard: in front was carried the lid under black velvet, and the coffin was lined with silk brocade of white and gold: before it there went men on either side bearing wax-lights.

On the 28th June the body of the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich was borne out from the governor's house, from the Fortress, at ten o'clock A.M., to the Trinity church: it was conducted by the bishop of Korel and Ladoga and two archimandrites. Also the coffin was followed by Gabriel Iv. Golovkin: and it was set down in the Trinity church.

On the same day, at eight P.M. (*i.e.* the *beginning* of the eighth hour, or seven o'clock P.M.?), they began at the sobor of SS. Peter and Paul to sound the bells for the vigil service (the *zaoutrena*); and when at nine (at eight o'clock?) his majesty came to the sobor, they began to sing the vigil service, at which his majesty and the tsaritsa also were present, and the rest, the gentlemen senators and ministers.

On the 29th, the names-day of his majesty the tsar, at the tenth hour after midnight, they hoisted the standard on the belfry of the sobor: and then they began to sound the bells for the liturgy in the sobor, as likewise at the other churches; and when at hour twelve his majesty came to the sobor, they began the service; and at hour two in the afternoon, when the liturgy was finished in the sobor, and his majesty left the church, they fired a salute from the Fortress (the *gorod*) of fifty-one guns, and the Sunday flag was hoisted on the Fortress, because the standard was already hoisted on the belfry-tower.

The same day, at hour seven P.M., there was launched at the Admiralty a new ship named the Liesno, built after plans made by his majesty himself: and both his majesty and the rest, the gentlemen senators and ministers, were present, and they made very merry: and as a signal to them and to all the rest of the people to assemble, there were fired from the Fortress three guns; and there were public proclamations made by criers.

On the 30th June his majesty came at the seventh hour, at the end (*i.e.* at seven o'clock), to the Trinity church, and then they began to sing the office over the body of the tsarevich. The bishop of Riazan officiated, with the rest of the bishops, viz. those of Korel, Tver, Souzdal, Vologda, Kroutitz, Pskoff, two Palestine bishops (*i.e.* Greek bishops from the Levant), and some archimandrites, and the rest, the parish priests, &c.; and during that service the bells sounded at the Trinity church and at the sobor of the Fortress.

At nine o'clock the body was conducted in procession from the Trinity

church by all the assembly of the clergy to the sobor, where were present his majesty the tsar, her majesty the tsaritsa, and all the senators and ministers. The coffin with the body was borne by twenty-four bearers, chosen from the stolniks and dvorianins. The same day it was buried in the sobor side by side with the hossoudarina the crown-princess, at the same spot in the *porch*, at the west doors, on the left side. After the burial his majesty went to the governor's house; they dispersed at ten o'clock (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. p. 285).

*Accounts given of the death of the tsarevich.*

4. Peter, Solovieff writes, in rescripts addressed to his ministers abroad, directed them to describe the end of his son thus: 'After the announcement of the sentence of the court to the tsarevich, we, as a father, were distracted between natural impulses to mercy on the one side, and due care for the welfare and future security of our empire on the other, and we were as yet unable to bring ourselves to a decision in this very difficult and momentous affair. But Almighty God, being pleased through his own will and by his just judgment, of his mercy, to free us from that perplexity, and to free our house and empire from danger and shame, cut short yesterday (he wrote this on the 27th June) the life of our son Alexis by his seizure, after the announcement to him of that sentence and his conviction of such great crimes against us and all the empire, with a violent illness, which at first was like apoplexy. Nevertheless after that he recovered a clear memory, and in fulfilment of the duty of a Christian confessed, and was communicated in the Holy Mysteries, and asked that we should come to him; to whom we, overlooking all his offences, with all our ministers and senators who were here, went; and he made to us a sincere confession and acknowledgment of all those his offences against us with many repentant tears, and with contrition, and begged of us for all that pardon, which we, according to Christian and parental duty, gave him: and so he on the 26th of this month of June, about 6 o'clock P.M., ended his life after a Christian manner.'

5. The Hanoverian resident Weber, who was then at Petersburg, and who had been there since A.D. 1714, was told, and wrote, about the death of the tsarevich as follows: 'On the 25th June (6th July N.S.) the tsarevich was brought from the Fortress by four under-officers to the senate, and there they read through to him the sentence of death: and after that he was taken back to the Fortress. On the 26th June (7th July N.S.), early in the morning, it was reported to his majesty the tsar that in consequence of his violent agitation the tsarevich had had an apoplectic stroke. At noon there came a fresh messenger with the news that his life was in danger. The tsar had assembled the most distinguished persons at the court, when a third messenger brought word that the tsarevich would not outlive that evening, and that he wished to speak with his father. His majesty with all the persons (whom he had called together) went to the dying prince, who, on seeing his father, said with tears that he had sinned against God and against his sovereign; he said that he had no hope of recovering, and he begged him to take off from him the curse which had been notified to him (?) at Moscow, to forgive him his offences, to bless him, and to pray

for his soul. His majesty the tsar could not refrain from tears;[15] he gave him his blessing and pardon, and weeping withdrew. In the evening, at 5 o'clock, there came the major of the guards Oushakoff, bringing word that the tsarevich had a strong wish to see his father yet again. His majesty at first was unwilling to go; they represented to him that it was not possible to refuse the dying prince: he had put himself into a boat (to cross the Neva) when there came a fifth messenger to let him know that God had taken the soul of the tsarevich.'

6. The imperial resident Pleyer, who lived in Russia above twenty-five years, and, like the Hanoverian, was at that time at Petersburg, wrote two despatches preserved (like the preceding) in the Archives at Vienna, and printed by Oustrialoff. Of these, one, of the 4th July (15th N.S.), is addressed to the emperor; the other, of the 7th (18th N.S.), to a count, probably count Schönborn.

To the emperor he wrote thus: 'Your imperial and royal majesty will have seen from my report of the 8th July (27th June O.S.) that the crown-prince, after the announcement to him of the sentence of death passed upon him for certain reasons by all the high clergy and the senate, was so terrified that he had a stroke, and on *Friday* last, *early in the morning*, he died. The same day there was the celebration in the new post-office of the anniversary of the victory of Poltava over the Swedes, which ended, contrary to custom, at 7 o'clock in the evening. On Saturday, 9th July (28th June O.S.), the body of the crown-prince was transported by some under-officers of the first regiment of the guards from the Fortress to the neighbouring chief church (that of the Trinity), where it lay three days: every one who pleased could see the body, and kiss his hand. On Sunday the 10th July (29th June O.S.), which was the tsar's names day, there was a banquet in the summer palace: thence the guests went and assembled again at the wharf of the Admiralty, where in the evening there was launched a 94 gun ship, built from lines drawn by the tsar himself. All drank and feasted jovially. At night there were fireworks on the quay; and the public rejoicings lasted till 2 o'clock in the morning. On this occasion the foreign ministers inquired if there would be any notice to them to appear in mourning? They were told in reply, that there would be no mourning at all, because the prince had died as a criminal. On the 11th July (30th June O.S.), at nine o'clock, the body was placed in a grave in the Fortress in the new church, by the side of the crown-princess of blessed memory. At its burial there were present the tsar with his ministers, the tsaritsa, all the high clergy, the persons of quality, and the common people. During the procession, every minute the bells sounded,

[15] In his *Anecdotes of Peter the Great*, an earlier publication than the *Life*, Voltaire writes: 'What is certain is this, that the son died in his bed the day after he had been sentenced to die. . . . The father went to see his son as he was dying, and it is said that he shed tears. "Infelix! utcumque ferent ea fata nepotes!" (Voltaire has refrained from completing the quotation: "Vincet *amor patriæ*, *laudumque* immensa cupido.") But *notwithstanding his tears*, he continued to break upon the wheel the friends of his son, &c. (giving details). If Muscovy *has* been *civilised*, one must confess that this *politeness* has been *paid for rather dearly*.' The tsar, in his harangue to his court and council, told them that he had sacrificed his son to the safety of his empire' (vol. ii. p. 219).

and guns were fired, as at the funeral of a naval officer. The foreign ministers were not invited.' And then he gives an account how the Dutch resident De Bie had been arrested, his papers seized, and his house searched, &c.

In his letter to count Schönborn (18th July, or 7th o.s.) Pleyer wrote: 'In my last report of 15th July (4th o.s.) you saw an entirely simple account of the death and burial of the crown-prince, and of the outrage (*despect*) to which the Dutch resident has been subjected. All this I so wrote in order that if, as was likely, my letter were to be opened in the chancery here, nothing else might be found in it than what they have themselves here published and printed: a letter in cypher would have excited suspicion, and might have miscarried; while one written in the ordinary way, with a detailed account how the matter was according to my own opinion and that of nearly all people, might have drawn upon me affronts from the Russians. As regards the death of the crown-prince, which did *not* take place on the 8th (the 27th June o.s.), the Friday, *early in the morning*, as *was commonly reported*, but on the day before that (*i.e.* on the Thursday, 26th June o.s.), about 8 o'clock in the evening, they will have it to be believed and published that it was caused by a stroke; nevertheless there are whispered, both among the people of the court and in other classes of society, and among the principal foreigners and residents, positive assertions that he died by the *stroke* of a sword or axe (*i.e.* by violence). Such an account is confirmed by many circumstances, since this is certain and notorious, that nothing had been heard of any *illness*, and the day before[16] he had been tortured. On the day of his death a number of the chief of the clergy came together to him (*i.e.* to anoint him), and prince Menshikoff visited him, and scarcely any man was allowed to go into the Fortress; and towards the evening its gates were all closed. A Dutch carpenter, who was working on the new tower in the Fortress, and who remained up there to sleep the night, without being noticed, looked down in the evening from above and saw *in the chamber of torture* (in the '*pein-haus*,' *i.e.* in the casemate where was the chamber of torture, or '*zastienok*') the heads of some people, and he mentioned that to his wife's mother, a midwife, and she told it again to the Dutch resident. The body lay in a common coffin of sorry planks knocked together: the head was partly covered; and there was a napkin, as if for shaving, tucked under his chin, and folded around the neck. The tsar was on the following day and afterwards very merry. In the whole family of prince Menshikoff there was a jubilation perceptible; and they went in the evening even into the churches to thank God for it;[17] and he (prince Menshikoff) said to the foreign ministers that the crown-prince had died as a criminal: the tsaritsa, however, showed great grief and anxiety. . . .

'As regards the Dutch resident, his misfortune came from this, that he had sent off eight days back to his lords a report in which he related that all things here looked very ill; that he apprehended for certain an insur-

[16] Really on the Thursday, on which he died, the day before his death was made known; not on the Wednesday.

[17] On the 26th, for the eve of the anniversary of Poltava; and on the 28th, for that of the tsar's names-day.

rection; that the crown-prince had died on the evening of Thursday; that his little son was quite young; the tsar's son was also quite young, and feeble and sickly, and could not live long; and so he with those about him were not here secure of their lives, and he begged to be recalled. This despatch was, for his bad luck, opened in the post-office, taken to the posolski chancery, and translated; whereupon he was by the chancellor and vice-chancellor on the evening of the 13th of this month (2d o.s.) called to the posolski chancery; and no sooner was he out of his house, but there came a secret secretary with an officer and some grenadiers, occupied the rooms and offices, burst into the inner chambers, and demanded of his wife his written papers, and on refusal of the keys, the boxes, the bureau, and the writing-table were violently broken open, and all his papers taken out and carried off to the chancery. Meanwhile he himself was questioned how he knew that the crown-prince on *Thursday* evening was already dead? and how he came to say to people that he had *not* died of a stroke (of apoplexy)? and how he knew that the tsar's little prince could not live long? And he, to get out of the fright of his calamity, waved his right of exception from their jurisdiction (*der exception fori*) and answered; and at once confessed that about the time and manner of the death of the crown-prince he had been told[18] by the midwife above-mentioned; and about the little prince (though this was a thing generally known) his wife had often heard from the wife of the prince's body-physician (Dr. Blumentrost) that the young prince suffered much in teething. Hereupon the midwife, with her son-in-law and her daughter and the surgeon of the fleet (Major Hovy), were forthwith (on the morning of the 14th July N.S., 3d O.S.) arrested and brought into the Fortress; and probably it will cost both those men their heads. It was also imputed to him that he had once written from hence that here people of no birth have completely taken the upper hand, and only such as are from the lowest classes rise to eminence; but this he denied: whereupon the vice-chancellor, jesting, insulted him, and said: "You ask to be recalled, but please to know that you are not going to leave this country, and the tsar may well cause your head to be struck off." After that he was taken back to his own house by a secretary, and the grenadiers were sent away out of it. It was notified to the envoys of Prussia, Denmark, and Saxony, and to the Hanoverian resident, but not to me, that this had befallen the Dutch resident because he, as aforesaid, to the high prejudice and disrespect of the tsar, had written to his lords these accounts; but that it should be no prejudice to them; but the law of nations should be held sacred; that, however, they could hold no intercourse or correspondence with that resident until his affair was ended. We all met together the other day to confer about this matter, and the opinion of the envoys was, that, inasmuch as here there is nothing but arbitrary power, written protests would be of little effect, and would only make us objects of suspicion. We preferred that each should write to his own sovereign, and wait to receive from him farther instructions for his future conduct; and so the

[18] De Bie himself writes to the States of Holland, that he was told of the time by the surgeon major Hovy, but of kissing the hand of the deceased tsarevich from the midwife.

matter stands. But whereas from this proceeding it appears how insecure and dangerous it now is here to communicate any circumstantial and exact information to one's lord, since one so exposes one's-self to the danger of suffering violence and his lord to such disrespect—and to send letters in cypher, if they are opened here at the post-office and made a ground for suspicion of all kinds of offences, comes to the same thing—I humbly betake myself to your imperial majesty, to ask what you may be graciously pleased to direct and to adopt as necessary measures as well for the maintenance of international right, which has been violated here in respect of the residents, as to re-establish for the future greater security for correspondence and information.

'There is a manifesto already set up in type, and 800 copies ready, in which the criminality of the crown-prince and of all his adherents is proclaimed; but that they are in a great perplexity and know not how to put a good colour on the affair is manifest from this, that they have already twice altered and corrected it, having both cut out much and added much, and again suppressed the same that they had added. I have been informed for certain that in this document as first set up in type there was mention of a correspondence kept up through me with the prince. Whether that is true, and whether anything about me has been left in it, or all cut out, the copies will show when they are published. And since the Dutch resident in his letters had mentioned the Hanoverian resident, from whom he had also received a letter, and they will impute to me as an offence all correspondence with him, I have ground for apprehending that he, among other persons, may also have named me; and so they may at any moment fall suddenly on me, and seize all my papers. On this account I and the Hanoverian resident have burned all our former reports; that they may find nothing to take hold of; though we do not mean to admit their right of cognisance (*ihrem forum*). . . .

'I have farther to add, that from writings of the crown-prince it will appear that he would, on coming to the throne, have cast off from himself the prince and princess begotten by him of the crown-princess of happy memory, whom he called the German *shackle* (fassel), and would have declared his heirs those children that he hoped to have by his mistress. In the plot of the crown-prince there is said to have been compromised also the widowed consort of the tsar's late brother, on which account she is kept closely watched in her house, though this, out of consideration for her two daughters, the duchesses of Mecklenburg and Courland, is kept a secret. The mistress, who is the only person who moved through her persuasion the crown-prince to return, is said now to be on that account in great favour with the tsar and the tsaritsa, because she both by word of mouth and by revealing his letters secretly discovered (to them) his dangerous designs.

'The great favour which the tsar and the tsaritsa, according to the account of the governess Madame Rohin, show to the orphan prince and princess is something indescribable: the tsar calls them his own children; and quite recently, before he left for Revel, he took both of them, but especially the young prince, and kissed them on the eyes, forehead, cheeks, and mouth, repeatedly pressed them to his breast, and repeatedly

said before Madame Rohin that he saw how God had chosen these princes to be the future sovereigns of Russia, and his worthy successors. It has not only been reported of the tsar and the tsaritsa, but also confirmed by some signs, that the governess, in aid of the maintenance of these young princes, is to have all the landed property which, after the return of the crown-prince and his disinheritance, prince Menshikoff and the senator Apraxin had taken from him and divided between them, and that they will have to give it all up to her forthwith: and as the tsaritsa is a secret enemy of Menshikoff, many expect his speedy fall. The common people show every day more and more their ardent love and affection for these children; and when they go out to walk in their garden, the people crowd about the garden-palisades, and one of them thrusts another aside, from any chink there may be, that he too may get a look through it at the children. The senator (Peter) Apraxin has been forbidden to go any more to them. On the other hand, before long, at the request of Madame Rohin, the '*Torten*-chef' and President of the College of War and the tsar's privy councillor Adam Weyde is to be appointed oberhofmeister to this little prince, and a small establishment and court is to be set up' (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. App. 187, p. 545).

7. *The Dutch resident James De Bie* (as has appeared in part above from the reports sent by Pleyer to Vienna) had, at the end of June, written a report to the States of Holland, that at Petersburg they feared an insurrection; that the crown-prince had died on the Thursday *from laceration of the muscles*;[19] that his son was quite young, while the son of the tsar was weak, sickly, and not likely to live long. In consequence of this, fearing for his own safety, he begged to be recalled. This report was opened in the post-office, translated into Russ, and delivered to the highest authorities. The chancellor count Golovkin and the vice-chancellor baron Shaphiroff called, on the evening of the 2d July o.s., the resident De Bie to the posolski chancery, and by their vehement reproaches, and even threats of death, so terrified him that in his fright he forgot himself, and told them that about the death of the tsarevich he had heard from a midwife employed by his wife and named Maria Von Husse. The next day she was taken to the Fortress and there questioned,[20] together with her daughter and her son-in-law Hermann Bowles (the same Dutch carpenter who is mentioned by Pleyer).

The points on which the midwife Maria Von Husse was questioned were the following: 1. Did she tell the resident De Bie about the death of the prince? in what words? and from whom had she heard that? 2. Did she tell the resident that about noon, before the death of the tsarevich, in the house of her daughter, they prepared the dinner for him (the prince), and that she saw how the prince ate?

Maria Hendrichs Von Husse stated that she was with the wife of the resident on the Sunday, in the afternoon, on the 29th June, after the

[19] But in the French of De Bie himself it is 'veines:' the Russian word *jilia*, which no doubt was used or translated by whoever first told the story, means *both* muscles and veins.

[20] These were, as it seems, merely questioned verbally, and allowed to deny everything, so as to make out the Dutch resident to have been a liar.

death of the prince; and the resident's wife while talking with her said, among other things: 'So the prince is dead.' She replied: 'I trust that God has received his soul: I think that on Thursday last he was ill, because nobody was allowed to go past.' The resident's wife said to that: 'It was very sudden.' After that they went to the resident's daughter. On Thursday last she was with her own daughter, who said nothing about the prince: her daughter on that Thursday was complaining that the cook and the servants of the prince were in her house; the kitchen they took away by order of the commandant; and she on that day did not see what they prepared as food; in like manner as to the food carried out by them, she, Maria Von Husse, told nothing about that to the resident's wife: the other informations also were not from her.

Her daughter, Elizabeth Heldorp, said: 'Neither with the resident nor with his wife have I ever, from my birth, spoken a word; nor have I ever been in their house.' Her mother on Thursday last, 26th June, was with her. On that day there were sentinels[21] posted before the barrack in the afternoon, and they allowed no one to go past. The prince's cooks prepared victuals in her house thirteen days. She said to her mother: 'Maybe the prince is very ill, because they let nobody pass.' The sentinels stood opposite to her doors, near the chamber of torture (the *zastienok*). She on that day was with her mother from 5 to 8 o'clock in the evening in the house of the wife of the apothecary Behr; and about (public) matters[22] they said nothing. After that she accompanied her mother out of the Fortress as far as the bridge, and returned back to her own house. On the Friday[23] (27th June o.s.) in the morning, about 8 o'clock, she first heard of the death of the prince. In the following week, on the Wednesday, she was with her mother in her mother's house, and while in conversation with her she said: 'The prince is dead.' Her mother replied: 'I know it.' In her house on Thursday (the 26th) they had cooked and carried out victuals for dinner, and for supper; but who ate of them she knew not; her mother seeing that the victuals were brought back, asked, 'What are those victuals?' She replied: 'They are brought from the prince's table.' It was about an hour and a half after noon. On the Friday in the morning they baked in her house *pirogi*, and the baker (*khlebnik*) said to her: 'These pirogi are for funeral commemoration; the prince is dead.' Of his death she heard from nobody except from the cooks, the soldiers, and the denshchiks of the officers.

8. *Orders made by the tsar ('Resolutions') upon an extract from a report about certain prisoners.*

Having heard this extract, on the 5th July A.D. 1718, his majesty the tsar, being then in his palace, ordered thus:

i. Upon all the extracts, except in the case of the prince Basil Dolgo-

[21] Those sentinels would hear the shrieks and groans of the tsarevich when he was being tortured, though this is not recorded: it *is* recorded that the sentinels in or near the palace heard the shrieks and groans of the tsar Peter during his prolonged agony a few years later.

[22] lit. '*o delach*,' of affairs: the word so used alone means commonly, *judicial* or public matters, matters of official duty or service, or simply of business.

[23] The day on which De Bie was called to the posolski chancery.

rouky, the decision is to be made by the senators, and whatever sentences they pass, they are to write of that to his majesty, but not to execute them till they have his order. But if they judge that any one is to be put to the question, let him be put to the question.

ii. The girl Euphrosyne is to be given in charge to the commandant, to be in his house; she is to live with his family, and if she wishes to go out anywhither, she is to be allowed to go, with his people.[24]

iii. The denshchik Orloff is to be sent under guard to the island of Kotlin: and Hameptoff is to be tortured a second time. And if, when put a second time to the question, he says the same as he said the first time, and states nothing against Orloff, in that case he, Orloff, is to be sent for a time to the galleys, without any other punishment.

iv. All the original (letters and papers) are to be given over to the posolski prikaz, and to be put in the strong caserne (*kazarmou*).

v. But the letters of the tsarevich to his relations, and the letters of the hossoudar, are to be delivered in to the cabinet.

vi. The bishop of Kieff and the archimandrite of the Pechersky are to be set at liberty (where they are) on the road, and allowed to go back to Kieff.

vii. The foreign carpenter is to be taken and ordered to finish the pointed roof (of the new tower in the Fortress).

9. *Peter I. to the emperor Charles VI., 6th July* 1718, *from Petersburg.*

Though we in our letter written to your imperial majesty from Moscow on the 18th March made a sufficient representation about the improper behaviour of your resident at our court Pleyer, and besides that, through our resident at your court Veselovsky explained what just and well-founded reasons for complaint we had against him, Pleyer, and on that account ordered him to make instances with your imperial majesty for his recall from our court, nevertheless since such a resolution as we expected from your renown in the world for equity and rightmindedness, and such as the friendship and good relations established between both our exalted houses for so many years required, has not hitherto ensued, we have thought it proper to send as a special envoy to your imperial majesty our adjutant-general baron Levenvold, and we have ordered him, in conjunction with our aforesaid resident Veselovsky, to submit circumstantially, with due respect to your imperial majesty, in our name, how it is known to us that your majesty's resident (though we cannot remember that we ever did anything ungracious towards him, but rather always, in consideration of the friendship of your imperial majesty, treated him with honour, which he in truth cannot deny, nevertheless he) during his residence here, when the character of resident had already been given him, wrote in all his reports only what was to our prejudice and that of our court and interests, and what tended to cause a quarrel between your imperial majesty and ourselves; nevertheless we constantly wished and strove to preserve close friendship with your imperial majesty. It would have been possible for us still to endure, even though he wrote what was

[24] Miller writes that she married an officer of the garrison, *i.e.* of the Fortress of St. Petersburg, and survived the tsarevich thirty years.

unfriendly, if only it were consistent with truth; for it is the duty of every minister who is at a foreign court to report to his high principal what comes to his knowledge; but we feel sure that your imperial majesty has yourself from reading them perceived that his aforesaid reports consist chiefly of unfounded and false notices invented only to do prejudice to us and to our interest, and, as has been said above, with no other intention than only that of disturbing and destroying the friendship happily established between our two houses for so many years past. But for what reasons he so acted we know not. And though we, as regards this, in our former letter stated sufficient examples of his bad intention towards us, still after that it appeared even yet more plainly from his conduct; of which the bearer of this, together with our resident Veselovsky, has orders to make a circumstantial report to your majesty. And since we hitherto have been so very anxious to preserve our close and very intimate friendship with your imperial majesty, therefore, in consideration of this, we have been unwilling so to fail of friendly and brotherly regard as to neglect to ask you whether it will not be more suitable for the advantage and interest of us both, to keep at our court such a minister as may be zealous not only for the maintenance but also for the confirmation and extension of the friendship existing between us, such a one as should not by his untruthful reports lead your imperial majesty into adverse opinions, but should write the very truth? Besides this, we absolutely cannot, however much we might desire to be able, feel towards the aforesaid Pleyer any confidence, nor with hope of any good order any communications on any matter that may occur to be made to him, which often, and especially under present circumstances, is very desirable. For he not only puts another interpretation upon all that is communicated to him by our ministers, but also he immediately communicates all conversations held with him to all the other foreign ministers, especially to the Hanoverian and the Dutch residents, and from the last it all goes into the public journals. In like manner it has often happened with respect to orders which he had received from your imperial majesty to make some representation to our court, that our ministers have been informed of the same from other foreign ministers some time before he himself said anything, and sometimes even he never said anything at all about the matter. However, one may suppose that he wrote in his reports to your imperial majesty of the same matters (as if he had made the communication he was ordered to make) and gave answers from our court invented by himself; and your imperial majesty can yourself easily judge how sensibly we must feel both these his proceedings, which were represented to your imperial majesty in our former letter, and those which have been discovered since, that is, his dealings and secret communications with some faithless men of our subjects, whom he, as we think, through the false expectations raised by him, greatly encouraged in their evil design, as will be by word of mouth more fully reported to your majesty by our aforenamed envoy. And whether this his conduct is consistent with the honour and character of a minister sent from such a great monarch as is your majesty, and whether he has not transgressed (so as to forfeit) those privileges which his character of envoy, according to international right, ought to obtain for him, we leave to the judgment of your

imperial majesty. And though we had a sufficient cause and the right to resent that conduct, and could not have endured it from the minister of any other power, still we have determined to leave all this to that justice and equity of your imperial majesty which is celebrated in all the world, with the confidence that your imperial majesty will not fail to resent the wrong done us by your above-mentioned resident, and to give us just satisfaction against him; and at the same time to take yourself into your highly-enlightened consideration this question: What advantage can you have from the continuance of this your resident at our court? and that so, according to the general rule that it is proper to send an acceptable envoy, you will be pleased to show respect to our request in this matter. Farther, we refer, both on this subject, and for the removal and eradication of all the false insinuations made to your imperial majesty against us by our open and secret enemies and maligners, to the oral representations of the aforementioned two persons, which we in a friendly and brotherly way hereby beg your imperial majesty to hear from them with good will, and to give to what they say full credit. They will also have the honour both to testify more at length to your imperial majesty of our perfect accuracy in this matter, and also to testify how much we desire not only to keep up the old friendship, but also to enter into the *closest* friendship with your imperial majesty. Herewith we wish your imperial majesty from the Most High health and a prosperous reign for many years. Given at St. Petersburg, 6th July A.D. 1718, in the 37th year of our reign. Your majesty's good brother, *Peter.* *Count Golovkin.*

10. *Reports of the Secret Conference to the emperor Charles VI.*

i. *Aug.* 23 (*12th* O.S.), A.D. 1718. Having examined the reports of Pleyer written in July in cypher, the Conference represented to the emperor that for false assertions about the court of Vienna in the manifesto concerning the affair of the tsarevich, for affronts put upon the resident without justifying reasons, for the probable murder of the imperial courier Boulanger by order of the Muscovite court, it is proper in due time to demand satisfaction; but now to recall the resident Pleyer, and to appoint no other in his room;[25] but to recompense him for the unmerited loss of his place; to question Veselovsky whether he has received any answer to the last letters of the emperor to his court, and unless there shall be a satisfactory answer, to forbid him to appear at court; meanwhile to keep him under surveillance, and not let him go away. For the tsarevich not to go into mourning, both because this would of itself be unsuitable, and because the tsar has not communicated to the court of Vienna any official information (of his death). *Resolution of the emperor:* 'Placet. *Carl.*'

ii. *Sept.* 30 (*19th* O.S.), A.D. 1718, on occasion of the arrival of the tsar's adjutant-general, Lewold, with a letter of the 6th July. Lewold proposed friendship, and the final conclusion of the treaty which had been set on foot, adding that as his sovereign knew that the emperor was displeased on certain accounts, he had been sent to make an explanation. As for what concerned the duke of Mecklenburg, the tsar intervened on

[25] The Conference of 21st March 1719 declared him completely free from blame, and continued to him his salary till he should be appointed to a new place.

his behalf only so far that he should be still reigning duke; and in conclusion Lewold complained against Pleyer. Respecting the duke of Mecklenburg, there were made to him explanations by the vice-chancellor count Schönborn, who told him that there was no question of deposing the duke, but only that he should not take more power over the noblesse than had belonged to his ancestors; but if he wishes for anything more, he ought to seek it not by such tyrannical force, but by making application to your majesty as the supreme judge, and awaiting your decision. Lewold himself did not justify the duke in his tyrannical proceedings; he even intimated that the tsar had more than once cautioned him, and that not long ago he advised him to show due obedience to your majesty: finally, he promised to report all to his court, and declared that the tsar will not meddle in the affairs of Mecklenburg.

When report had been made of all this to the Conference, count Zinzendorf presented a manifesto of the tsar printed in Holland, in which there is mention of your majesty as having given protection to the tsarevich, who showed here to Veselovsky an original letter written to him, the tsarevich, by the vice-chancellor count Schönborn, who communicated (to the tsarevich) a certain extract, of his secretary Keil, and the resident Pleyer. The deputies appointed by your majesty, prince Eugene of Savoy, count Zinzendorf, and count Schönborn, considered three points: 1. What reply should be made to the tsar, to his letter of the 6th July; 2. What should be said by word of mouth to Lewold; 3. What is to be done here with Veselovsky?

As regards the first point, they advise, to answer the tsar very briefly that you have received his letter of the 6th July, but cannot tell from it whether it is meant to be an answer to your majesty's letter of the 8th May about Pleyer, and that therefore you could not explain yourself with Lewold more particularly: one thing only you cannot refrain from saying, viz. that you always wished that any manifestoes of the tsar about the affair of the tsarevich might be worded with the discreet caution usual among civilised nations; but that as regards the tsar's proceeding with his son, you leave that to his own paternal heart. But in order to show the groundlessness of the statements published to all the world, and in order to give a better idea of your court, you find yourself obliged to order a faithful account to be composed of all that occurred during the stay here of the tsarevich, and to append it to the letter which contains a courteous expression of gratitude for the declaration made by Lewold of the tsar's friendship.

As for the second point, to say to Lewold that your majesty does not find Pleyer to have been in the least to blame; that he reported as it was his duty to do; that his friendship with the residents of Hanover and Holland, allies of the empire, was very natural. Besides that, to repeat what has been said to him about the affairs of Mecklenburg. But if he wishes to remain here longer, to intimate to him that there is nothing for him to do here. Three weeks after his departure for Moscow to make a public declaration respecting all, with all the appendices, to the imperial diet at Ratisbonne, and to the other courts, through our ministers.

As respects the third point, the Conference thinks it a duty to observe

how arbitrarily and unbecomingly the tsar deals with the foreign ministers at his court; consequently one may fear also for Pleyer: for this reason the Conference proposes to detain Veselovsky here, under pretence of his having to receive an answer from his court, till Pleyer shall be out of danger.[26] Though now all correspondence with the tsar is broken off, the Conference thinks the less of this, because between your majesty and the tsar things have gone so far, that to restore mutual accord is now beyond the ability of ministers, but needs rather some third mediating power. *Resolution of the emperor:* 'Placet in toto. *Carl.*'

11. *The emperor Charles VI. to Peter I., 19th Oct.* 1718, *from Vienna.*

From your majesty's letter of the 6th of July last, delivered to us by your minister Lewold, it does not appear whether it is meant to be an answer to that which we on the 8th May of this year wrote to you in reply to the complaints made to us against our imperial resident Otto Pleyer; and having by (mentioning) this sufficiently declared our thoughts to your above-mentioned minister, there is an answer, both to this (matter of the complaints against Pleyer) and to the other matters represented by him to us, to be reported to your majesty. Of one thing it still remains for us to make mention, viz. that we, to our regret, have perceived from the *Heads*, published now a second time, *about the affair of the most serene tsarevich*, and printed, as appears from their title, by command of your majesty, that in them not only is there frequent mention of us and of our court, but besides that, in some places even suspicions of it are expressed, which ought, as it seems to us, either to have been unmentioned till the matter was more fully investigated, or otherwise expressed, so as to respect the rules of good manners observed among nations; but all the rest, which might have been most serviceable for the knowledge of this affair, is not mentioned at all. And so, in order that your majesty in future may not believe such unfounded reports, and that people may think more justly of us and of our court, which does all in conformity with our own commands, we have given orders to describe circumstantially and with all fairness the abode of the above-mentioned tsarevich in our dominions, and his departure from them, and to send the same to your majesty. Withal we wish your majesty to be assured that we on all occasions are ready to respond to your friendship; and now, wishing you all prosperity, we remain, &c. (Oustrialoff, *Hist.* &c. vol. vi. p. 570).

12. In August A.D. 1718 the villages and villas (*derevni i mizi*) of the tsarevich were annexed to the chamber (*komnata*) of his children, the grand prince and the grand princess (*knjatja*). The tsarevich had possessed of derevnias: in the riding of Novgorod, in the *landrathstvo* of Ladoga, the Ladoga *riadki*, given from the house of his majesty the tsar, viz. the Siasski, Troitski, Iziatski, Nemiatovski, Gliadkovski, Krenitski, Doubenski, Souski, Kouznetsovshtschina, and Berezie; from the volost of

[26] After the receipt at Vienna of news that Pleyer was at Memel, the Conference, on the 10th Feb. A.D. 1719, proposed to intimate to Veselovsky that, as the tsar had forbidden Pleyer to appear at court, and so had forced him to ask to be recalled, the farther stay of Veselovsky at Vienna was considered unnecessary; and it was ordered that he should leave Vienna within eight days.

Somersk the Osminskaia sotnia (hundred), with its derevnias; in the riding of Koporie the Kourovitskaia Miza (same as *Selo Rojdestvenno*), with its derevnias. Besides the riadki above mentioned, there had been purchased in the Ladoga landrathstvo the derevnias Lidnia and Kivgoda; in the government of Nijgorod, in the riding of Alatorsk, the Porietskaia volost, with its derevnias. At Petersburg he possessed the half of a house which stands together with the house (*dom*) of the grand prince (his son Peter Alexievich); in the second line a succursal house (*dvor*); beyond the new brick-fields on the Neva the dvor Kokous, with the derevnia Koupsina; and the Petrovski dvor.

13. There are preserved inventories of all the movable and personal property left at his death, and notes of what was done with many articles of it. So on the 3d Nov. A.D. 1718, by oukaz of the tsar, a number of things, which were in the boxes of the tsarevich, were delivered to hospodin lieutenant-general Boutourlin, to be given to th girl Euphrosyne 'of her things' (chiefly pieces of cloths, silks, and articles of wearing apparel). Other things (stuffs, brocades, &c.) were taken by the tsaritsa Catherine, June 19, A.D. 1719, or sent by her order to the Nefsky monastery to the archimandrite Theodosius (church books, and man's wearing apparel), 7th Dec. A.D. 1718. Other articles of female attire, &c., were by her order delivered on the 10th Sept. to Krechetnikoff adjutant of lieutenant-general Boutourlin, to be given by Boutourlin to Euphrosyne. About 4000 ducats in money were sent to the pomiestni prikaz, and some objects of value in gold and silver and jewels were sent to Moscow. On the 25th Dec. A.D. 1718 the cabinet-secretary (Makaroff) took and gave to the tsaritsa Catherine a gold repeater watch with a black ribbon, and a gold watch-chain.

14. There is a schedule of 13th Sept. A.D. 1718, sent by Peter Tolstoy, of the properties confiscated at St. Petersburg and Moscow in consequence of the Souzdal and Kikin secret inquests, distinguishing that which has *not* been granted away from that which has. From this list it appears that grants had been made out of such property to lieutenant-captain Skorniakoff-Pisareff, to the confessor Timothy Basilieff, to the privy-councillor Tolstoy, to the diak Palechin, to the priest John Chrysanthovich, and others: and in particular to Alexander Roumiantsoff, by oukaz of 13th Dec. A.D. 1718, there had been granted from the property of Alexander Kikin 456 dvors, and from that of Cyril Matiushkin 208 dvors. To Peter Tolstoy at the same time from the property of Abram Loponchin 1090 dvors (19,728 chetverts of land), and from that of Theodore Doubrovsky 228 dvors. To Gregory Skorniakoff-Pisareff, by oukaz of 14th Jan. A.D. 1719, from the property of Theodore Doubrovsky 13, from that of Basil Dolgorouky 38, and from that of Alexander Loponchin 76 dvors. To major Oushakoff, at the same date, from the property of Theodore Doubrovsky 31, from that of the tsarevich of Siberia 97, and from that of Basil Dolgorouky 30 dvors. To lieutenant general Boutourlin, by oukaz of the same date, from the property of the tsarevich of Siberia 159, and from that of Basil Dolgorouky 660 dvors (ib. p. 578). So Peter Tolstoy's reward was 1318, Boutourlin's 819, Roumiantsoff's 661, Oushakoff's 138, and Pisareff's 127 dvors.

15. On the 13th Dec. A.D. 1718 Peter wrote to the senate an oukaz dated at St. Petersburg, thus:

Gentlemen of the senate. For rendering such a great service not only to me, but rather to all the country (*otéchestvo*, patria), in bringing back him who was by birth my son, but in deed a malefactor and a destroyer of his father and his country, there is granted to Peter Tolstoy the rank of *actual* privy-councillor, also the derevnias of Abram Lopouchin, and the Pereyaslaff derevnias of Theodore Doubrovsky (the one with a house on it, and the other without), which they held by grant and by lordship, but not those which belonged to Abram Lopouchin by grant from the palace domains, or in right of his wife; and according to this oukaz you are to do in the senate. *Peter.*

And on the same day there was an oukaz promoting Alexander Roumiantsoff to be major from the guards and adjutant-general, and granting to him (certain) derevnias of Alexander Kikin and Cyril Matiushkin.

16. There is an undated letter (printed by Oustrialoff from the Vienna archives) from the referendary Dolberg to count Schönborn, written probably in the middle of A.D. 1719, to show that it is *not advisable* to publish the details of the tsarevich's stay in the emperor's dominions; and in fact the narrative drawn up by count Schönborn was not published till in our own time, when it was copied and published by Oustrialoff.

'Nearly a year has now passed since the publication of the last manifesto of the tsar; consequently it is too late to make a mere relation of that which took place here: there would be need of a circumstantial work, requiring for its composition much time. But for this the present subject is quite unsuitable: one must either relate the *truth*, as your excellency has done in your paper, or embellish, and change some things (in your account).

'In the first case one publishes the shame and weakness of the tsarevich after his death: the unmannerly vehemence with which he demanded, on first entering your excellency's room, to see the emperor and the empress shows how little discretion he had, and still more, it shows ignorance and want of manners; his asking for drink in the midst of his complaints and his agitation shows his light-mindedness; his assertion that he had always loved and honoured his father is difficult to reconcile with what he said afterwards, when he called his father a cruel tyrant, who sought his destruction, and spared not either property or life. By this there is only confirmed the main accusation of the tsar's manifesto, that the tsarevich spoke so ill of his father in the court here. And though he excused his own incapacity partly on the ground of nature, partly on that of his bad education, still all the same he admitted it; consequently, to publish that to all the world is the same thing as to justify the tsar, who considered him unfit to reign. Such reflections arise of themselves on reading the account in that form in which your excellency has composed it. But if one adds to this what passed here till he left Naples, and inserts both the instruction given to the viceroy of Naples and his reports, then again the tsarevich is lowered: for when he had so obstinately refused before to return, protesting that it would cost him his life, he afterwards, with no

less levity, *after speaking some words with Tolstoy, and with his mistress*,[27] decided to return, showing thereby his inconstancy.

'Against the imperial court it might be imputed as a reproach that it, as appears from your excellency's composition, intimated to the tsarevich at Ehrenberg that he must put away from himself a certain woman, but afterwards it let her go with him to Naples, and even into the castle of St. Elmo.

'It would be absolutely necessary to print in full the reports of the viceroy, and his instructions; but in that case there will be found people to say that the court here itself required, or at least wished for, the return of the tsarevich; for it was said in the instructions that if he consented voluntarily to return, they were to execute his wish at once; but if he absolutely refused, they were not even then to end the matter till they received fresh orders, but were to ask Tolstoy to have patience.

'But if these and other circumstances, as they are set forth by your excellency, were to be altered or suppressed, and the reports of the viceroy printed only in part, this will excite suspicion, and people will say that the most essential and most telling[28] part of the story has not been published.

'I think that there is a sufficient justification of the court here in that letter alone of the emperor which he wrote to the tsar on the 8th of May A.D. 1718, and which is known to all the world. But why do I not wish to publish anything which may tell unfavourably against the tsarevich? Why, because this justifies the tsar's hatred against him; and so those Russians who honour the memory of the tsarevich, and expect hereafter everything that is good for his children, may easily be inspired with contempt for the dead and with indifference towards his heirs.'

17. In the minute-book of the Chancery of the Fortress of St. Petersburg, after the death and funeral of the tsarevich, there are still some entries connected with the unfinished proceedings against others who had had relations with him.

*July* 2. The tsarevna Maria Alexievna was taken from the Fortress under guard and carried back to Schlüsselburg. On the 3d the under-master, who is making the *spire over the sobor*, was arrested, together with his wife and his mother-in-law. Also there was brought in under guard the teacher of the tsarevich Alexis, Nikiphor Viazemsky. On the 5th, after the liturgy, at eleven o'clock, his majesty and the most illustrious prince left Petersburg for an expedition by sea. On the 18th the shpitz-meister with his wife and mother-in-law were set at liberty. On the 26th prince Basil Dolgorouky, by oukaz of his majesty, was sent off from St. Petersburg into exile, to Soli-Kamsk, under guard.

*Aug.* 4. The metropolitan of Riazan celebrated the liturgy in the sobor for the repose of the soul of the tsarevich, and went to his tomb to sing a pannychid, it being the fortieth day. On the 5th Nikiphor Bogdanoff and his wife and the princess Lvoff were set at liberty.

*Oct.* 7. There were taken under guard to the chancery of secret affairs

[27] After the secretary and the viceroy had done what they had done to assist Tolstoy by alarming him. See p. 1298, and p. 1299.

[28] 'The most essential and most telling part of the story,' however, did not appear at all in the viceroy's reports.

the servants of the tsarevich, Yakoff Nosoff, Ivan Theodoroff, Peter Soudakoff, Ivan Athanasieff minor, and the Riga podiak Ivan Protopopoff; and the same day they were sent off to the prince Matthew Pet. Gagarin (governor of Tobolsk and Siberia). On the 29th there were set free from the Fortress and allowed to go to their quarters Simeon Narishkin, Kozlovsky, prince Lvoff, (Basil) Gleboff, and prince Nicholas Tscherbatoff.

*Dec.* 1. His majesty and the rest came to the Fortress, to the chancery of inquisitorial secret affairs, and there was a chamber of torture (a *zastenok*), in which he was pleased to be present himself, at eight o'clock from midnight (*i.e.* at eight A.M.). There came from the house of his majesty his house-soldier Sergius Kondratieff, and took the *medziagji yashchik* with the instruments (of torture?). On the 8th, by oukaz of his majesty, there was an execution: they punished capitally, in consequence of his majesty's secret inquests, near the gostinni dvor and the Trinity church, at the entrance to the Dvorianskaia sloboda, Abram Lopouchin, the diak Voronoff, the late protopope and ex priest Yakoff Ignatieff, Ivan Athanasieff major, and Theodore Doubrovsky: these were beheaded. There were knouted the podiak Gregory Nosovich, Theodore Everlakoff, Athanasius Timireff, Kanbar Akynthieff, and prince Theodore Tscherbatoff, whose tongue was cut out and his nostrils slit. On the 10th the heads of those above mentioned as capitally punished were stuck on a stone pillar on iron spikes, and their bodies put on pillars on wheels, and this pillar was set up near to the provision-market itself, which is behind the kronwerk; but till this day their bodies had lain still on the spot where they had been executed.

A.D. 1719, *March* 11. By oukaz of his majesty, there was punished with death the fraulein of the household of her majesty the tsaritsa Maria Danilovna [Hamilton, a native of the German sloboda at Moscow, celebrated for her beauty, executed for *the murder* of her *illegitimate child*]: she was beheaded: she had been (before) kept in the Fortress under guard. On the names-day of the late tsarevich (the 17th) there was no service of commemoration for him in the sobor: only after the hours the priest of Bielozersk went to his tomb with a short *litcia*. On the 29th, Easter-Sunday, there was an order, through the sergeant Selivanoff, from the hospodin brigadier and major of the body-guard Oushakoff, to take down the bodies of those who had been executed (Abram Lopouchin, &c.) from the wheels, and give them to their relations for burial: and so it was done.

*Nov.* 16, at five o'clock P.M., there was brought into the Fortress from Schlüsselburg the tsarevna Maria, and put in the best rooms of the platz-major.

*Dec.* 24. There was a verbal order of his high-princely splendour (Menshikoff) that no letters whatever should be allowed to go from the tsarevna Maria, nor to come to her from any one, without special order; to allow none of her servants to go out from the *gorod*, nor let any one come in to her or to her servants; and to keep her priest in the same way (this order to be enforced strictly); no poor persons whatever to be admitted to the house where she is, that no disturbance be manifested. Such an order was given under signature of the commandant to the podpolkovnik Golovin,

24th Dec.; but the order had come from the most illustrious prince as long before as the 14th.

A.D. 1720, *Feb.* 19, at two o'clock P.M., all the gentlemen persons of distinction assembled at the Post-office, and there was a merrymaking, at which his majesty the tsar and her majesty the hossoudarina the tsaritsa were present, in commemoration of the *betrothal* of his majesty's second marriage; and in the evening, at ten o'clock P.M., there were amusements, rockets and other fireworks were let off, and the Sunday flag was hoisted on the Fortress.

A.D. 1721, *June* 13. The hossoudarina the tsarevna Maria Alexievna was taken out from the Fortress across the Great Neva to her own house, which was that of the kabinet-secretary Makaroff.

APPENDIX VI. *In connection with the death of the tsarevich Alexis, and with p.* 1481.

*Accounts of receipts and expenditure of the Secret Chancery in* 1718.

The Secret Chancery of Inquests was instituted by Peter I., in Feb. 1718, as an extraordinary commission, to make inquest into the offences of his wife the tsaritsa Eudocia and his son the tsarevich Alexis. Its members were Peter Andr. Tolstoy, Andrew Iv. Oushakoff, Ivan Iv. Boutourlin, and Gregory Greg. Skorniakoff Pisareff. It obtained money for its own expenses from the sale of the confiscated effects of the persons condemned. The first money so obtained by it was from the property of Alexander Kikin, the prince Basil Vlad. Dolgorouky, and others.

After the end of the Souzdal and Kikin inquests, in August (March A.D. 1718) Peter went from Moscow to Petersburg, there to finish the process of the tsarevich, and together with him the Secret Chancery also moved to the new capital. From that time the present account-book begins.

On the 27th, 28th, and 30th June, by special oukaz, &c., with countersign of the major Andrew Ivanovich (Oushakoff), for purchase of various things necessary for the burial of the tsarevich Alexis Petrovich: for making the coffin, for black velvet, for gold-embroidered silk, for black cloth, for silver lace, for cotton-wool, for white damask, for a piece of Holland cloth, for spades, for nails, for carpenter's and tailor's work, for twenty one men, and for wax candles, and for incense, and for linen cloth, on which the coffin was laid or set down, in all, 207 rubles 9 altines 2 dengi, from the above-mentioned money of Kikin.

On the 30th, by special oukaz, &c., there was distributed at the funeral of the tsarevich, for accompanying the procession (*clatio*) and for his burial, to the archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, hieromonachs, sacristans, hierodiakons, protodiakons, and protopopes of the parish churches, priests, deacons, singers of the tsar and of the bishops, and to the clerks, as follows: To the bishop of Riazan 15 rubles; to the bishops of Souzdal, Kroutitz, *Pskoff*, Vologda, Tver, Novgorod, *Alexandria*, *Stavropolis* 7 rubles each; so in all to the bishops 71 rubles: to the archimandrites of Troitsa and of the Nefsky 5 rubles each; to those of the Kyrilloff, Antonieff, and Dereviannitsky 3 rubles each; making 19 rubles: to the teacher Gabriel 3 rubles; to the protopope of the Isakieff 3 rubles, and of the Petropaulovsk 2 rubles, to the protopopes of Troitsa and of Smolensk,

who celebrated at the Troitsky sobor, 3 rubles and 2 rubles; making 13 rubles: to twelve hieromonachs and sacristans 1 ruble each; making 12 rubles: to nine black deacons a poltina each; making 4 rubles and a poltina: to nine subdeacons half a poltina each; making 2 rubles 8 altines 2 dengi: to four protodeacons a poltina each; making 2 rubles: to the parish priests of the Troitsa, the Voskresensky, the Nicholas, Isaac, and Samson sobors, and to those who had come with their bishops from other dioceses, being in all eighteen, 1 ruble each; making 18 rubles: to the tsar's deacon Anthimogenes 1 ruble: to fifteen deacons of the above-mentioned churches a poltina each; making 7 rubles and a poltina: to the tsar's singers, to the director of the choir (the *oustavchik*) Basil Eudokimoff 1 ruble and a poltina, to the rest, fifteen in number, 1 ruble each; and to other patriarchal singers brought from Moscow, and others from other dioceses, eighteen in all, a poltina each; making 25 rubles and a poltina: to the singers of the bishops of Riazan, Souzdal, Kroutitz, Pskoff, Vologda, Tver, Novgorod, Alexandria, and Stauropolis, in nine divisions, 3 rubles to each division; making 27 rubles: to twenty-nine clerks and psalm-readers (*psalomshtchiki*) a grivna each; making 2 rubles 30 altines: total, 216 rubles 22 altines, from the same money of Kikin.

July 4, by special oukaz, &c., for celebrating the liturgy for the repose of the soul of the tsarevich, &c., of blessed memory, to the bishop of Kroutitz 4 rubles, to the protopope of the Petropaulovsk 1 ruble and a poltina, to the black priest 1 ruble, to the priest of the Petropaulovsk 1 ruble, to four deacons a poltina each; making 2 rubles: to two subdeacons a poltina each, to the singers 2 rubles, to six clerks a grivna 2 altines and 1 dengi each, to three priests of the Samson church 1 ruble each, and to the deacon a poltina, to four diatchoks a grivna each; making 13 altines 2 dengi: in all, 17 rubles 16 altines and 4 dengi, from the money of Kikin.

July 6, by special oukaz, &c., countersigned by the captain of the body-guards Peter Andr. Tolstoy and lieutenant general Ivan Iv. Boutourlin, for the commemoration of the tsarevich, &c., of blessed memory, there were given to the servant of his majesty the tsar's house, Michael Britan, 100 rubles from the money which had belonged to the tsarevich, and which was taken from the house of Nikiphor Viazemsky, &c.

July 15, &c., for celebrating the liturgy and a pannychid for the repose of the soul of the tsarevich, &c., at the halving of the forty days (of the *sorokoustie*), to the protopope Igor of the Petropaulovsk 1 ruble 16 altines 4 dengi, and to two priests of the same sobor 1 ruble each, to the deacon a poltina, to six diatchoks a grivna each: in all, 4 rubles 20 altines, from the money of Kikin.

August 4, &c., for celebrating the liturgy and a pannychid for the tsarevich, &c., on completion of the forty days, to the bishop of Riazan 15 rubles, to the archimandrite of Vologda 3 rubles, to the protopope of the Petropaulovsk 2 rubles, to three hieromonachs 1 ruble each, to two priests of the Petropaulovsk 1 ruble each, to the deacon Anthimogenes 2 rubles, to the deacon of the Petropaulovsk a poltina, to four hierodiakons a poltina each, to two subdeacons half a poltina each, to eight singers of the tsar 1 ruble each, to eighteen other singers of the bishops from the dioceses a poltina each, to eight singers of the bishop of Riazan 3 rubles, to six clerks

of the Petropaulovsk 5 altines each, to two prosphora-people a grivna each: in all, 50 rubles 36 altines 4 dengi, from the money of the tsarevich taken from the house of Nikiphor Viazemsky.

Sept. 15, &c., there was distributed upon the reports of the protopope Igor of the Petropaulovsk and the priests of the other churches, for their expenses during the sorokooustie for the tsarevich, &c., of blessed memory, for candles, and for incense, for church wine, &c., to the protopope Igor 10 rubles 10 altines 4 dengi; to the priest Basil Athanasievich of the church of the Transfiguration in the new brick-fields 4 rubles 13 altines; to the confessor Basil Timotheyeff, because he received nothing at the funeral of the tsarevich, 5 rubles; to the tsar's singers, to the director Basil Eudokimoff 2 rubles, to the rest, fifteen in number, 1 ruble each; to the singers of the patriarchate and of different dioceses who sang with them, eighteen in number, a poltina each, because they read the psalster for the repose of the soul of the tsarevich four days and three nights: so in all 45 rubles 23 altines 4 dengi. Also for distribution at St. Petersburg among the churches to the priests for making commemoration of the tsarevich during the sorokooustie, and for the reading of the psalter, and for their expenses for things needed in the church, there were sent to the Nefsky monastery, to the archimandrite Theodosius, 500 rubles; making a total of 545 rubles 23 altines 4 dengi, from the money of the tsarevich taken from the house of Nikiphor Viazemsky.

Dec. 20, by oukaz, &c., there was given to the tsar's singers, to commemorate the tsarevich, &c., of blessed memory, in addition to what was given before, to the director Basil Eudokimoff 8 rubles; to Andrew of Nijgorod 9 rubles; and to fourteen others 4 rubles each, making 56 rubles: in all, 73 rubles, from the money taken from the nun (*the staritsa*) Capitolina. *Sobranie Dokumentov*, &c., by G. B. Esipoff and M. P. Pogodin, Moscow, 1861, p. 127.

APPENDIX VII. *In connection with the death of the tsarevich Alexis, and with p.* 1444 *and p.* 1481.

There soon arose and were spread reports that the tsarevich Alexis had died a violent death. In a letter dated from Petersburg, 12th Dec. 1721, from the police chancery of brigadier Devier (brother-in-law to Menshikoff) to the actual privy-councillor and captain of the guards Peter Andr. Tolstoy of the secret chancery, it was written, that a woman named Maria Obrosimova, wife of the discharged soldier Basil Kuznotsov, while being examined in the police chancery on some charge of theft, had given information of words touching the honour of her majesty the hossoudarina Ekaterina Alexievna spoken by Basil Korolek, carpenter (*stoliar*) to Menshikoff; and this Korolek and the informant, the woman Maria, were both sent, together with the letter above mentioned, from the police chancery to the secret chancery; and on the 23d Dec., in pursuance of a letter of Pisareff from Moscow, they were ordered to be sent to Moscow to the secret chancery there.

And Jan. 10, A.D. 1722, the woman, being examined, said: She went to her paramour Korolek on the names-day of prince Menshikoff, Nov. 23 A.D. 1721, to Menshikoff's house. He told her to dance: she said there

were sentinels and others who would hear. He replied: 'Better folks than you have danced. The tsaritsa while still a miss danced.' He also said: 'She should have been the *princess* (*i.e.* wife of Menshikoff), and not tsaritsa: she has caused the death of the tsarevich: if the former tsaritsa, the mother, had been here still, it would not have gone so with him.' She, Maria, replied: 'We have only one tsaritsa.' 'How only one?' he said: 'the hossoudar had a former tsaritsa, the mother of the tsarevich, and they *burned* her; but this tsaritsa is a *Tchoukhonka* (a Livonian), and the hossoudar married her only recently.' 'How so?' she replied: 'I have seen the tsarevnas, who are tall and growing up.' 'Those tsarevnas,' he said, 'were begotten of her before marriage.' She said: 'For such words as those they cut out people's tongues.' He replied: 'Eh! are you going to be an informer?'

Korolek was examined. He admitted that he had heard what he had repeated from Eusebius Timotheyeff the *klioushnik*, and his *grebts* Gregory Konisheff, both now dead.

Jan. 11, Maria, in her pains (after torture?), said to her confessor, and then in a reëxamination: 'Also he said, "As long as the tsar lives she, the tsaritsa, will live too; but if he were to die, there would not be remembered even a breath (*douch*) of her and Menshikoff, because even now already many say that the tsar *knouted him* (*the tsarevich*) *with his own hands to death* at her instigation, and after the tsaritsa had said to him before: When thou art gone, thy son will not even let me live. And so the tsar knouted him to death."'

Korolek admitted that he had heard this (as above) from the two men above-mentioned in 1720; also that those set about the young grand-prince (the child Peter Alexievich) meant to give him up to the Tsesar, and to prevent that it was that the prince Menshikoff came in haste from Oranienbaum by night, and so he did in order to prevent them.

After having been twice tortured, he said to his confessor, and then in a reëxamination repeated, that he heard an old woman named Barbara Gregorievna, of the household of Menshikoff, say: 'God sought out the tsaritsa (*i.e.* it was a chance that the hossoudar took her to himself); she was of no high birth; it was said she was to have married the prince Menshikoff (lit. that she was to have been the most illustrious princess). The hossoudar favours and protects Menshikoff, but other people do not love him; and so long as his imperial majesty is in health, he too will live, and no longer; and then they will not let the empress live either. Even now many say (as above); and God knows whether the tsarevich died of that knouting or not.' (The time at which she said that was when there was an inquest (still) going on about the Kikin and Souzdal affair.) 'All is upside down: what is doing is very bad: where they have put the former tsaritsa we know not; we know not whether they have burned her, or put her somewhere in confinement.' Also she said (later): 'I fancy the hossoudarina complained against the tsarevich, and he, the hossoudar, then knouted him on account of her complaint, because she is not his mother, but his *stepmother*. However, *after his death she wept*.'

On the 27th Jan. the old woman, being examined, denied all, or said that she did not remember. She and Korolek were confronted. Korolek said:

She began by pushing him on the shoulder, and saying, 'Ah, Basiliushko, there is a bad disturbance in the tsar's house!' He said, 'What disturbance?' And she, after saying (as deposed by him above), slapped him again on the shoulder, and said: 'Don't say a word of that to anybody!' And again after two days, and at other times, she said much the same.

On the 7th May Korolek, being reexamined, said of himself that he had unintentionally been inaccurate in one thing: When Alexander Kikin and others were taken from Petersburg, the old woman Barbara said: 'This night they have taken hospodin Kikin, and the tsarevich of Siberia, and many others: God knows what is going on there (at Moscow)!' And then, a little later, she said: 'See, Basiliushko, they have hanged Alexander Kikin, and some—God knows whom—they have exiled; and others—I know not yet whom—they have hanged.' And she began to cry. 'Why do you cry?' I said: 'May God convert the guilty and clear the innocent!' And she said: 'What do you mean, Basiliushko, by being so hardhearted? I thought you were a good Christian, but you speak as if you had no feeling.' I said: 'Why should you lament for them? the Lord's will be done: they, it seems, have not found grace or pardon from *God and the tsar*.' 'However, Basiliushko,' she replied, 'it is very sad: they were good people. The tsar Alexis Michaelovich, to be sure, did exile men for offences; but this hossoudar—he puts them to death.' I said: 'He, our batushka, is merciful; he inflicts punishment only when deserved.' 'Then see,' she said: 'the oath which they now take to Peter Petrovich will not stand: there is still something doing in God's land of Russia. The hossoudar said to the most illustrious prince (Menshikoff): "Alexander Danilovich! as long as I live, thou too wilt live; but should I be out of the way, they will not let thee live long."' And she said: 'I suppose it had been reported to the grand prince (the tsarevich) that his father was dead. The tsaritsa was to have been Menshikoff's wife; but she rose higher than that, Ekaterina Alexievna, that she did! God knows of what rank she was: she washed shirts with other Tchoukhonka women. It was through her complaining against him that the tsarevich came to his death. Now, for the moment, *she seems to be sorry for him*, only not as a *real mother* would. She said to the hossoudar: When thy son comes to the empire, he will bring forward his own mother, and then he will not let me live: and in consequence of these her words the hossoudar *went into the chamber of torture to the tsarevich*, and there was then an inquest: *the hossoudar with his own hands knouted him*; and after that God knows what was done.' And she said, weeping: '*Who*, pray, *taught* him, the tsarevich, *such bad courses?*' Besides this, she said nothing. He had screened her at first out of compassion, regarding her as a mother. But he did not say to Maria nor hear from Barbara that the tsar had knouted his son *to death*.

On the 8th and 15th of June he was reëxamined, and reasserted all the above. Barbara, being confronted with him on the 15th, denied all.

On the 6th July they were both tortured. Korolek was hung up for a long time together, and repeatedly, and was burned, and said always the same; but the old woman confessed only to having said, 'The tsaritsa was to have been the wife of Menshikoff'; and she does not remember if she ever said this to Korolek.

On the 11th March A.D. 1723, by oukaz of Peter and determination of the secret chancery, the woman Maria was sent back to the police chancery; but Korolek was still kept in the secret chancery, and Barbara in Menshikoff's house, as before.

On the 7th of May there was an order sent from Petersburg to Moscow to the house of Menshikoff there, to set Barbara free; only she was to be produced if called for; and to take from (the secret chancery at) Moscow an abstract from the minutes about the carpenter, in order to a judgment. And on the 15th of May Yakoff Kouzmin, of the house of Menshikoff, said in the secret chancery that Menshikoff had taken the old woman Barbara with him to Petersburg.

'On the 27th Nov. A.D. 1723, in the chancery of secret affairs: The woman Maria gave information, &c., of gravely injurious words against her majesty the empress; and the man Korolek, in examinations, and when tortured five times and put to the fire, admitted, &c. (as above); the old woman Barbara confessing only to certain words (as above), and to these with uncertainty.

'But in Art. xx. of the military code it is printed thus: "He who offends against his majesty's person by defamatory words, despises his acts and intentions (or designs), and judges unbecomingly of them, is to be capitally punished and beheaded." And in the gloss this is extended to his consort and his heirs. And so for the above offence Korolek is sentenced to be banished to Siberia, and Barbara is to be set free with only a warning never to say a word of all that on pain of death.' Signed by Tolstoy and Oushakoff.

## APPENDIX VIII. *In connection with p.* 1497, 1498.

1. *An account of the last illness and death of Peter the Great: from a letter dated at St. Petersburg 10th Feb.* N.S. A.D. 1725, *and addressed to the Papal Nuncio at Vienna.*

'I wrote to your excellency on the 6th (26th Jan. O.S.) that the tsar was still ill, and that they had used an instrument to let off the contents of the bladder. The day before yesterday (28th Jan. O.S.), between 4 and 5 o'clock A.M., he died.

'When Mr. Horn, the surgeon, was called in to examine and probe the bladder, it was thought that it was a stone that caused the suppression of urine; but he proved the contrary by the quantity of matter which his operation brought away; and it appeared that this acrid matter, having corrupted, had formed ulcers in the bladder, which stopped the passage; and as these ulcers were very malignant, and near to gangrene, it was too late to make such incisions as might have saved the patient's life.

'Tuesday the 6th (26th Jan. O.S.), about 11 o'clock, they gave him a little gruel, but this warm liquid fermenting in his body, he was taken with convulsions, which caused great alarm. They summoned immediately all the lords who were in the senate and in the colleges. In the afternoon he got better, and seemed inclined to give directions about some matters. He gave various orders, and, among other things, he strongly recommended the foreigners who were in his dominions and at Petersburg. In the night he slept from 3 A.M. to 7 minutes past 5. On the 7th (27th Jan. O.S.),

mortification making progress, his state became quite hopeless: he became light-headed, and even got out of his bed, went through three rooms, and scolded because the windows were not well made. After this excitement his strength failed, during the night, and he wished to write something; and he took the pen, and wrote some words which could not be made out. At length in the night of the 7-8th (27-28th Jan. O.S.), between 4 and 5 in the morning, while the tsaritsa was praying at his bedside, he died, and as he expired, she exclaimed: "O Lord, open thy paradise to receive this noble soul (cette belle âme)"!

'This great sovereign died without having made any will (sans avoir fait aucune disposition).

'In this conjuncture, the senate having joined with the military and civil chiefs, it was resolved that her majesty the tsaritsa should be declared reigning empress and sovereign.

'About 8 o'clock A.M. this body went to the palace, and the prince Menshikoff presented to them the tsaritsa. Immediately they all fell at her feet and swore fidelity to her, and gave her in writing their acts of submission. Her majesty replied in the most obliging terms, and promised them that she would be the mother of their country. Then they received her orders to announce the death of the tsar to the regiments of the guards, which had been drawn up under the windows, and to proclaim the reigning empress.

'This sad news caused many tears; but the soldiers cried: "If our father is dead, our mother is living still." During all that time this princess showed much firmness and magnanimity: she herself announced the death of the tsar to her children, and recommended the duke of Holstein to the senate: she also at first caused the troops and the sailors who are here to be paid; a great number of prisoners to be set at liberty, and even their debts to be paid, with many other good deeds. People promise themselves from her a mild and happy reign.

'Yesterday, towards noon, they transported the body of the late tsar into the great hall of the palace upon a state-bed, and it is now lying in state. Her majesty the tsaritsa and the princesses with the grandees accompanied this procession.'

And the archbishop of Trebizond wrote from Dresden on the 15th Feb. O.S. (the 26th N.S.) A.D. 1725, thus: 'The news of the death of the tsar, which occurred on the 8th (28th Jan. O.S.) at 5 o'clock *in the evening*, and which reached us here on the 29th by letters from Königsberg, and on the 22d by other letters from Dantzig, has since been fully confirmed by those from Berlin, which have also brought the manifesto by which the clergy and the senate who were with the tsar at Petersburg have ordered that all the subjects of that empire must henceforth obey the tsaritsa. The reason which the manifesto gives for this order is, that his late majesty, though he never declared his successor in the empire, as he in 1723 showed an intention of doing, had in the spring of the past year 1724 caused the tsaritsa his wife to be solemnly crowned empress of all Russia. She has *only two* daughters, the elder of whom has for a long time past been destined to be married to the duke of Holstein Gottorp: and it was a common opinion that the marriage had been already solemnised; but now it is known that

this has not been so, and some doubt whether it will now take place at all.' Theiner, *Monuments*, &c., Rome, 1859, p. 556.

2. *An account of the end of Peter the Great: from a report of the French envoy Campredon, dated 10th Feb.* N.S. (*30th Jan.* O.S.) A.D. 1725.

'La maladie provenoit d'un reste de vieux mal vénérien mal guéri. Depuis son retour du voyage de Ladoga, il n'a joui que d'une santé fort languissante. Il s'est peu appliqué aux affaires, quoiqu'il parut en public à son ordinaire. La nuit de 20 au 21 (9-10 vieux style) janvier il fut attaqué d'une retention d'urine très violente; on lui donna les remèdes, et l'on publia quelques jours après qu'il étoit hors de danger; on appella cependant plusieurs médecins, et entre autres un Italien nommé Lazariti, homme très capable, qui, étant informé de la cause du mal du Czar, le jugea sans risque, pourvu qu'on suivit la manière de traiter qu'il proposait, à savoir de dégager la vessie de l'urine qu'y croupissoit pour prevenir l'inflammation, et ensuite guerir l'ulcère qu'on ne doute point qu'il n'ait au col de la vessie. M. Blumentrost rejetta d'abord un avis qui ne venoit point de lui, et continuant sa cure palliative, le Czar resta au même état jusqu'a samedi matin 3 de ce mois (23 janvier V.S.). Il se trouva plus mal vers le soir, et la nuit il eut de si grandes convulsions, qu'on ne crut point qu'il en reviendroit; elles furent suivies d'un dévoiement, et le dimanche matin on s'aperçut que son urine étoit fort puante; le médecin italien insista de nouveau sur la nécessité de pomper l'urine de la vessie, ce qui fut néanmoins différé jusqu'au lendemain a dix heures qu'un chirurgien anglais nommé Horn lui fit opération avec succès, ayant tiré près de quatre livres d'urine; elle étoit d'une infection épouvantable mêlée de morceaux de chair et de membranes corrompues; cependant le Czar se trouva soulagé, il reposa quelques heures, et l'on débita dans le public qu'il étoit hors de danger. Il passa la nuit du lundi au mardi assez tranquillement; mais ce jour-là vers les dix heures, ayant demandé à manger, on lui donna du gruau d'avoine; il en eut à peine avalé quelques cuillerées, que la fièvre le prit; ce fut alors qu'on ne douta plus que la partie ne fut attaquée de la gangrène et par conséquent sans remède; cependant aucun des médecins n'osoit porter cette nouvelle à la Czarine; mais M. le Comte de Tolstoy ayant interrogé M. Lazariti, il lui dit que si on avoit quelques mesures à prendre pour le bien de l'état, il était temps d'y travailler, le Czar n'ayant que peu à vivre. En effet la nuit de mardi au mercredi les convulsions le reprirent; elles furent suivies d'un grand délire, *pendant lequel on lui entendit dire qu'il avoit sacrifié son propre sang.* Il se jetta hors de son lit, nonobstant les efforts de ceux qui le gardoient; il voulut qu'on lui ouvrit la fenêtre pour prendre l'air, mais il tomba aussitôt en faiblesse; on le remit au lit, et depuis ce moment jusqu'à celui de sa mort, l'on peut dire qu'il a été dans une agonie continuelle, n'ayant pu dire que quelques paroles, ni faire aucune disposition testamentaire, soit par la crainte qu'on a eu de lui proposer comme un présage de sa fin prochaine, soit que la Czarine et ses amis connussent assez les intentions du prince moribond pour ne pas vouloir hazarder quelque changement que la faiblesse de l'esprit accablé sous le poids des grandes douleurs auroit pu occasionner. La Czarine ne l'a presque point quitté, et elle lui ferma la bouche et les yeux avant hier huitième de ce mois a 5 heures du matin.

Hier on exposa ce prince dans son lit de parade où tout le monde est admis à lui baiser la main. L'affection de sa mort est universelle, et l'on peut dire avec verité qu'il est aussi regretté dans le tombeau qu'il a été craint et respecté sur le trône; aussi n'est ce qu'à la sagesse de son gouvernement et aux soins continuels qu'il a pris de civiliser sa nation, que l'on est redevable de la sûreté parfaite dont on jouit ici jusqu'à présent où l'on ne remarque aucune espèce de mouvement que ceux de la tristesse parmi les troupes et le peuple' (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xix. Appendix xii. p. 356).

3. On the 30th Jan. the embalmed body of the deceased emperor was placed in the lesser hall of the palace, and the people were admitted to (kiss his hand and to) take leave of him. Meanwhile generals Bruce and Bock were preparing the hall of mourning, which was made ready by the 13th Feb. Among the other decorations customary in such cases in European courts, there were four pyramids, with inscriptions:

1. *Of his care for the Church.*

'In name and in deed an imitator of Peter the prince of the Apostles, our God-crowned head Peter has left us. A zealot for piety, a promoter of reformation, superstition and hypocrisy he hated. O Christ, Bridegroom of the Church, console thy Spouse!'

2. *Of civil reformation.*

'What return wilt thou make, O Russia, to thy true father, who has begotten thee anew? He has made thee, by regulations of government, wise; by laws for justice, healthy; and with various arts and sciences, he has adorned thee. There is one way only by which thou canst show thy gratitude, viz. by fidelity and obedience to her who is his successor.'

3. *Of the training of the Army.*

'The Russian Samson has failed only in body, not in spirit; he has fallen asleep from his labours. By his pains he has given force to the army; by his own endurance of hardships he has given security to his country. But, O sad change! while he rests for time, but triumphs for eternity, we groan and lament.'

4. *Of the creation of the Fleet.*

'The new Japhet of the world, the first Japhet of Russia, who extended her power, her terror, and her glory over the sea, and brought the universe into communication with us, we shall no more see sailing. Now the waters for us are our tears, the winds our sighs.'

On the 13th Feb. the coffin was brought into the hall of mourning; and at the beginning of March there was set by its side another coffin, containing the remains of Natalia, Peter's *last born* child by Catherine, who died a little after her father, aged *six* years. On the 8th of March the body of the deceased emperor was borne out in procession to the church of SS. Peter and Paul in the Fortress, and there buried. His daughters, Solovieff says, assisted in bearing the coffin. [They bore thither also the coffin of the tsesarevna Natalia.] After the liturgy Theophanes

Procopovich preached a funeral sermon (which has been printed in English by Consett, together with his translation of the Spiritual Regulation). The coffin was closed, and covered with the imperial mantle; and so stood on the catafalque, under a baldachin in the middle of the church, till the 21st May A.D. 1731 (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c. vol. xix. p. 275).

APPENDIX IX. *In connection with ch. vi. p.* 1028, *ch. vii. p.* 1496, *and ch. viii. p.* 1499-1656. *An appreciation of the Russian apostasy by the Prussian; from a Memoir of Johann Gotthilf Vockerodt, secretary to the Prussian embassy at Petersburg. The original* MS., *discovered in the autumn of* 1871 *by Professor Hermann of Marburg, and published in German at Leipzig, in* 8*vo*, A.D. 1872, *is entitled: 'Illustration of some questions relating to the change which has been made in Russia during the reign of Peter I., composed in September* 1737.' (*Extracted from the Russki Archiv.*)[29]

*Question.* What were the most important changes undertaken by Peter I. in respect of the teaching of religion?

*Answer.* As regards *dogmas*, he made no change: on the contrary, he constantly showed zeal to preserve the confession of faith in its original purity; and he even tried with all his might to bring back the raskolniks, dealing with them by certain *gentle* means of compulsion, and even burning alive some of their teachers.

But in the hierarchy and government of the Church he undertook, and carried into effect, many and essential changes. The chief of them, on which all the rest were grounded, was this, that he suppressed at Moscow the patriarchal chair, and proclaimed himself the *Head of the Church*.[30]

The last patriarch, Adrian, remained *altogether unmoved* when Peter I. shut up his sister Sophia in a convent, and punished capitally with cruel tortures many priests and monks who had either been her partisans, or had *spoken too freely of his conduct*, when he used the bells of the churches to replace the cannon he had lost (in A.D. 1700) before Narva, when he surrounded himself with heretics, to whom he gave all his confidence, ate flesh-meat openly during the fasts, and violated, without a word to hinder him, many other rules of the Church, shaved off the beards of the Russians, and made them wear Frankish costumes, and, in a word, introduced many customs which for the Russians in general, and more especially for the clergy, were something portentous.

[29] 'The *Russki Archiv* has already, in 1872 and 1865, given accounts of the Memoirs of Weber and Bassevich, both of which, in comparison with this Prussian memoir, are of secondary importance. The writer of it is a very sharp philosophical or sceptical Protestant.' However, his accounts of facts, not only of earlier reigns, but even of Peter's, are disfigured by a plentiful share of the usual blunders and fables of foreigners, rendered all the worse by their being mixed up with his intelligent (but, consequently, often inaccurate) reflections: and the real value of the piece consists in his *résumé* of the actual opinions of those Russians who, in the reigns of Catherine I., Peter II., and Anna, found fault more or less with the revolution caused by Peter I.

[30] Note of the writer in the *Russki Archiv*: 'Such is the view (of Peter's acts) deduced, not only at that time, but still at the present day, in Western Europe, from the *relations* established in Russia from the time of Peter the Great between the *Church* and the *Supreme Authority*, which latter in practice has never *claimed* to itself the right of touching the dogmas and the fundamental axioms or positions. *Not such* is the relation of these *two powers* in *Prussia*.'

Though in point of fact the Russian sovereigns by long experience *had fully learned* the art of limiting and keeping down the importance of the patriarchs, so that they could not interfere with the tsar's authority, still Peter I. found that it would be incomparably safer, and for his extensive designs more convenient, to suppress that office, and to bring the clergy to confess that their natural sovereign ought to be at the same time also *their only primate*. The advantages which would result from the attainment of this end were too plain: the question was only this, how was it to be effected. The clergy, on the death of the patriarch Adrian, urged Peter[31] to fill the patriarchal chair with a successor without delay, and they drew a picture of all the horrors which threatened the empire if this were not done. [Then there follows an inaccurate account of the way in which Peter was led to notice and employ Stephen Yavorsky; in consequence of this latter having proved against the heretic Talitsky that the tsar could not be Antichrist, because the number 666 was not obtainable from the name Peter; and how he was disappointed in Yavorsky, who was only a crafty hypocrite, a man who had learned to perfection how to gesticulate in the pulpit after the fashion of the Jesuits.] Peter, however, soon discovered his mistake. It is true that Yavorsky's learning did not go *beyond*[32] what was required in the Catholic Polish schools and monasteries. But he had *adopted in the schools of the Jesuits*[33] *the ideas of the papists* about certain exclusive rights and independence (of the ecclesiastical authority), and he was the least fitted of all men to coöperate with Peter I. towards the filling in of those plans sketched by him in outline, which were in direct contradiction to such ideas. . . . Yavorsky, however, acted so cautiously, that it was impossible to call him to account: and though his artifices could not be altogether unknown, Peter's resentment went no farther than to cause him to treat Yavorsky with a certain coldness, especially in his last years. The only way to account for such unusual forbearance is this, that Peter had in view something more important than the disgrace of Yavorsky, and that he did not think the right moment yet come.

Procopovich, who died last year (8th Sept. A.D. 1736) at Petersburg (really at Novgorod, of the stone, in his fifty-fifth year) archbishop of Novgorod, was a simple monk[34] of the Pechersky at Kieff when that lavra was visited by Peter after the victory of Poltava. In his youth he had not only been taught in the Polish schools, but he had studied even at Rome itself. But, thanks to his *honourable* and *loyal* nature, all those *hypocritical*[35] manifestations of piety which were observed by him in Italy inspired him with such a disgust for Popery[36] that he could not without

[31] Really Peter was beforehand with them.

[32] It was not like the learning of *Berlin*, nor even like that of Theophanes Procopovich.

[33] Whence, then, had Nicon, before Yavorsky, *adopted* the same ideas?

[34] This is inaccurate. He was in A.D. 1706, when he was first put forward to speak an address of welcome to Peter, professor of rhetoric in the Academy (the Bratskoy monastery, not the Pechersky); and in A.D. 1709, after the battle of Poltava, he was prefect of the Academy and professor of philosophy.

[35] All that time he was himself *hypocritically* pretending to be a Catholic, and sacrilegiously receiving the communion as such.

[36] He was three years in the Uniat College at Rome, 'but *left without completing his course of sciences, owing to some unexplained circumstances.*'

some excitement even speak of it. And this was much increased by the reading of certain Protestant books which he valued very highly, and which he did not hesitate to prefer to many works of the Orthodox Fathers of the Church. Besides this, he was distinguished by such merits as are very rarely found among ecclesiastics, and especially by an unusual modesty (so that they had almost to drag him by force to all those high spiritual dignities to which he was successively raised), by the most complete disinterestedness, and by an ardent zeal for the welfare of his country, even to the prejudice of the interests of the clergy. Peter attached himself all the more strongly to this monk, because he perceived in him *the same ideas with his own* respecting the government of the Church, and found him constantly ready to coöperate with him towards that end. [Then there follows a narrative respecting Procopovich equally inaccurate in its facts with that which had preceded respecting Yavorsky.]

In order to prepare public opinion for the contemplated change (about which Peter had already been in correspondence with him), Procopovich published a short treatise entitled *Pontifex*,[37] in which he proved that the first Christian sovereigns constantly retained as their own the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, which they had inherited from their heathen predecessors, till at length the *Roman Popes* succeeded in wresting from them this title, with all the prerogatives belonging to it, and appropriating it to themselves. At the same time it was argued that in every Christian state the supreme superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs cannot belong to any other than the lawful sovereign.

Soon after this it was publicly declared[38] by Peter I. that the patriarchate, as an office too high and unsuitable for any subject, was abolished, and that for the future all ecclesiastical matters were to be under the supreme headship of the sovereign himself, and to be directed (or managed) by a 'most holy synod,' consisting of one president, two vice-presidents, and a certain number of other members and assessors.

Immediately *after* the institution of the synod, there was transmitted to it *for its consideration*[39] a new *Spiritual Regulation*; and in spite of the opposition of Yavorsky (who had been named its president, but who died in the very first year of its institution), it was, by express command of Peter, confirmed and published.

[37] Really this treatise was published in A.D. 1721, *after* the institution of the Synod. Its full title is, '*An Historical Enquiry for what reasons and in what sense the Roman Emperors, both heathen and Christian, were, and were styled, Pontifices, or High-priests, in the language of the law of Polytheism; and whether in the Christian law, Christian sovereigns can be called bishops and high-priests? and in what sense?* St. Petersburg, 1721, 4to' (though the year is not on the title-page). It was written to justify and follow up another treatise, also published in 1721, '*Of the Commemoration of the name of the Patriarch in the prayers of the Church, showing for what cause this has in Russia been suppressed.*'

[38] That is, by the *Spiritual Regulation*, and especially by its Preface.

[39] This is inaccurate. The Spiritual Regulation was read and approved and subscribed by all the heads of the clergy, first at Petersburg, and then all over Russia, in the preceding year, 1720; and it was to give effect to the Spiritual Regulation already provided for it, that the Synod itself was actually instituted in Feb. A.D. 1721. The writer has himself alluded to the *Spiritual Regulation* as pre-existing, in the paragraph immediately preceding. Yavorsky died 7th Sept. A.D. 1722.

In this Regulation there is established the most complete subjection of the spiritualty to the secular state authority: all ecclesiastical prerogatives and privileges are abolished; there are enacted a variety of useful regulations respecting the discipline of monasteries; many superstitious customs are forbidden; also, to a certain extent, the force of church excommunications and of church discipline is lessened, and in particular the secresy of confession is limited, so that every confessor, in case of any revelation being made to him in confession about any design or plot against the person of the sovereign, or about any disturbances or other state offences, is bound, without keeping silence, immediately to give information of this, on pain of being punished as for treason. This production (the *Spiritual Regulation*) is a model in its way, and it deserves to be read through from beginning to end. Besides that, it contains within itself all the changes effected by Peter in respect of ecclesiastical discipline.

One of its appointments is, that a monastery is to consist of not fewer than thirty monks; and if any monastery falls below this number, it is to be turned into a parish-church or school, and its monks are to be sent to other monasteries, to fill up their numbers. On the other hand, superiors are forbidden, on pain of severe punishments, to receive dvorianins, or any persons in the civil service, or any illiterate persons, or any minor, or citizen, or peasant, without a special permission; so that widower priests seem to be the only people who are absolutely free to become monks (or young men of the sons of the clergy, trained on purpose to become teachers). So, if these regulations had been strictly enforced, the number of monasteries in Russia would in some thirty years have been so reduced that there would scarcely have remained more than about ten, which, for *particular reasons*, it might have been thought desirable to keep up. But after the death of Peter I. the execution of his intentions was not persisted in; and this point, together with many other *useful* commencements made by him in ecclesiastical matters, was left without results.

After the introduction of this new Regulation of the affairs of the Church and the institutions connected with it, nothing so much occupied Peter I. as the desire to raise the clergy from that state of ignorance in which they were sunk. At the beginning of his reign this ignorance was, beyond all comparison, more gross than it can ever have been in the rest of Europe, *even in the darkest times of Papal domination*. Preaching did not exist. A man who could read and write and perform accurately all the church ceremonies was held to satisfy all requirements not only for the calling of a priest, but even for that of a bishop. If he had acquired, in addition, the reputation of being a man of strict life, and was gifted with a thick beard, he was at once a distinguished spiritual personage.

Among the clergy of the Oukraine, however, there were now and then exceptional individuals possessed of some learning, since, during the time that the Poles were masters of that province, its inhabitants founded in many monasteries Latin schools, and in Kieff and Chernigoff Academies, in which there was taught philosophy and theology, though to *the Polish tune*.

All the same, these ecclesiastics of the Oukraine were the only people who could be of any use to Peter I. for the diffusion of some sort of instruction among his clergy. If he had used for this purpose persons of any

foreign—though kindred—confession of faith (*e.g.* Uniats), he would have only increased the feeling of mistrust already, without that, harboured against him by all the zealots of the old Orthodoxy, and he might have excited a dangerous agitation among the people, and after all he would not have attained his end. So, after making Stephen Yavorsky Guardian, he charged him to set up schools, in which such youths as devoted themselves to the spiritual calling should be taught the sciences proper for it.

But though Yavorsky founded,[49] without any great difficulty, an Academy for philosophy and theology in the Spassky monastery at Moscow, and set over it Lopatinsky (a man not destitute of talents, but secretly a papist), and brought from the Oukraine some monks to be professors, still, as these men knew nothing but what they had borrowed from the Jesuits, the result of this attempt was merely the formation of a Jesuitical school. The courses of philosophy and theology delivered in it were copied word for word from the class-books of the Roman doctors, and were filled with proofs from Vasquez, Suarez, Escobar, Anchetz, Oviedo, and other *dark* schoolmen. And with all this, the students acquired so little serious learning, that Peter, out of a great number of youths who had been trained in that Academy, could not find even a single one fit to be appointed to the higher spiritual offices.

When Peter transferred his confidence in ecclesiastical matters from Yavorsky to Procopovich, he, among other things, charged Procopovich with the care of improving the school-system in Russia. This intelligent man set to work from quite the opposite direction, and took for his basis the principle that the first thing to be done was to obtain a supply of good teachers, and after that to found some institutions for the higher instruction. With these views, he sent a number of youths who had received an elementary training in his own house-school (that is, in a school attached to his own episcopal residence), and had destined themselves to the *spiritual* calling, to *German* academies, that they might be taught the methods of scientific instruction there adopted, in order that they might eventually, in the institutions for higher instruction to be set up in their own country, teach their pupils something more substantial than the former scholastic Polish verbiage. At the same time, in order to prepare for them on their return capable scholars, he founded both at his own house and in some monasteries of his diocese elementary schools, where a considerable number of youths were taught languages, as a foundation for philosophy and the other useful sciences; in which work he did not hesitate to use as teachers *Protestant* students. The death of Peter I. put a stop to the farther development of his *good designs*. The old Russian *half-Popish* clergy, which, especially in the time of Peter II., obtained greater influence, strove by all means to hinder him. The young people who had been sent by him to Germany either did not return at all, or did not bring back with them those ideas which he expected from them; so that his chief purpose was not attained. All the same his schools produced this good effect, that they supplied to the *Academy of Sciences*, subsequently established (in A.D. 1725), many meritorious workers, who, how-

[49] Inaccurate. He did not *found* it.

ever, in proportion to their greater scientific development, were no longer inclined to devote their labours to the spiritual calling, but began to seek their fortune in secular appointments.

But the question still remains, whether Peter I. was acting as a good politician in wishing to civilise his clergy, and to bring them out of their former ignorance and barbarism? Would he not rather have created against himself and his successors, in case of success, an additional and needless obstacle to the realisation of his ultimate designs, especially in questions unfavourable to ecclesiastical interests? At any rate there are many intelligent people of this opinion, that he could scarcely have obtained such results as he did obtain in his reforms (lit. transformations) *if he had had to contend with a more learned and enlightened clergy,*[11] *capable of meriting the love and respect of the people,*[12] and of turning it to their own account.

In connection with the changes undertaken by Peter I. in church matters we ought farther to mention, that he, through his newly-instituted synod, proclaimed, as permitted and recognised by law, marriages of people of other creeds with Russian women, which to that time had been absolutely prohibited; but this only on the following conditions: 1. The heterodox party was first to become a Russian subject, and bind himself to serve Russia for ever. 2. The children of both sexes were to be baptised and bred up in the Russian faith. 3. The heterodox party was, neither by force nor by persuasion, to turn his wife from her faith; and the parish-priest, who was bound to look after this, was always to have free access to his house. Such conditions certainly were not likely to inspire any foreigner with a special desire to take to himself a Russian wife.

In conclusion, it will not be out of place to notice a semi-pagan custom constantly observed by Peter throughout the whole course of his life. In Russia there exists an old custom for the priests (and for the inferior clerks or singers without the priest), in the interval between the Nativity and the Baptism of Christ, to go about to all the houses of their parishioners, and to sing certain spiritual verses or hymns in honour of Christ's Nativity, in return for which they receive a glass of beer or wine and some grosh, from the people visited. As all this time is reckoned to be a church festival, and is given up to merry-making, many lay people also, in visiting and regaling one another, on these days were used to imitate this custom of the clerks, and on entering the houses of their friends they would sing the like hymns (the tropar, &c. of the festival), calling this, in their own language, '*slavlenie*' or '*khvalenie*,' that is, a glorifying or praising (of Christ). Hence Peter also, who in his youth did not neglect any opportunity for dissipation, availed himself of this custom, so as to keep the festival, together with his favourites, with more jollity. At first his suite was not numerous, consisting only of his kammerdieners and some favourites; but soon he prodigiously increased this company, and invited to join

[11] That is, with a *Niconising* clergy. But then Peter himself would have had a very different education, and he would not have found himself by inheritance 'head of his own Church.'

[12] And the love and respect of Peter himself.

it[43] all those who by their stature, personal appearance, manner of speech, habits, or humour could contribute to give the whole a burlesque and wild character. In order to retain for this custom some trace of spiritual connection, he promoted his old pedagogue Zotoff to be patriarch of his drunken revels by the title of 'Kniaz Papa;' and twenty other Russians, famous for their bestial voracity and dissipation, he created 'cardinals.' Among the rest of the company he distributed other spiritual titles, and he called himself 'deacon;' and this character he enacted in their assemblies with as much solemnity as if it had all been a real and serious matter. The Kniaz-Papa appeared publicly borne on an open palanquin (to mimic the Papal *sella gestatoria*), borne by twelve Siberian bald-heads: in his hands he held a staff, having tied to it an ox's bladder, with which he drummed on the heads of his bearers. The cardinals rode after him mounted on oxen; and the rest of the mock clergy, of different degrees and titles, followed in sledges drawn by hogs, dogs, bears, and other such-like animals. With this fantastic *entourage* Peter went about everywhere, not only to the courtiers, but also to all the merchants and to all the houses of known wealth. Wherever the tsar's company halted there was first of all the singing of praise (as it was called), which the master of the house was expected to pay for by a present of at least a hundred roubles. After that the guests, in number commonly about three hundred, sat down to carouse; and if the host did not produce a sufficient quantity of wine, or if his present seemed niggardly, or if there was any other cause of disfavour against him, they not only made him drink till he was half dead, but he received, over and above, a handsome dressing to pay him off. The disorders committed and the violence used to force people to drink to drunkenness on such occasions are inconceivable. [Then follows that account of the election of a new kniaz-papa in Jan. A.D. 1725 just before Peter's last illness and death, which has been printed at p. 1496.] In all Peter's dissipations there was something gross and repulsive. Nothing amused him so much as to force people to do and to suffer what was contrary to their nature. If any one felt a natural repugnance for wine, flesh-meat, cheese, or oysters, he never let go an opportunity of forcing such things down his throat. A favourite habit of his was to tickle any one who was afraid of being tickled, and to amuse himself with the strange movements that this provoked. Many, to please him, pretended that they could not endure to be tickled.

It is likely enough that in his ecclesiastical buffooneries Peter cast also a side glance at the hierarchy of the Roman Church. For the doctrine of the Papists, of the independence of the spiritualty of the civil power, inspired him with no small hatred and distrust towards the Papacy, and led him so far that he endeavoured with all his might *to protect the Protestant party*; while it is precisely this system (the Popish doctrine of the independence of the spiritual power) that is the cause that the Russian clergy, with very few exceptions, have an extreme inclination towards the

[43] In what follows several different buffooneries enacted by Peter and circumstances connected with different dates are blended together, with various inaccuracies on points of detail.

Roman Church,[41] but hate the Protestants with all their hearts, and would gladly lend their assistance for their expulsion and extirpation, if their hands were not tied.

The Prussian diplomat writes, that at the election of the tsar Michael Theodorovich the nobles imposed on the crown some limitations, and Philaret Nikitich (the father of the young tsar), and his fellow-captives in Poland, had been the most earnest to bring that about. Michael, he asserts, promised in writing: '1. non mutare antiquas leges Russiæ; 2. non modo non occidere, sed neque judicare quemquam arbitrario modo; 3. sine consensu concilii nullas novas leges condere; 4. specialiter non subditos novis impostis onerare; 5. de bello et pace nihil novi sine concilio statuere.' But after Philaret had returned to Russia and had become patriarch nothing more was heard of those limitations, and all that remained in practice was the habit of consulting the council (the *douma*). He, Philaret, organised the streltsi as a special guard, with great rights and privileges, but gave no command over them to any members of the distinguished families; and hence no person of any rank wished to enter that service, which was just what the crown desired. By help of this force Michael (after Philaret's death) and his son Alexis were able to continue the same absolute government.

He writes of the tsar Peter, that he had few to equal him in dissimulation. The '*potieshnie*' were at first, he says, a body of fifty men. Theodore Romodanofsky lived till A.D. 1718.

When the sons of the most noble families had been used to serve on a level with grooms as privates in the new regiments, and as such to be subjected to all the minute requirements of discipline, Peter thought it no longer necessary to pay any special court to his nobility, and so he brought it to such a point that it dared not murmur. He deprived the whole class of the nobility, from the highest to the lowest, of the last shadow of their former privileges, and even suppressed the old custom by virtue of which, in all laws and constitutions, mention was made of the *assent* of the boyars, which form all his predecessors, notwithstanding the measures taken by them for curtailing the privileges of the nobles, had thought it more discreet constantly to preserve. After that he ceased to dissemble his designs of transformation; he behaved to foreigners with special friendliness, irrespectively of their social rank or particular employments (or religion), and he never missed any single opportunity of subjecting to ridicule his own nation, and its old manners and customs; and when the old respected boyars addressed to him words of admonition, he behaved to them in the most offensive and humiliating way, and his favourites made game of them. p. 1394.

For the clergy on every occasion he expressed his contempt.

After punishing, or rather exterminating the streltsi, Peter, to the day of his death, exercised unlimited power in ecclesiastical as well as civil matters, without the least opposition. He made the nobility to feel very

[41] To a Prussian Protestant the Greek and the Russian Churches and clergy would of course seem to be Popish, or scarcely distinguishable from Popish Churches. But besides this, it was the habit of Procopovich to cast this accusation of Popery upon all those who taxed *him* with Protestantism.

distinctly the yoke and lash of slavery: he definitively suppressed all the privileges of descent; subjected to the most ignominious punishments some princes descended from former sovereigns, and even condemned them to the gallows; sentenced their children to the very lowest duties (*e.g.* to be cabin-boys); compelled to military service all the nobility without exception, by force of severe punishments; forbade any consideration to be attached to any other honours or distinctions than such as went with the rank attained by service. In a word, he disposed of their lives and properties without any limitation, only according to the inspiration of his own despotic will and pleasure. p. 1397.

The tsarevich never ventured to form any design against the government or against the life of his father; nor had he any other object than that of securing himself from the hatred and persecution of his father, so as to obtain the possibility of leading his life among popes and his other friends whom he liked (people in general vicious and insignificant) in drunkenness and dissipation, not paying the least attention to business. p. 1397.

In 1714 Peter promulgated a law, seemingly quite inconsistent with his general policy towards the nobility, viz. that landed estates, instead of being subdivided, should go only to the eldest son,[9] much as in England. He thinks *this* was to prepare public opinion *for the disinheritance of the tsarevich* (his own *eldest* and only legitimate son). In the reign of Peter II. this law was altogether repealed, and the right of inheritance re-established on its former natural basis.

In his foreign policy he was not very deep, and trusted chiefly to his ministers, who were naturally inclined to favour those who bribed them most munificently. To the army he attended closely; and for his favourite employment of shipbuilding he would neglect everything else, however pressing, and shut himself up for whole days, drawing the lines for a new ship. In other departments he attempted little in the first thirty years of his reign; and his scheme of colleges (A.D. 1715-1720) was not a happy one for Russia—it was a simple imitation of the Swedish system. He instituted at Moscow (in A.D. 1711) the senate, at first composed of not very capable persons, nor very incorruptible; and, besides, it was eclipsed by Peter's favourites, especially by Menshikoff. And once, when one of Menshikoff's sisters interfered in some matter, the senate in its full assembly did not dare to refuse her.

But as soon as Menshikoff's influence began to decline (in 1714) one Nesteroff represented to the tsar all the abuses going on among the senators and his favourites, and he appointed a special commission, consisting exclusively of officers of the guards, to make strict inquest. After it he branded two *senators* on the tongue for their perjury, and sent them to Siberia: the vice governor of Petersburg was publicly knouted, and one member of the Admiralty plitted: Menshikoff and Apraxin too were plitted.

This discovery, as a first consequence, made Peter more *inquisitorial;*

[9] Really to *one* of the sons, the *youngest*, if it so pleased the father: and what follows seems to indicate that the blunder of inserting the word '*eldest*' in the text is not from the author himself, but from a transcriber.

and then, secondly, it made him think of reconstituting all the internal or civil administration, as well as the military, on a footing like that of other European states. So he sent a secret mission in 1716 to *Sweden*, to learn accurately the details of their system; and hence the colleges of 1719. But all the inferior chanceries throughout the empire remained still on their old footing, and the instructions and forms sent to them were very ill complied with. Neither the Russian nor the *German* members of the colleges understood the new system, few of the Germans knowing much about the Swedish colleges.

Hence in 1722 Peter made a fresh change in his colleges; he dismissed the greater number of the foreign members, and reduced the colleges themselves, keeping only their German names, to such a form that they were more like the prikazes of the former Russian system, scarcely differing except in the greater number of their members; and that rather hindered than expedited business.

The tsars, when they appointed any one for his services to a voivodstvo, had been used to say, 'Go, and eat to the full!' and as long as there were only the old imposts, the peasants, &c., were not unable to *feed* the officials too; but when the imposts and services required were all doubled or trebled under Peter, it was otherwise. On discovering the abuses prevalent, he diminished the number of governments, making only thirteen, and appointing a special 'prokuror' or 'fiscal' for each, and a fiscal-general above all as an open and secret spy and informer against abuses; and a fixed salary, though a very insufficient one, was now given to the governors. In his last years scarcely a governor escaped unpunished; for examples, the princes Gagarin and Masalskoy, the fiscal-general Nesteroff, and baron Shaphiroff. Yet the mischief was not stopped; and Peter himself did not punish with equal severity unless he had a *double* reason. But at the end of his reign he seems to have lost all patience, and he formed the intention of punishing all without reserve; he devoted himself with special zeal to inquisitions, with Makaroff for his assistant; and he answered a question of Makaroff in such terms as to show that probably there would have been some terrible punishments if he had only lived some months longer.

The Russians are quite reasonable in complaining of the transfer of the capital from Moscow to Petersburg.

Peter found that sending his young nobles abroad was not a success: they returned with not much more knowledge than they started with.

About this time (A.D. 1704) began his connection with the future empress Catherine, who had been in the service of the pastor Gluck. Peter employed Gluck, who knew Russ, to direct a school for education; and Gluck naturally set up a school on his own Livonian or Swedish model, and sent for some Lutheran students of divinity to work it. He translated some Lutheran hymns into very bad Russian verses, and the boys sang them before and after their lessons. The ridiculous side of these institutions and their small success was too manifest for such a school to last long. Peter soon closed it, and left to parents the care of giving their children elementary instruction in the sciences either through private teachers, or in the Lutheran schools at Moscow, or *even* through the Catholic priests living there; but he himself turned all his attention

exclusively to the object of making his nobles skilled in engineering and in naval science; and he founded with this view both in Moscow and in Petersburg Academies for these two sciences and for mathematics. p. 1409.

After that his zeal for the sciences subsided for a long time, except, may be, for physical and surgical science; for he always took a great interest in anatomy.

But after they had made him (in A.D. 1717) a member of the Académie des Sciences at Paris, he determined (finally in 1724) to create an Academy of Sciences, imitated from the French, at Petersburg; he engaged some eminent names, and assigned it 25,000 rubles a year: and his body-physician Blumentrost, being placed at its head, obtained that it should be opened under Catherine, and he kept it going till the present reign (of Anna); but now he is in disgrace.

What the Russians in general can least of all get over is their aversion for the modes of procedure introduced by Peter in the government of the empire; nor can they suppress their ardent desire to emancipate themselves from the state of forced pupilage to foreigners, and to restore the form of government on its old bases. The memory of Peter I. is honoured religiously only by the *common* people and the soldiers, especially the guards. The rest, though they give him in public enthusiastic praises, still, if you have the good fortune to make closer acquaintance with them, and to win their confidence, sing in private a very different song. The most moderate of them are those who blame him only for that which is alleged against him by Stralenberg in his *Description of the Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*, p. 229-258, where he blames with moderation Peter's changes. But the greater number go farther, and not only bring against him the charge of the most revolting immorality, such as no pen can touch without special shame, and of the most horrible cruelties, but even affirm that he was not really the son of the tsar Alexis,[46] but of a German surgeon, and that he was substituted by Natalia in place of a daughter really borne by her; and a quantity of like particulars. To this they ascribe his fondness for anatomical operations, for drawing teeth, &c.; that he was always ill at ease in the company of high-born people; that he would not have a Russian wife, nor a foreign princess, but chose for his wife a simple peasant girl from Livonia, who, besides that, had passed through the hands of several other persons before coming to him. p. 1416.

The whole population of the Russian empire may be (in A.D. 1737) from 13,000,000 to 14,000,000. Private persons are forbidden to keep priests.

The capitation tax, when first introduced by Peter, was paid by 5,198,000 males over ten years old. If we add the women, we shall have 10,000,000. Then we may reckon the dvorianins with their families at 500,000; the officials (*chinovniks*) of the chanceries at 200,000; the priests with their families at 300,000; the inhabitants of the conquered provinces (not paying capitation tax, but still under their former Swedish law) at 500,000 or 600,000; the kozaks of the Oukraine, on the Don, and the

[46] Such fables show only how some hated Peter's memory.

Yanka, &c., at 700,000 or 800,000; the Tatars, Ostiaks, Mongols, Bashkirs, Toungouzes, Vogoulichi, &c., say 1,000,000. All these together will make 13,300,000.

The maintenance of Peter's court, table, service, and stables did not exceed 50,000 rubles a year. He could not raise the revenue to more than 9,000,000 or 10,000,000 of rubles, nor has it increased since his death (that is, not to A.D. 1735 or 1737).

However oppressive to the heart of the whole nation may be the present system of the court (under the empress Anna) and the unlimited ascendency in it of foreigners (*i.e.* of Biron and others), still hitherto it has patiently endured this weight because it has not as yet before its eyes any one who might have sufficient authority and courage to proclaim himself a leader and an opponent of the designs of the court. Time will show whether they will remain obstinately in their insensibility, or there will unexpectedly arise among them a patriot who may find the means to submit with special force at the foot of the throne the groans and sighs of its subjects. p. 1431.

APPENDIX X. *In connection with p.* 990 *and* 1542-1545; *also with p.* 443 *in vol. iv. and with App. xi.* (*p.* 52-119) *at the end of vol. v. Of the necessity which, according to Solovieff, was felt in Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of looking to the West.*

Solovieff is never weary of pointing out how, even from the time of John IV. (the Terrible), there had been growing up ever more and more a feeling, a consensus, in favour of looking to the West. John IV. himself, Godounoff, the tsars Michael and Alexis, the boyars Nikita Ivan. Romanoff and Boris Iv. Morozoff, the patriarch Nicon and the Servian Krijanich, Bogdan Matv. Khitroff and Theodore Rtischeff, Athanasius Laur. Nashchokin and Artemon Serg. Matveyeff, the tsar Theodore and his preceptor Simeon of Polotsk, the regent Sophia and her minister the prince Basil Galitsin and their flatterer and servant Medveydeff, the prince Boris Alex. Galitzin, and Peter's servants Vinius and Shaphiroff, men the most different from one another by birth and station, by religious and moral character, are all brought forward and pointed to as giving one joint testimony to the legitimacy and necessity of the revolution set on foot by Peter.

Mounting the Pegasus of Polevoi, Solovieff brings together the barbarians, uncivilised but of innate nobility, who were impelled by a secret voice to overthrow the old Roman empire, that they might obtain for themselves the germs of Roman civilisation; the grand princess Olga, who, impelled by a similar secret voice, went to Constantinople that she might bring back for Russia the germ of Byzantine civilisation; and Peter, impelled not by a secret voice, but by the audible voice of the Genevese Lefort—which he says *makes no difference whatever* (vol. xiv. p. 222)—to go to the West, that he might bring back, in Lefort's sense of the words, civilisation, enlightenment, and progress.

But in truth here was all the difference in the world between the secret voice of divine mercy and providence impelling the old Teutonic barbarians and the grand princess Olga to obtain, without knowing what they did, a *faith* involving also the germ of civilisation, and the audible

voice of the Genevese freethinker and boon companion sending Peter to obtain, without knowing what he did, a civilisation connected with the germ of *infidelity* and *apostasy*, of apostasy not only from the Byzantine and the Roman Christianity, but even from Protestantism itself.

Even such writers as Solovieff admit sometimes that civilisation is connected with religion. But if this be admitted, Solovieff's proposition, that Russian civilisation was at a disadvantage, and that it was necessary to be no longer Byzantine and isolated, but to look to the West, and to learn from the West, should have taken Peter directly to Rome, to learn there how to put an end to the schism. It was said once to Peter in Poland (in A.D. 1701) that if he had only the will, he had the power to make a union of the two Churches; but he at that time, as Solovieff observes, had gone to Poland for a political, not for a religious, purpose; and besides that, though he might have admitted the connection of Western religious ideas with Western civilisation, if that had been all, and so might have been willing to bring Russia, if possible, into religious connection with the West,[c] he would probably have been diverted from all thought of union with Rome as soon as he found that he must submit his own lawless will to a divine law, and give up that ecclesiastical supremacy which his father the tsar Alexis had taken from the patriarch Nicon and had left, as another tunic of Nessus, to his successors. On the other hand there was nothing among the Protestants to conflict with Peter's absolutism; his own natural temperament was more intellectual than pious; he had fallen besides early under Protestant influences; and the favour continued by him to a proposal of union made by some English nonjurors even after the four Eastern patriarchs had rejected it altogether, as well as the fact that an edition of the Bible in Russian and Dutch in parallel columns was actually printing in St. Petersburg at the time of his death, shows that, if Peter had lived, he might have gone on to make changes even in the forms and ceremonies of the Russian Church.

But besides being made ignorantly and at random, Peter's changes were only beginnings: they were not at once carried out and completed: violent and impatient and absolute as he was, he had sense enough to stop short where either the magnitude of the change of itself showed it to be for the time impracticable or dangerous to attempt, or the advantage to be gained for his own present purpose was comparatively small. Thus, after having begun to proscribe beards and long dresses, he stopped short, and allowed the clergy and the peasants, and the merchants and traders too, if they chose to pay a tax, to retain their former dresses and their beards. Thus, too, he left the clergy and people in possession of their church ceremonial. But with all this he made such a beginning with the higher classes that the rest, if only left to time, would naturally follow, according to the Greek proverb, that 'the fish begins to go (that is to putrefy) from the *head*.'

[c] In spite of that Protestant spirit of profaneness by which he had been preoccupied, Peter, when he first went abroad, and from 1698 to 1701, had a great respect for the Holy Roman Empire, and for the Emperor as its temporal head; and he was pleased with the thought of allying himself by a marriage with the Roman Catholic Empire, and sending his son to learn the civilisation befitting a prince at Vienna.

But though Peter did not himself fully understand what he was doing, nor carry out at once the principles involved in his changes to their full consequences, it is none the less true that a general disposition to look to the West and to learn from the West involved, consciously or unconsciously, a submission of the Byzantine Russian Church and civilisation either to a Roman-Catholic religious or to a Protestant anti Catholic and irreligious attraction. So, if Theodore had lived, and if his first wife, who was of a Polish connection, had lived, and the court had continued to look to Lithuania and Poland for enlightenment and civilisation, this might—so at least Solovieff thinks—have produced a leaning towards Roman Catholicism. But as it was, the fact that Peter, in the pursuit of that sort of knowledge which attracted him, was brought into contact with Protestants, Dutch and English and Genevese, rather than Catholics, produced an accidental and unreflecting bias and tendency in favour of Protestantism.

If we look back to all those names which Solovieff joins together as looking to the West, it would be quite inaccurate to think of them all alike as looking to the West in the spirit of disciples. Whether the Greek Church, or the Russian Church derived from it, was really self sufficing or not, whether it needed to learn from the West, is another matter. But it is unquestionable that the patriarch Nicon, and many others who were ready to take hints for improvements from the West or from any other quarter, believed firmly and honestly in the sufficiency of their own Church to evolve her own civilisation, and were as far as possible from that *spirit of general imitation* which involves in those who have it, however little that may be suspected by themselves, an unlimited and servile submission.

But Peter, having early caught the spirit of profane humour from Protestants, passed with them unconsciously over the Greek Church, and jested like a Protestant against that hierarchy the true centre of which was Rome. It is true that before he had suppressed the patriarchate of Moscow he made, through his old preceptor the drunken diak Zotoff, the patriarchate of his own country the object of his ribald buffoonery. Zotoff was the mock president of their revels, with the titles of His Holiness, and of Most Comical, instead of Most Holy (vse-*shout*-ieshi, instead of vse-*sciat*-ieshi), patriarch of Presburg, Kokou, and all Yaouzia. And at the end of Peter's life, after he had suppressed altogether the patriarchate of Moscow, when his last illness was already increasing upon him, on the 31st of Jan. A.D. 1725, one of his last public acts was to mock, not the Greek or Russian, but the Roman, Church by the election of a new Kniaz-Papa in place of the former one, who had died, with accompaniments of the most revolting filthiness, intemperance, and buffoonery.

And thus, instead of looking to the West as a whole, and to that Western civilisation which had originated from the Roman-Catholic faith and from the Holy Roman Church and Empire, Peter looked only to that materialist civilisation which was connected in the West with incipient *apostasy*. And taking this, separated from such religion, Catholic or Protestant, as still practically adhered to it in the West, he violently substituted it for such civilisation as the Byzantine or Græco-Russian Church had been able to evolve from herself, so forcing Russia to anticipate and outrun the West itself in its anti-Christian development.

APPENDIX XI. *In connection with chapters vi., vii., and viii., in volumes v. and vi. Sources for the history of the reign of Peter I. (from Oustrialoff's Introduction).*

Theophanes Procopovich wrote an account reaching to A.D. 1713 (in which he relates also the marriage of Menshikoff).

Huyssen wrote an account reaching to 1715.

Peter, not content with these, began himself with his secretary Makaroff in 1718. After the peace Saturday mornings were devoted to this. A note of 1722 shows that he meant civil and religious matters, as well as military, to be included.

Makaroff in four years finished his *Journal of the War*, and presented it at Preobrajensk some days after Peter's return from the Persian war, and asked for information on certain points; and Peter read it all, and made autograph corrections. This first compilation was written out fair, and again submitted to him at Petersburg. But neither the first nor the second nor the third contented him, nor even a fourth: so that it is in fact Peter's own work. Scherbatoff in his preface in A.D. 1770 blunders in calling it 'a journal kept from 1698.'

Voltaire: 'The empress Elizabeth, out of regard for the memory of her father, wished to see his acts described by the pen of an accomplished writer, and her chamberlain Ivan Iv. Shouvaloff (the same who was president of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts and Sciences) proposed this work to a distinguished writer (Voltaire), who had filled all Europe with the glory of his name, and who had already published a short memoir on the same subject. They furnished him with materials extracted from the archives, partly in the original documents (?), partly in translations made by Taubert, Miller, and Schtelling, and they sent him a valuable collection of Russian medals, and rich furs: and about a year afterwards (in A.D. 1761), instead of the full and exact history which they expected, they received from him, in a single volume of no large size, the *Histoire de l'Empire de la Russie sous Pierre le Grand, par l'auteur de l'Histoire de Charles XII* - a feeble colourless work, as unsatisfactory for a history of the empire as for a life of the emperor, full of all sorts of blunders, false reflections, and in many places at variance with the documents furnished to the writer. Shouvaloff in consternation asked the writer why he *had not used* the materials communicated to him, had not inserted a multitude of details, and why he had mutilated nearly all the proper names? Voltaire replied: 'I am not in the habit of copying blindly everything that people send to me: I have a view of my own, and some trustworthy materials of my own. As for the fault found with me for having mutilated the proper names, this seems to be a criticism of some German: Je lui souhaite plus d'esprit, et moins de—consonnes' (*Hist.*, &c., *Introduction*, p. xxxix.).

Krekshin, who died in 1763, aged 80, was a man of no ability. In 1742 he offered his first volume to the empress Elizabeth.

Golikoff, a merchant of Koursk, born in 1731, published his collections (a chronicle of Peter the Great) in 1788. He valued Krekshin highly: but Tatisheheff, who knew Krekshin, calls him a fabler. He made a hero or demigod of Peter. He read with pain in the library of Scherbatoff

Stralenberg's *calumnies* (Stralenberg was a Swedish prisoner of war) in his *Das Nord und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia*, Stockholm, 1730. On the 7th Aug. 1782 the monument of Peter I. was inaugurated. In 1787 Golikoff had completed twelve volumes, which he entitled *Acts of Peter the Great, the wise Transformer of Russia* (these were reprinted by Polevoi in fifteen volumes in A.D. 1837-1843). Catherine II. opened to Golikoff the archives afterwards, and he printed eighteen volumes of *Supplements*, &c., Moscow, 1790-1797 (these also were reprinted by Polevoi in his fifteen volumes). Golikoff died 12th March 1801. His last volume was dedicated to the emperor Paul.

Matveyeff: He wrote many years afterwards, and hence his inaccuracies; *e.g.* he puts the affair of Sokovnin and Tsikler in 1699 instead of 1697.

Engelbert Kempfer (on Japan) (1651-1706) has a few words about Peter at the age of ten, printed by Adelung in the Appendix to his edition of the drawings taken for baron Meyerberg, 1827, p. 329-370, from his MS. *Diarium*.

De la Neuville: *Relation Curieuse*, &c., at the Hague, 1699. He was at Moscow from the end of June to the middle of December 1689.

John George Korb, secretary to the imperial embassy, from the end of Apr. 1698 to 23d July 1699: *Diarium*, &c., Vienna, fol., after the 8th Oct. 1700. And in Aug. 1701 Peter Alex. Golitsin wrote about it from Vienna to Moscow to Golovin: 'They look on us now as barbarians,' &c., imputing the work to the envoy Guarient himself.

John Perry: He was engaged by Peter in 1698 in London.

Alexander Gordon: He entered the tsar's service about 1696 as major: he was in the second campaign against Azoff: was a prisoner for eight years after the disaster before Narva (1700-1708). In 1711 he went away from Poland: he took part in the rising of 1715 in Scotland.

Henry Bruce: He was born at Brandenburg in 1692. In 1711, at the invitation of his relation James Bruce, he entered the Russian service, and first saw Peter at Yavorovo: was a captain of artillery. 'I was *there*,' he writes, 'promoted to be general field marshal on occasion of the private marriage of Peter to Catherine' (p. lxviii.): was sent by Peter with despatches to Shaphiroff, whom he found early in August (on the 2d) at Adrianople: he gives an account of the origin of Catherine and of Menshikoff: he knew closely (*koratko*) the tsarevich Alexis: was with Adam Weyde present at the death of the tsarevich: was named one of the preceptors of Peter Alexievich in 1719, and daily taught him artillery and fortification: was appointed to be with the duke of Holstein at the coronation of Catherine at Moscow in 1724, but obtained his dismissal and returned, still only a captain, to Scotland: thence he went to the West Indies, and returned in 1745, and died in 1757. He kept a journal, entitled *Bruce's Memoirs*, published, London, 1782, with very minute details. But there are many plain and gross inaccuracies; *e.g.* on the 2d Aug. 1711 Shaphiroff was still on the banks of the Dniester, and came to Adrianople only on the 21st Oct. And he seems strangely to have forgotten some things. He says general James Bruce was made field-marshal at Yavorovo at the end of Apr. 1711, on occasion of the private marriage of Peter and

Catherine. But the *Acts* show that James Bruce was thus promoted *after* the *Turkish campaign*, on the way back, viz. on the 3d August (Peter's autograph notes, journal of Sheremetieff, and letter of Weyde to Menshikoff of 5th Aug. 1711). Let us say that he wrote later, and had forgotten, though the form of his *Diary* is against this. But how can one explain this fact, that the *Acts* make no mention of this Henry Bruce as serving in Russia, while the names of persons filling no such important places as he pretends to have filled are fully verified? He puts the Persian campaign in 1723, and makes himself to have been present, when there was no such campaign then. Seemingly he *was never in Russia at all.*

Weber (resident of Brunswick 1714-1720) published in 1721 *Das Veränderte Russland*, &c., Frankfurt and Leipsig, 4to. There are French and English translations of the first edition.

Count Bassevich, minister of Holstein, 1680-1744, left an account from 1713 to 1727, with many anecdotes, of which only extracts in a French translation have been published.

Bergholtz, ober-kammerherr of Peter Theodorovich, died about 1765. He was kammer-yunker to the duke of Holstein, Karl Friedrich, came with him in 1721, and kept a journal from 13th Apr. 1721 to 30th Sept. 1725. '*Friedrich Wilhelm von Bergholtz*,' &c., in *Busching's Magazine*, xix. 3-202, xx. 332-392, xxi. 180-360, xxii. 426-552. He is the best of all foreign writers, and gives quite a photograph of the last years of Peter.

Stralenberg was taken prisoner at Poltava: he was thirteen years in Siberia, chiefly at Krasno Yarsk. Tatisheff saw him at Stockholm in 1724, and asked for him permission to dedicate his *Description of Siberia* to Peter, 2d Jan. and 9th Apr. 1725, but without success. His sources are oral stories of others and of Weber, and he gives both views of Peter—that of his partisans and that of his enemies.

Public Acts; *e.g.* the *Polnie Sobranie Zakonov*, &c.

Letters. Miller has omitted some *not very flattering* to Sheremetieff; and others he has for the same reason printed with omissions.

Diplomatic, and inquisitorial records: most important, but hitherto most scantily published.

Oustrialoff says of himself: 'At the end of 1842 the archives were opened to me through Ouvaroff: I spent about ten years in examining materials. The chief fresh materials are, 1. Kabinet papers, first examined and sorted by Scherbatoff. The acts of the affairs of the tsarevich, of Kikin, and of Souzdal were kept in three boxes *sealed*, and the seals were annually inspected—first in the Fortress, and then in the archives of the College of Foreign Affairs. Only a very small part of them were published in the manifesto of 25th June 1718 (printed with some errors by Pogodin in the *Russki Viestnik* of 1829, part v. In connection with the same affair of the tsarevich there are letters of Menshikoff and of the crown-princess; reports of Tolstoy and Roumiantieff from Vienna and from Naples (in the Glavni Archiv), of the measures taken by them to obtain the return of the tsarevich; documents of the secret Imperial Archives at Vienna, copied by me in 1845; autograph letters of the tsarevich; reports made to the emperor by his ministers on the subject of the flight of the tsarevich; instructions of the emperor for keeping him

secretly at Ehrenberg and at Naples in the castle of St. Elmo; and reports of the commandants of these fortresses; letters of Peter to the emperor about his son; protocols of the secret conference at Vienna on the repeated and urgent demands of Peter for the extradition of his son; reports of the viceroy of Naples of his *consent* to return.

Inquisitorial papers about Gagarin, Volkonsky, the Korsakoffs, the Solovieffs, Menshikoff, Shaphiroff, Repnin, Nesteroff, &c.

Official reports of foreign envoys, &c, especially those of

Otto Pleyer, sent to Moscow by the emperor in 1692, at first as a secret agent, as if to learn Russ, afterwards as resident: he remained in that capacity till 1718: he wrote at least once a month to the emperor himself, often in cipher. Also the protocol of Peter's stay at Vienna in 1698.

Ms. *Diary* of Patrick Gordon, from 16th July 1655 to the end of 1698. He was born 3d March 1635; came in 1663 to Moscow as major; four years afterwards he married a daughter of major von Bukthoven; he died 30th Nov. 1699, lieutenant general, and colonel of the Boutirski regiment of soldati. An abridgement only of his Diary has been published in German by doctor Posselt, 1844-1852, in three vols.

De Hallart, *Historische Beschreibung*, &c., from 1699 to 1721, in Kabinet papers, 216 pages, an autograph Ms.

Of his vol. vi. (published separately) Oustrialoff says that he has worked on it fourteen years, from 1845 (when he obtained leave to go to Vienna) till 1861. In 1845 Nesselrode gave him access to the secret archives and documents partly published in the manifesto of 25th June 1718.

Appendix XII. *In connection with p.* 1536. *Of the establishment of the Moscow Academy or University, and with it of a court of inquisition to defend Orthodoxy, under the ecclesiastical supremacy of the tsar.*

At the end of the reign of the tsar Theodore Alexievich there was drawn up a project for the establishment of a high school or '*Academy*.' They sent to the œcumenical patriarchs to ask for teachers, and in the mean time they prepared an *Imperial Letter*, or *Charter of Privileges*.

In the preamble to this charter the tsar says that, having ascended the throne young, like Solomon, he desires to care for nothing so much as for wisdom, the mother of all royal duties, with and through which all good things are given from God to the peoples of the earth. As Solomon established seven schools, so he also, the tsar Theodore, in imitation of Solomon and the old religious Greek emperors, is minded to found in the Zaiconospass monastery halls suitable for an Academy (or University), and to set in them the seeds of wisdom, that is, of science civil and ecclesiastical, beginning with grammar, poetry, rhetoric, logic, and philosophy (metaphysical, natural, and moral), and going on even to theology, which teaches divine doctrines, and the purification of the soul; also the teaching of laws, ecclesiastical and civil, and of all those other liberal sciences which go to complete an Academy (or University).

For the maintenance of the Guardian (warden or chancellor) of this Academy there are given the Spassky (or Zaiconospassky) monastery in

the Kitai-gorod, that of St. John the Divine in the riding of Pereyaslaff of Riazan, and that of St. Andrew[48] on the Moskva, the Daniloff monastery, also on the Moskva, for the reception of learned foreigners, and, farther, four other monasteries, with all their houses of peasants and bobils, and all their lands, revenues, and usufructs. Besides this, the tsar gives from himself, from the crown domains, the volost of Vishegorod, and ten wastes in different places. Permission is given to any individual to make gifts (or endowments) for the food and clothing of the scholars.

The Guardian and the teachers are required to be religious men and the sons of religious[49] parents, born and bred in the Orthodox *Eastern* faith of the Russian and Greek nations: but from the Greeks those only can be admitted who shall bring from the œcumenical patriarchs authentic testimony of their firm attachment to the *Eastern* faith; and, besides, they must in Russia also have strong testimonies of their faith; that there may be no danger of any of them ever doing what was once done by the heretic Isidore, Metropolitan of Russia. Now converts from the Roman *faith*, as also from the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and other *heresies*, are not to be admitted to be guardians or teachers, because such persons have been commonly found cunningly and secretly to implant their heresy little by little in the minds of their pupils. If there shall come from Lithuania, Little Russia, and other countries learned men seeking the places of Guardian or of teachers, and professing themselves religious and orthodox, their word is not to be believed without the testimony of other trustworthy, pious, and orthodox persons; nor are they without this to be made Guardians or teachers; not even though any of them should have defended in writing the truth of our *Eastern* faith, and should have confuted and blamed the errors of the Romans, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists; because deceivers at first feign themselves orthodox, and great zealots for orthodoxy, and afterwards little by little let drop words tending to perversion, and begin to damage the unsullied purity of our faith. The Guardian and the teachers must swear on the cross that they will maintain firmly and entirely the Orthodox faith, that they will preserve and defend it against all other *faiths* and heresies. In case of their breaking this their oath, they shall be punished according to the degree of their guilt, and deprived of their places as teachers; but for blasphemy against the Orthodox faith they shall be *burned alive*, without mercy: even though they repent they shall be punished, and deprived of their places as teachers.

Into the Academy there are admissible people of all ranks and of all ages. The course of instruction embraces all sciences not forbidden by the Church.

Natural magic is especially forbidden; and the teachers of any such science are to be *burned alive*, together with their scholars.

No one is to dare to keep in his house private teachers of foreign languages; but let him, if he will, send his sons to the Academy, to the one common school; for from private teachers, especially if they are foreigners and of other creeds, there may arise opposition to our faith, and discord.

[48] Founded by Theodore Rtischeff expressly for a learned confraternity.
[49] *i.e.* both pious and orthodox.

If there are found to be against any students of the Academy debts, or any other offences short of murder or other great crimes, they shall not be subject to judicial trial and punishment till they leave the schools, that learning may not be hindered. They shall be judged by the Guardian with the teachers. In case of capital or criminal offences they shall be taken before the common tribunal, but not without the knowledge of the Guardian. If the Guardian himself be suspected of any crime, he is to be judged by the teachers. A teacher is to be judged by the guardian with the other teachers. The teachers cannot be admitted to any other service without the knowledge of the Guardian and the other teachers.

For long and zealous service the teachers are to receive pensions. If any of the scholars show a spirit of inquiry and of diligence, and exert themselves to extract, as from the depths of the earth, from different languages, but especially from the Slavonic, the Hellenic, the Polish, and the Latin, the precious treasure of wisdom, by skill in grammar and in the other liberal sciences, they, on exhibiting certificates of their proficiency from the Guardian and the teachers, shall receive from the tsar such rewards as they deserve; and, after finishing their course of liberal sciences, they shall be named to ranks suited to their capacity, and shall obtain the tsar's special favour. Of such as have not been taught the liberal sciences, no one shall be admitted to the imperial ranks of stolniks, strapchis, and the rest, except he be noble: for those who are not of the nobility, the only opening for admission to such ranks shall be either learning or distinguished services in war in other departments of government.

All learned foreigners who come into Russia are to be subjected to an examination in the Academy, and only on passing it satisfactorily are admissible to the service; and such as do not obtain its certificate are to be sent away out of the empire.

The Academy is to exercise vigilance, that there arise no contradictions, disputes, or quarrels from those who differ from the Orthodox faith. The Guardian must inform the tsar of any such opposers, and the government shall not suffer these last to dispute against the Guardian and the teachers concerning the faith or the ecclesiastical traditions.

A list of the names of all new proselytes to Orthodoxy shall be delivered to the Guardian, who is to look after their conduct; and if any one of them vacillates in his new profession, such shall be banished to distant towns, to Terek, and to Siberia.

The Guardian and the teachers must also give diligent heed to this, that none of any order, spiritual or temporal, keep any books of sorcery, witchcraft, or divination, or any other blasphemous and impious books, such as are forbidden by the Church, nor practise anything contained in them, nor teach others to do so. Unlearned people are not to keep in their houses nor read Polish, Latin, German, Lutheran, and Calvinistic, and other heretical books, because they have not sufficient understanding, and that there may be no doubts in our faith. No one is anywhere to hold discussions about these books, nor to give occasion for discussions. There is a custom of this kind among the deceivers: they bring on a discussion; and they even say that they do this, not because they have any doubt

about the faith or the ecclesiastical traditions, but simply for scientific discussion. Such heretical books are to be burned, or to be brought to the Guardian and the teachers.

If any foreigner or any Russian is accused of blasphemy against the Orthodox faith, he is to be given up to be judged by the Guardian and the teachers; and if the accusation is proved, the criminal shall be *burned alive.*

If any stranger who has come into Russia, having been before of the *Eastern* faith, embraces the Roman or Lutheran or Calvinistic or any other heresy, such a one *shall be burned.*

But if any one who was before of the Roman faith embraces the Lutheran, he shall be punished by the civil tribunal, and sent into banishment.

The imperial library is given for ever into the keeping of the Guardian and the teachers.

The expense of the buildings requisite for the Academy is to be defrayed from the imperial treasury.

From this curious charter, observes Solovieff, we see clearly what view was then dominant respecting science and schools. The necessity of science, of a school, is confessed, confessed in the interest of the Church. A school of liberal sciences is founded for the support of Orthodoxy, which does not find for itself this support in the East. But here it is necessary to proceed with the greatest caution; for science schools and teachers, instead of being a support to Orthodoxy, may give a blow to it: it is necessary therefore to choose teachers of tried Orthodoxy; and for such teachers they address themselves to the œcumenical patriarchs. But this is little: Orthodoxy is surrounded by dangers: people hostile to it, people of the Roman, Lutheran, and Calvinistic faith are constantly appearing at Moscow; there are many of them in the service of the tsar. Deceivers will act against Orthodoxy without scrupling as to the means: Orthodoxy must contend against them unremittingly; and the chief instrument for this strife is to be the Academy. It is fully empowered to follow all the movements of the enemies, and it is to sound the tocsin on the first appearance of danger. The Academy of Moscow was to be a citadel built for herself by the Orthodox Church in preparation for her inevitable collision with the heterodox West: it was to be not only a university, but also a formidable inquisitorial tribunal. If the Guardian with the teachers pronounced the words: 'He is guilty of heterodoxy,' the stake was to await the criminal. Under the tsar Theodore, no less than afterwards under his brother Peter, science was called in for a practical purpose. The difference was this: Under Theodore it was called in chiefly for the service of the Church;[50] but under Peter for the service of the State (Solovieff, *Hist.* &c., vol. xiii. p. 314).

It was only after the death of those rivals of whom the patriarch Joachim had been afraid, Simeon of Polotsk and the monk Nicon, and

[50] Of a Church having now the tsar for its head, though we must also remember that the tsar Theodore, had he lived, would have been likely to confess the truth that, by divine institution, there exist *two* authorities, and not '*one only*.'

after the death of the tsar Theodore that this Academy was actually founded. The above charter, which had been prepared for it by Simeon of Polotsk, was presented to the regent Sophia, and signed by her on the evening of the 25th Jan. A.D. 1685. It was presented through Shaklovitoy, the commander of the Streltsi, by the disciple of Simeon of Polotsk, Sylvester Medveydeff, who had been in the Zaiconospassky monastery since A.D. 1677, and who expected to be himself the rector of the new Academy. But in the month of March following there arrived at Moscow the brothers Joannicius and Sophronius Lichoudi, sent as teachers by the patriarch of Constantinople in consequence of an application which had been made to him long before; and the direction of the new Academy, to the satisfaction of the patriarch Joachim, but to the disappointment of the stroitel of the Zaiconospassky monastery, was committed to the two Greek monks.

APPENDIX XIII. *In connection with p.* 1536. *Of the subjection of the metropolitan see and province of Kieff, with its nine suffragan sees, to the patriarchate of Moscow.*

In Apr. A.D. 1685, in reply to an application from the hetman of Little Russia Samoilovich, the okolnik Neplueff was sent to him to Batourin with the following instructions: After consulting with the ecclesiastics of all the towns of Little Russia, with the elders of the whole community, and with all the polkovniks, he is to elect a man skilled in the divine scriptures, meek and intelligent, one of the native inhabitants of those parts, not a stranger, and to make an agreement how that metropolitan is to act, what obedience he is to render to the most holy Kyr Joachim, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and how he is to exercise jurisdiction, and for what reasons and grievances *he rejects* the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, in what honour he will hold the hetman, the elders, and all the Zaporog army, and that he will write and refer on all ecclesiastical matters to the patriarch of Moscow, but will not write nor send to the patriarch of Constantinople about anything, nor give any account to him, nor be under obedience to him, but will completely separate himself from his flock, on account of the distance, because in time past the excommunications and blessings which came from C.P. were obtained by the envy and party zeal of enemies, especially now at present from the apostate uniat bishop of Lvoff (Lemberg) Joseph Shoumliansky, and others like him, for the perversion of the Church of God; whence there have arisen many schisms, and the fall of the Church in Red Russia and in Volhynia, and in other places: that the metropolitan of Kieff is to have with him, as belonging to him, the clergy of all the towns of Little Russia; and that in rank the see of Kieff is to be the first of the Russian metropolitan sees. Of all these points he is to write articles, and to word them with all stringency and exactness; these are to be subscribed by the metropolitan and by all the assembly of the clergy, also by the hetman, by the elders, and by all the polkovniks, esaouls, and sotniks, and to be confirmed by their seals; and the metropolitan elect is to be sent for the archipastoral imposition of hands to Moscow.

The hetman replied, that the clergy would not oppose the subjection of the metropolitan of Kieff to the patriarch of Moscow; but he the

hetman, with all the army and people of Little Russia, petitioned the tsar to send as soon as possible to the patriarch of Constantinople, else he might anathematise them all: 'It is well known,' he wrote, 'that the Greek spiritual authorities are ready for *slight cause* to impose their ban: and for this reason also it is necessary to send as soon as possible, because they will, from the *Polish* dioceses, urge the patriarch of Constantinople to lay upon us his ban.' He also forwarded a copy of a letter from the patriarch of Constantinople, Parthenius, giving permission for the patriarch of Moscow (for this particular vacancy) to consecrate a metropolitan for Kieff.

The hetman had had disagreements with Lazarus Baranovich of Chernigoff (who had long before transferred himself to the national church of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich), and so was not now inclined to make *him* metropolitan; and Lazarus did not attend the meeting which assembled at Kieff, nor did he send thither any of his clergy. The hetman was in favour of electing the prince Gideon Chetvertinsky; and in spite of some misgivings and objections, he was elected on the 8th July. The hetman, writing to Moscow the news of the election, attempted to secure for the metropolitan, now to depend on the patriarch of Moscow, all the same jurisdiction over his own suffragans, and the same degree of independence which the metropolitans of Kieff had enjoyed before under the patriarchs of Constantinople; he also renewed his entreaty that they should send without delay to Constantinople to obtain from the patriarch there a voluntary cession to the patriarch of Moscow of his rights over the see of Kieff. In the autumn of this same year the metropolitan elect went to Moscow; and on the 8th Nov. he was consecrated there by the patriarch Joachim.

When Gideon *had been already consecrated at Moscow*, at the end of A.D. 1685, there was sent to Turkey the podiak Nikita Alexeyeff, together with an envoy from the hetman named Lisitsa, with a complaint to the Sultan about certain matters regarding the frontier, and with an application to the patriarch about the metropolitan see of Kieff. At Adrianople, where the Sultan then was, it was suggested to Alexeyeff by a Greek, Youry Metsevit, that he had better begin by applying *to the grand vizir* to order the patriarch to take that matter in hand.

Alexeyeff showed a wish to pay a visit to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, who was then at Adrianople; but he sent him word that till he had had his audience of the grand vizir, that was impossible. Alexeyeff had his audience of the grand vizir, and then visited the patriarch, who told him at once that he would not advise the patriarch of Constantinople to cede his rights over the see of Kieff, as such proceedings are forbidden by the canons. . . . 'And then,' he said, 'they have sent to ask for a blessing (*i.e.* a permission) when they have *already* (without waiting for permission) consecrated a metropolitan. This is a dismemberment of the Eastern Church. I will not advise the patriarch of Constantinople on this subject (*i.e.* to consent); and a blessing for the cession I certainly will not give.'

Lisitsa answered Dositheus brusquely: 'The hetman, and all the Zaporog army and all the people of Little Russia are now subjects of the tsar; the hetman wishes that the clergy also should be all under

the blessing of the patriarch of Moscow; and as that is already done, so it will remain.' Alexeyeff tried to talk Dositheus over in a soft and flattering tone, speaking of the distance between Kieff and Constantinople, the persecutions of the infidels, the difficulties caused by wars, &c.; and he promised *alms* from the tsars. Dositheus replied: 'I will not meddle with this matter; let the patriarch of C.P. do as he will; but I would not—no, not for a very large sum—make such a transaction; and the patriarch of Constantinople cannot do it without an order from the vizir.'

'It would be better,' Alexeyeff said, 'if the most holy patriarchs would arrange this *holy* affair, without divulging it to the infidels.' But Dositheus kept still to what he had said.

Alexeyeff learned that it was needless for him to go to Constantinople, as the ex-patriarch Dionysius had been again restored to the chair, and was on his way to Adrianople. Alexeyeff went to the vizir, and made known to him the wish of the tsars respecting the metropolitan see of Kieff. The vizir promised to call to him the patriarch, and *order him* to do the will of the tsars. Alexeyeff took the news of this to Dositheus, and found him completely changed. 'I,' said that patriarch, 'have found, on looking into the canons, that it is free for every bishop to make a cession from his own eparchy (or province) to another bishop; I will advise the patriarch Dionysius to do the will of the tsars; and I will myself write to the tsars and to the patriarch Joachim, and I will send a blessing from myself separately, not conjointly with Dionysius.' Dionysius, on his side, *did not make the least objection*; he promised to do all that the tsars wished, as soon as ever he should have returned to Constantinople, and should have convoked the metropolitans. The time could not have been more propitious. The Turks, threatened with war from three sides, wished to maintain the peace with Moscow, and were prompt to do the wish of the tsars: the vizir promised Alexeyeff that he would give orders to put a stop to the practices complained of on the frontier: the Russian prisoners were restored . . . From Adrianople Alexeyeff went to Constantinople, where he received from the patriarch Dionysius all the necessary papers for the business of Kieff, and made him an offering of 200 gold pieces and three soroks of sables. To Dositheus of Jerusalem also there were given 200 gold pieces. Dionysius asked the tsars to send alms also to all the bishops who had subscribed the letter for the cession of the metropolitan see of Kieff, according to the precedent of the tsar Theodore Ivanovich, who sent alms to all the bishops who subscribed the letter for the erection of the patriarchate of Moscow.

Thus the Kieff affair was indebted for its speedy and successful termination at Constantinople to the wish of the Turkish government to gratify the tsars, in order to divert them from any inclination to make a league with Poland and Austria (Solovieff, *Hist.*, &c., vol. xiv. p. 35).

APPENDIX XIV. *In connection with p.* 1547, 1560, 1577.

1. *Address made to Pope Innocent XII. in April* A.D. 1698 *by Boris Pet. Sheremetieff, when he presented to the Pope a letter from the tsar. Also an account of another conversion to Catholicism made some years earlier.*

'To the most holy and most great Innocent XII., by divine providence

in Christ the supreme Roman pontiff, the father of pastors, the shepherd of shepherds, the infallible ruler of the Orthodox Church of the Christians, I, Boris Pet. Sheremetieff, make my petition that your Holiness will be pleased to pray for me to the Almighty God in Trinity, and to give me your Holiness's blessing.

'I had long desired to see this most famous city of the whole world Rome, called the holy city of God, and to venerate the relics of the princes of the apostles Peter and Paul, to which the whole world can show nothing to compare. For by the help of their special patronage, when fighting for the exaltation of the Church of God against the enemies of the Cross, I have more than once gained victories. Wherefore, to make a return of gratitude for such great benefits, I had designed with due reverence to pay my vows to the relics of the same apostles at the threshold of the Vatican: also I greatly desired to see the person of your Holiness, which not only is greater, but greatest above all others, and to obtain the blessing of your beatitude, and to pay every kind of reverence to your Holiness. Having now been brought into your presence, in the midst of the sacred palace of the Quirinal, and seeing fulfilled all those wishes and vows which I had repeated every year since I first formed the wish of making this pilgrimage, I with sincere heart and unblinking eye behold the holy Vicar of Christ, begging with filial reverence your Holiness to be pleased, if I ask what is right, to grant my desire, and to give me your blessing and your prayers to God, as a most indulgent father.

'After satisfying this desire, and after having received the blessing of your Holiness, I designed to visit those most famous heroes of the Church militant, the knights of the Order of Malta,[51] who bind themselves by vow to fight against the enemies of the holy Cross, that, being stimulated by their example, I might the better emulate their exploits. Wherefore also, in assistance of this journey, having received from my master the tsar, &c. favourable letters to your Holiness, I present these letters to your beatitude, as to the supreme Vicar of Christ, for the greater assurance of the same, according to the customary expression of mutual good-will among Christian princes: so also H.S.I.M. Leopold, by divine providence emperor elect of the Romans, of his regard for my master the tsar, &c. has been pleased to submit through me to your paternity, as to his father, lord, and pastor, favourable letters of recommendation' (Tourgenieff, *Mon. Russ.* ii. p. 281. For Peter's letter of 30th Apr. 1697 see Theiner, *Mon. Hist.* p. 367).

The news of the conversion of Sheremetieff and others having reached Moscow, the patriarch Adrian, it is related, anathematised them, and all who should follow their example. But in spite of the charter given to the Moscow Academy, the supreme head of the Church did not give effect to this anathema of his vicar; Sheremetieff continued to enjoy the tsar's favour as before; nay, the tsar even professed himself, at that time and for several years afterwards, to be nowise displeased at such conversions. Nor was this all. Though the Jesuit fathers had been sent away after the fall of Sophia, in deference to the representations of Joachim, they were

[51] Sheremetieff was in fact made a knight of the Order of Malta.

reëstablished at Moscow a few years later, two fresh missionaries coming, as before in the name of the emperor, for the benefit of the Catholic foreigners in the tsar's service at Moscow; and they were allowed to open schools, which, for their superior enlightenment, were regarded for a time with favour, and protected, in spite of all objections and complaints, to the great annoyance of the Muscovite bishops and clergy.

2. *Of the conversion of Peter Artemieff: from the Hist. &c. of Soloviaff, vol. xiv. p.* 295-298.

On the Siberian frontier on the side of China all was quiet. The Russians were trading profitably with Pekin; and in A.D. 1698 Vinius wrote to Peter, while Peter was abroad, that at Pekin there had been set up a Russian church, and that many Chinese were being baptised. Peter wrote in answer to him: 'That is excellent: only, for God's sake, proceed in that matter cautiously and not precipitately, so as not to excite to hostility the Chinese rulers, nor the Jesuits, who have there already their nest, and for many years past: for which end there are needed there priests, not so much learned as discreet and inoffensive (*podkladnie*), lest through any presumption that holy work end in a worse fall, as happened in Japan.' In consequence of this, Vinius gave orders at Nerchinsk to question the trading people who came thither from China, and by all means to get accurate information about the chapel recently set up; In what place is it, and among what houses? or apart from their Chinese houses? at any considerable distance? and do the Chinese go to that church to see or hear what is done there? and what do they say of it? do they speak well of it? and is there not any ridicule or evil-speaking about it on their part? And to which churches, those of the Greek law or those of the kostel of the Jesuits, are they more favourably inclined? and what kind of men are the popes of that church, and the clerks? and after what kind of fashion and rule do they live? and how many of them are there? also how many are the people of Russian origin? and how is that church off for ornaments and books? and when any Christians die where do they bury them? is it near that chapel, or anywhere in the field? and with what sort of service? openly, or with precautions, secretly? and have any of the Chinese been baptised?

At the same time that Peter and Vinius were so cautious about the Orthodox Church at Pekin, and about its relations to the kostel of the Jesuits, at Moscow there were discovered traces of jesuitical influence. In A.D. 1697 the priest of the Petropaulovsk church (of Adrian and Natalia), in the Mieshchanskaia sloboda, denounced to the patriarch Adrian his deacon, Peter Artemieff, who, after the gospel, read an instruction, praised for their faith the Poles and Lithuanians; recited the prayer 'Our Father,' &c. on the ambon, after the Roman fashion, on his knees, adding also some other Roman prayers; he wears, instead of a cross, a little bag, and in it a small image of the Latin Antony of Padua, who was an heretic; he maintains the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; he confessed himself to the Jesuits, and communicated from them; when they were sent away from Moscow he took leave of them with tears; he calls the sacred *sobor* (synod) a *zabor* (a barrier), which he boasts of having overleaped; he calls the *patri*archs *pota*riarchs, because they have lost

(*poteriali*) the true orthodox faith. The boyars and judges he anonymously barks at and reviles, on account of the tortures inflicted on the raskolniks; he calls those boyars and judges who stand at the torture in the Tower of Constantine dumb teachers, who, instead of the gospel, enlighten men with fire, and instead of the Apostle (the Epistles), teach with the knout.

Peter Artemieff was the son of a priest of Souzdal. From his childhood he had been of a nervous temperament, with a morbid impressionableness and a disordered imagination: these qualities must have been strengthened in him, besides, by immorality, as appears from his own confessions. A youth of such character, he went to the schools of the Greek teachers, the Lichoudi; and, in company with the elder of them, Joannicius, he went in A.D. 1688 to Venice. Abroad the Jesuits got hold of him, and converted him to Catholicism. How easily the matter was managed in this conversion appears from the relation of Artemieff. When he asked the Latins, in what their Roman Church was better than the Greek? they answered him: In nothing; the Roman and Greek Church are equal, only in the Roman Church people are better instructed. The young man was set at rest, being satisfied that it was all the same; and he took zealously to the people who were better instructed, to the books written by the people who were better instructed. The rapturous tone, the passionateness, and the mysticism of some Catholic writers went to the very soul of Artemieff.

After his return to Russia he was ordained a deacon for the Petropaulovsk church, and there he attracted attention by his preachings and his extravagances. The patriarch Adrian, who was in bad health, for some time left unnoticed the information of the priest, and the deacon in the mean time gained followers, a thing not difficult in that time of disorder; 'and many turned aside after his deception.' Among the rest, Artemieff was very intimate in the houses of the founders of the church of the Assumption in the Pokrovka, named Gourieff and Svierchkov, who were also frequented by Latin priests. Gourieff and Svierchkov began to make instances with the patriarch to get the father of Artemieff to be transferred to Moscow, to their church of the Assumption. The patriarch at first would not hear of it, judging of the father from the son. 'Of what deacon Peter is it the father?' he asked: 'is it not the father of him who stands up for the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and the Papists? If I were not very unwell he would have long ago been sent off. And, as it is, I will not lose sight of him: I will convoke a synod on purpose for him. If the father, too, is like the son, it will be well to burn them both.' But afterwards Adrian softened, and said: 'I myself long ago had thoughts of sending for his father, for the sake of that fellow of a deacon, because they said to me: "He has a father who is a good man."'

The good man must have been in despair when he received about this time a letter from his son: 'Batiushka! batiushka!' wrote Peter; 'I have crept, crept into the intellectual wound of the abyss of Christ, into heaven, and now I am creeping, creeping into his crucifix delineated by thee; I am creeping into the wound in his side by my heart; I nail to his hands my hands, and taking from him his lips I make them into my

lips, and say with them thus, after Bernard: "I do not wish, O my Lord, to live without wounds when I see Thee all wounds; leave with Thee, O Lord, at least one little corner on the cross, that I may be crucified with Thee!" I have heard from thee that this was the thought for which thou gavedst me the name of Peter, that I might share the ardour of Peter. And, behold, in this thou hast not failed of thy wish. As a fresh clot of dung I am hot, on which account also I have openly professed myself to belong to Peter, and to be a confessor of his chair.'

When he had come to Moscow, the father all but boxed his son's ears 'for that letter.' But in the mean time the priest of Petropaulovsk had given in a second information. The patriarch sent Peter to the Novospassky monastery. But they began to urge Adrian to finish the business. They wrote to him: 'Consider, if now such open recommendation of Latin impiety from a few, or rather from only one son of destruction, casts down many into the Western pit, what will happen when this small infection of Latinism spreads, and is increased by numbers, and corrupts the whole body of Orthodoxy?' The patriarch, in June A.D. 1698, convoked a synod, which condemned Peter to be degraded, and sent to the Vajsky monastery, to the archbishop of Kholmogori and Archangel, Athanasius, [who was considered then to be one of the most zealous and learned bishops in Russia]. The exhortations of the archbishop Athanasius had no sort of effect on the prisoner: indeed he reported to the patriarch, 'We have tried to heal Babylon, and it is not healed' ('Sanavimus Babylonem et non est sanata'), 'but rather *we ourselves have hardly been saved*, by the protection of God, *from its snares*.'

In the statements of Peter Artemieff we find some curious notices respecting the conduct of his celebrated teachers, the two brothers Lichoudi: 'My elder master Joannicius, when he had arrived from Italy, went many times to the Roman priests, to the house belonging to the emperor of Germany *in the suburb*, and professed to them to be of their way of thinking, only he was obliged to dissemble here from fear; and this they believed: but I took a small book of him my master, entitled *Mechetz*, all written against the Romans, and showed it to those priests of the emperor: and they, when the master next came to visit them, showed it to him, and reproached him with his hypocrisy. The master replied, that that book was written by his brother Sophronius, without his having had any share in it, when he Joannicius was away in Italy; which may also have been the truth, because he Joannicius was much more inclined than his brother to all that was good, and more fervent in faith towards God.'

## APPENDIX XV. *In connection with p.* 1655-1657.

In the present '*Code of the Laws of the Russian Empire*,' and in the '*Extract* from it *of the enactments relating to the spiritual government of the Orthodox Confession*' of Mr. Theodore Malintin, ed. of 1857, the present relations of Church and State in Russia are thus defined:

§ i. The first in rank and dominant faith in the Russian empire is the Christian Orthodox Catholic of the Eastern Confession (vol. i. *Fundam. Imp. Laws*, § 40).

§ ii. The emperor, as a Christian sovereign, is the supreme defender and guardian of the dogmas of the dominant faith, and the *preserver* of Orthodoxy and of all good order in the holy Church. In this sense the emperor is called the *Head of the Church* (ib. § 42).

§ iii. In the government of the Church the *autocratic power* acts *through* the Most Holy Governing (or Directing) Synod *instituted by it* (ib. § 43).

§ iv. The original design of laws is made either by special attention and direct command of his supreme majesty, or it arises out of the ordinary course of affairs, when, during the consideration of them in the Governing Senate, in the Most Holy Synod, and in the ministries, it is considered necessary either to explain and supplement any existing law, or to draw up a new enactment. In this case these different authorities submit their projects, according to the established order, to the supreme judgment of His Majesty (ib. § 49).

The allusion in the Code is principally to that *Act*, establishing the present regular succession and dynasty, which was published, together with the '*Order of the Coronation*,' &c., of the emperor Paul, 'on Easter Sunday, 5th Apr. A.D. 1797.' We there read what follows:

'Then' (*i.e.* at the end, after having received the homage and felicitations of all present) 'His Majesty, standing at his throne, read in the hearing of all the following supreme *Act*:

"In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. By our common free and mutual consent, after mature reflection, and with a clear mind, we have ratified this common *Act*, by which, of love to our country, we *choose* as our successor *of natural right*, after the death of me Paul, our eldest son Alexander, and after him," &c. And farther on, after laying down the order of succession, the *Act* continues thus:

"When the succession shall pass to such descendants in a female line as are already reigning on some other throne, it is then offered to the person inheriting to choose *which faith* and throne of the two he will, renouncing, together with his or her heirs, the other faith and throne, if the throne in question be bound up with any particular creed (*zakon*, lit. *law*), for this reason that the Russian sovereigns (*Hossoudari*) are *the Head of the Church*. But if renunciation of (a different) creed is not to be had, then that person is to succeed who is next in the order" (of succession as above laid down), &c.

'The original *Act* was subscribed by Their Imperial Majesties' own hands, thus: "Paul," "Maria," "St. Petersburg, 4th Jan. A.D. 1788." And on the original *copy* there is written by His Majesty's own hand, thus: "*A true copy, Paul.*"

'After having read through this *Act*, H.I.M. was pleased to *enter into the sanctuary* [see the *Replies*, &c. of Nicon, p. 567], and to place this *Act* on the holy throne [*i.e.* on the altar itself; see vol. iv. p. 408], in a silver casket made on purpose for it, that it may be kept for all future times in that cathedral on the altar. After which he returned to his throne, and was pleased to go out from the church,' &c.

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